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Complete Collection

OF THE

POETICAL, POLITICAL, AND MISCELLANEOUS

WORKS

OF

John Milton,

AND TRANSLATED INTO LATIN BY

WILLIAM PATERSON, ESQ. OF THE BARR

AND

EDINBURGH: PRINTED BY J. BELL, 1719.



A
Complete Collection
OF THE
Historical, Political, and Miscellaneous
WORKS
OF
John Milton,

Both ENGLISH and LATIN.

With som PAPERS never before Publish'd.

The Second Volume.

The Contents whereof follow in the next Leaf.



AMSTERDAM,
Finish'd in the Year M. DC. XC. VIII.

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Published in the Year M.DC.XC.VII

T H E
C O N T E N T S
O F T H E
Second Volume.

EIKONOCLASTES: *In answer to a Book intitl'd, Eikon Basilike, The Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings. P. 443. To which is annex'd the King's Prayer compar'd with the Prayer of Pamela in Sidney's Arcadia. P. 527. King Charles the First's Commission to the Irish from Edinburgh, by which they justified the Massacre of the Protestants. P. 528. The Articles against the Marquess of Antrim, with K. Charles the Second's Letter to the Irish Council in his favor. P. [525.] And the Earl of Anglesey's Memorandum. P. [528.]*

The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates: proving that it is lawful, and hath been held so through all Ages, for any who have the Power, to call to account a Tyrant, or wicked King, and after due conviction, to depose and put him to death, if the ordinary Magistrate have neglected, or deny'd to do it: And that they who of late so much blame deposing, are the Men that did it themselves. P. 529.

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F O U R
TRACTS

Published in the Years 1649, and 1650.

V I Z.

- I. ΕΙΚΟΝΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ: In Answer to a Book Intituled, ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, The Portrature of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitudes, &c.
- II. The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates, proving that it is lawful to call to account a Tyrant or wicked King, &c.
- III. Observations upon the Articles of Peace with the Irish Rebels, on the Letter of *Ormond* to Col. *Jones*.
- IV. A Defence of the People of *England*, in answer to *Salmasius's* Defence of the King.

AMSTERDAM, MDCXCIV.

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ADRIANUS

In Answer to a Book Intitl'd, 'ΕΙΚΩ'Ν ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ',
The PORTRATURE of his Sacred MAJESTY
in his Solitudes and Sufferings.

Prov. 28. 15. *As a roaring lyon and a ranging bear, so is a wicked ruler over the poor people.*

16. *The Prince that wanteth understanding, is also a great oppressor; but he that hateth covetousnesse, shall prolong his days.*

17. *A man that doth violence to the blood of any person, shall fly to the pit, let no man stay him.*

Salust. Conjurat. Catilin.

Regium imperium, quod initio, conservandæ libertatis, atque augendæ reipub. causâ fuerat, in superbiam, dominationemque se convertit.

Regibus boni, quam mali, suspensiores sunt, semperque his aliena virtus formidolosa est.

Quidlibet impune facere, hoc scilicet regium est.

Published by Authority.

The Preface.

TO descant on the Misfortunes of a Person fall'n from so high a Dignity, who hath also payd his final debt both to Nature and his Faults, is neither of it self a thing commendable, nor the intention of this Discourse: Neither was it fond Ambition, or the vanity to get a Name present or with Posterity, by writing against a King. I never was so thirsty after Fame, nor so destitute of other hopes and means better and more certaine to attaine it: for Kings have gain'd glorious Titles from their Favourers by writing against private Men, as *Henry the 8th* did against *Luther*; but no Man ever gain'd much honour by writing against a King, as not usually meeting with that force of Argument in such Courtly *Antagonists*, which to convince might add to his Reputation. Kings most commonly, though strong in Legions, are but weak at Arguments; as they who ever have accusom'd from the Cradle to use thir Will only as their right hand, their Reason always as thir left. Whence unexpectedly constrain'd to that kind of combate, they prove but weak and puny Adversaries: Nevertheless, for their sakes who through custom, simplicity, or want of better teaching, have not more seriously consider'd Kings, then in the gaudy Name of Majesty, and admire them and thir doings as if they breath'd not the same breath with other mortal Men, I shall make no scruple to take up (for it seems to be the challenge both of him and all his Party) this Gauntlet, though a King's, in the behalfe of Liberty and the Common-wealth.

And further, since it appears manifestly the cunning drift of a factious and defeated Party, to make the same advantage of his Book, which they did before of his Regall Name and Authority, and intend it not so much the defence of his former Actions, as the promoting of their own future Designs; making thereby the Book thir own rather then the Kings, as the benefit now must be thir own more then his: now the third time to corrupt and disorder the minds of weaker Men, by new Suggestions and Narrations, either falsly or fallaciously representing the state of things to the dishonour of this present Government, and the retarding of a general Peace, so needfull to this afflicted

Nation, and so nigh obtain'd ; I suppose it no Injurie to the dead, but a good deed rather to the living, if by better information giv'n them, or which is enough, by onely remembring them the truth of what they themselves know to be heer misaffirmed, they may be kept from entring the third time unadvisedly into Warr and Bloodshed : for as to any moment of solidity in the Book it self, stuf't with naught els but the common grounds of Tyranny and Popery, sugar'd a little over ; or any need of answering, in respect of staid and well-principl'd men, I take it on me as a work assign'd rather than by me chos'n or affected ; which was the cause both of beginning it so late, and finishing it so leisurely in the midst of other imployments and diversions. And if the late King had thought sufficient those Answers and Defences made for him in his life time, they who on the other side accus'd his evill Government, judging that on their behalf enough also hath bin reply'd, the heat of this Controversie was in likelihood drawing to an end ; and the furdur mention of his deeds, not so much unfortunate as faulty, had in tendernefs to his late Sufferings been willingly forborn ; and perhaps for the present age might have slept with him unrepeat'd, while his Adversaries, calm'd and asswag'd with the success of their Cause, had bin the less unfavourable to his Memory. But since he himself, making new appeal to Truth and the World, hath left behind him this Book as the best Advocate and Interpreter of his owne Actions, and that his Friends by publishing, dispersing, commending, and almost adoring it, seem to place therein the chief strength and nerves of thir Cause, it would argue doubtless in the other Party great deficiency and distrust of themselves, not to meet the force of his Reason in any Field whatsoever, the force and equipage of whose Arms they have so oft'n met victoriously. And he who at the Bar stood excepting against the forme and manner of his Judicature, and complain'd that he was not heard ; neither he nor his Friends shall have that cause now to find fault ; being mett and debated with in this op'n and monumental Court of his owne erecting ; and not onely heard uttering his whole mind at large, but answer'd : which to doe effectually, if it be necessary that to his Book nothing the more respect be had for being his, they of his own Party can have no just reason to exclaim. For it were too unreasonable that he, because dead, should have the liberty in his Booke to speak all evill of the Parliament ; and they, because living, should be expected to have less freedom, or any for them, to speak home the plain truth of a full and pertinent Reply : As he, to acquit himselfe, hath not spar'd his Adversaries to load them with all sorts of Blame and Accusation, so to him, as in his Book alive, there will be us'd no more Courtship then he uses ; but what is properly his owne guilt, not imputed any more to his evill Counsellors (a Ceremony us'd longer by the Parlament then he himself desir'd) shall be layd heer, without Circumlocutions at his owne dore. That they who from the first beginning, or but now of late, by what unhappines I know not, are so much affatuated, not with his Person only, but with his palpable Faults, and dote upon his Deformities, may have none to blame but thir owne folly, if they live and dyc in such a strook'n blindness, as next to that of *Sodom* hath not happ'nd to any sort of men more gross or more misleading.

First then that some men (whether this were by him intended or by his Friends) have by policy accomplish'd after death that revenge upon thir Enemies, which in life they were not able, hath bin oft related. And among other Examples we find that the last Will of *Cæsar* being read to the people, and what bounteous Legacies he had bequeath'd them, wrought more in that vulgar audience to the avenging of his death, then all the art he could ever use to win thir favor in his life time. And how much thir intent who publish'd these overlate Apologies and Meditations of the dead King, drives to the same end of stirring up the people to bring him that Honour, that Affection, and by consequence that Revenge to his dead Corps, which he himselfe living could never gain to his Person, it appeares both by the conceited Portrature before his Book, drawn out to the full measure of a masking Scene, and sett there to catch Fools and silly Gazers, and by those Latin words after the end, *Vota dabunt quæ Bella negarunt* ; intimating, that what hee could not compass by War hee should atchieve by his Meditations : For in words which admit of various sense, the libertie is ours to choose that Interpretation which may best mind us of what our restless Enemies endeavour, and what we are timely to prevent.

And

And heer may be well observ'd the loose and negligent curiosity of those who took upon them to adorn the setting out of this Book; for though the Picture sett in Front would martyr him and saint him to befoole the people, yet the Latin Motto in the end, which they understand not, leaves him as it were a politic Contriver to bring about that Interest by faire and plausible words which the force of Arms deny'd him. But quaint Emblems and Devices begg'd from the olde Pageantry of some Twelſe-nights entertainment at *Whitehall*, will do but ill to make a Saint or Martyr: and if the people resolve to take him fainted at the rate of such a Canonizing, I shall suspect their Calender more then the *Gregorian*. In one thing I must commend his openneſſe who gave the Title to this Book, *ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ*, that is to say, The King's Image; and by the Shrine he dresses out for him, certainly would have the people come and worship him: For which reason this Answer also is intitl'd, *Iconoclastes*, the famous Surname of many Greek Emperors, who in thir zeal to the Command of God, after long tradition of Idolatry in the Church, tooke courage and broke all superstitious Images to pieces. But the people, exorbitant and excessive in all thir motions, are prone oftimes not to a religious only, but to a civil kind of Idolatry in idolizing thir Kings; though never more mistak'n in the object of thir worship; heretofore being wont to repute for Saints those faithful and courageous Barons who lost thir lives in the Field, making glorious War against Tyrants for the common Liberty; as *Simon de Momfort*, Earle of *Leicester*, against *Henry* the Third; *Thomas Plantagenet* Earle of *Lancaster*, against *Edward* the Second. But now with a besotted and degenerate baseness of Spirit, except some few who yet retain in them the old English Fortitude and love of freedom, and have testifi'd it by thir matchless deeds, the rest imbastardiz'd from the ancient Nobleness of thir Ancestors, are ready to fall flat and give adoration to the Image and Memory of this Man, who hath offer'd at more cunning fetches to undermine our Liberties, and put Tyranny into an Art, then any Brittish King before him: which low dejection and debasement of mind in the people, I must confess I cannot willingly ascribe to the natural disposition of an Englishman, but rather to two other Causes: first to the Prelats and thir fellow-teachers, though of another Name and Sect, whose Pulpit-stuffe both first and last, hath bin the Doctrin and perpetuall infusion of Servility and Wretchedness to all thir Hearers, and their Lives the type of worldliness and hypocrisy, without the least true pattern of Vertue, Righteousness or Selfe-deniall in their whole practice. I attribute it next to the factious Inclination of most men divided from the Public by several ends and humours of their owne. At first no Man less belov'd, no Man more generally condemn'd then was the King; from the time that it became his Custom to break Parlements at home, and either wilfully or weakly to betray Protestants abroad, to the beginning of these Combuſtions. All men inveigh'd against him; all men, except Court-Vassals, oppos'd him and his tyrannicall Proceedings; the Cry was universall; and this full Parliament was at first unanimous in thir dislike and protestation against his evill Government. But when they who sought themselves and not the publick, began to doubt that all of them could not by one and the same way attain to thir ambitious purposes, then was the King, or his Name at least, as a fit property first made use of, his doings made the best of, and by degrees justified: which begot him such a Party, as after many wiles and struglings with his inward feares, imboldn'd him at length to sett up his Standard against the Parliament. When as before that time, all his Adherents, consisting most of Dissolute Swordmen and Suburb-roysters, hardly amounted to the making up of one ragged Regiment, strong enough to assault the unarmed House of Commons. After which attempte, seconded by a tedious and bloody War on his Subjects, wherein he hath so farr exceeded those his arbitrary Violences in time of Peace, they who before hated him for his high Misgovernment, nay fought against him with display'd Banners in the Field, now applaud him and extoll him for the wisest and most religious Prince that liv'd. By so strange a Method amongst the mad Multitude is a sudden Reputation won, of Wisdom by wilfulness and subtle shifts, of Goodness by multiplying evill, of Piety by endeavouring to root out true Religion.

But it is evident that the chief of his Adherents never lov'd him, never honour'd either him or his Cause, but as they took him to set a face upon their own malignant

lignant Designes, nor bemoan his loss at all, but the loss of their own aspiring hopes ; like those captive Women whome the Poet notes in his *Iliad*, to have bewaild the Death of *Patroclus* in outward show, but indeed their own condition.

Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν, σφᾶν δ' αὐτῶν κῆδ' ἐχάσθη.
Hom. *Iliad*. τ.

And it needs must be ridiculous to any Judgement unthrall'd, that they who in other matters express so little fear either of God or Man, should in this one particular outstripp all Precisianism with their scruples and cases, and fill mens ears continually with the noise of their conscientious Loyaltie and Allegiance to the King, Rebels in the mean while to God in all their actions beside : much less that they whose profess'd Loyalty and Allegiance led them to direct Armes against the King's Person, and thought him nothing violated by the Sword of Hostility drawn by them against him, should now in earnest think him violated by the unsparing Sword of Justice, which undoubtedly so much the less in vaine she beares among men, by how much greater and in highest place the offender. Els Justice, whether moral or politicall, were not Justice, but a fals Counterfeit of that impartial and Godlike Vertue. The onely grieve is, that the Head was not strook off to the best advantage and commodity of them that held it by the Haire : which observation, though made by a common Enemie, may for the truth of it heerafter become a Proverb. But as to the Author of these Soliloquies, whether it were the late King, as is vulgarly belev'd, or any secret *Coadjutor*, and some stick not to name him, it can add nothing, nor shall take from the weight, if any be, of reason which he brings. But Allegations, not Reasons, are the maine Contents of this Book, and need no more then other contrary Allegations to lay the Question before all Men in an eev'n Ballance ; though it were suppos'd that the Testimony of one Man in his own Cause affirming could be of any moment to bring in doubt the Authority of a Parliament denying. But if these his faire-spok'n words shall be heer fairely confronted and laid parallel to his own farr-differing deeds, manifest and visible to the whole Nation, then surely we may look on them who notwithstanding shall persist to give to bare words more credit than to op'n deeds, as men whose Judgment was not rationally evinc'd and perswaded, but fatally stupifi'd and bewitch'd into such a blind and obstinate belief : for whose Cure it may be doubted, not whether any Charm, though never so wisely murmur'd, but whether any Prayer can be available.

I. Upon the Kings calling this last Parliament.

THAT which the King laies down here as his first foundation, and as it were the head stone of his whole Structure, that *He call'd this last Parliament, not more by others advice, and the necessity of his affairs, then by his own choise and inclination,* is to all knowing men so apparently not true, that a more unlucky and inauspicious Sentence, and more betok'ning the downfall of his whole Fabric, hardly could have come into his Mind. For who knows not that the inclination of a Prince is best known either by those next about him, and most in favor with him, or by the current of his own Actions? Those neereſt to this King, and moſt his Favorites, were Courtiers and Prelates; Men whose chief study was to find out which way the King inclin'd, and to imitate him exactly: How these Men stood affected to Parliaments cannot be forgott'n. No Man but may remember it was thir continuall exercise to dispute and preach against them; and in thir common discourse nothing was more frequent, then that *they hoped the King should now have no need of Parliaments any more.* And this was but the copy which his Parasites had industriously taken from his own Words and Actions, who never call'd a Parliament, but to supply his necessities; and having suppl'y'd those, as suddenly and ignominiously dissolv'd it, without redressing any one grievance of the People: Sometimes choosing rather to mis of his Subsidies, or to raise them by illegal courses, then that the People should not still mis of thir hopes to be reliev'd by Parliaments.

The first he broke off at his coming to the Crown, for no other cause then to protect the Duke of *Buckingham* against them who had accused him, besides other hainous Crimes, of no less then poysoning the deceased King his Father. And still the latter breaking was with more affront and indignity put upon the House and her worthiest Members then the former. Insomuch that in the fifth yeare of his Reign, in a Proclamation he seems offended at the very rumor of a Parliament divulg'd among the people, as if hee had tak'n it for a kind of Slander, that Men should think him that way exorable, much less inclin'd: and forbids it as a presumption to prescribe him any time for Parliaments; that is to say, either by Perswasion or Petition, or so much as the reporting of such a Rumor: for other manner of prescribing was at that time not suspected. By which fierce Edict, the people, forbid'n to complaine, as well as forc'd to suffer, began from thenceforth to despair of Parliaments. Whereupon such illegal actions, and especially to get vast sums of Money, were put in practise by the King and his new Officers, as Monopolies, compulsive Knighthoods, Cote, Conduct and Ship-mony, the seizing not of one *Naboths* Vineyard, but of whole Inheritances, under the pretence of Forrest, or Crown-Lands; Corruption and Bribery compounded for, with impunities granted for the future, as gave evident proof that the King never meant, nor could it stand with the reason of his Affairs ever to recall Parliaments: having brought by these irregular courses the peoples Interest and his own to so direct an opposition, that he might foresee plainly, if nothing but a Parliament could save the people, it must necessarily be his undoing.

Till eight or nine years after, proceeding with a high hand in these Enormities, and having the second time levied an injurious War against his native Countrie, *Scotland*; and finding all those other shifts of raising mony, which bore out his first Expedition, now to faile him, not of his own *choise and inclination*, as any Child may see, but urg'd by strong necessities, and the very pangs of State, which his owne violent Proceedings had brought him to, hee calls a Parliament; first in *Ireland*, which only was to give him four Subsidies, and so to expire; then in *England*, where his first demand was but twelve Subsidies, to maintaine a Scotch Warr, condemn'd and abominated by the whole Kingdom; promising thir greivances should be consider'd afterwards. Which when the Parliament, who judg'd that Warr it self one of thir main greivances, made no hast to grant, not enduring the delay of his impatient will, or els fearing the condition of thir grant, he breaks off the whole Session, and dismisses them and thir greivances with scorn and frustration.

Much less therefore did hee call this last Parliament by his own choise and inclination; but having first try'd in vaine all undue ways to procure mony, his Army of thir own accord being beat'n in the North, the Lords petitioning, and the general voice of the People almost hissing him and his ill-acted regalitie off the Stage, compell'd at length both by his wants, and by his fears, upon meer extremitie he summond this last Parliament. And how is it possible that hee should willingly incline to Parlements, who never was perceiv'd to call them but for the greedy hope of a whole National Bribe, his Subsidies; and never lov'd, never fulfill'd, never promoted the true end of Parlements, the redress of greivances; but still put them off, and prolong'd them, whether gratify'd or not gratify'd; and was indeed the Author of all those greivances? To say therefore that he call'd this Parliament of his own choise and inclination, argues how little truth wee can expect from the sequel of this Book, which ventures in the very first period to affront more then one Nation with an untruth so remarkable; and presumes a more implicit Faith in the people of *England*, then the Pope ever commanded from the Romish Laitie; or els a natural sottishness fitt to be abus'd and ridd'n? While in the judgement of wise Men, by laying the foundation of his defence on the avouchment of that which is so manifestly untrue, he hath giv'n a worse foile to his own cause, then when his whole Forces were at any time overthrowen. They therefore who think such great Service don to the Kines affaires in publishing this Book, will find themselves in the end mistaken, if sense and right mind, or but any mediocritie of knowledg and remembrance hath not quite forsak'n men.

But to prove his inclination to Parlements, he affirms hecr, *To have always thought the right way of them most safe for his Crown, and best pleasing to his People.* What he thought we know not, but that he ever took the contrary way we saw; and from his own actions we felt long agoe what hee thought of Parlements or of pleasing his People: a surer Evidence than what we heare now too late in words.

He alleges, that *the cause of forbearing to convene Parlements was the sparkes which some mens distempers there studied to kindle.* They were indeed not temper'd to his temper; for it neither was the Law, nor the rule by which all other tempers were to be try'd; but they were esteem'd and chos'n for the fittest men, in thir severall Counties, to allay and quench those distempers which his own inordinate doings had inflam'd. And if that were his refusing to *convene*, till those men had bin qualifi'd to his temper, that is to say, his will, we may easily conjecture what hope ther was of Parlements, had not fear and his insatiate povertie in the midst of his excessive wealth constrain'd him.

Hee hoped by his freedom and their moderation to prevent misunderstandings. And wherefore not by thir freedom and his moderation? But freedom he thought too high a word for them, and moderation too mean a word for himself: this was not the way to prevent misunderstandings. He still *feard passion and prejudice in other men; not in himself: and doubted not by the weight of his own reason to counterpoise any Faction;* it being so easie for him, and so frequent, to call his obstinacy reason, and other mens reason Faction. Wee in the mean while must believe that wisdom and all reason came to him by Title with his Crowne; passion, prejudice, and faction came to others by being Subjects.

He was sorry to hear with what popular heat Elections were carri'd in many Places. Sorry rather that Court-Letters and intimations prevail'd no more, to divert, or to deterr the people from thir free Election of those men, whom they thought best affected to Religion and thir Countries Libertie, both at that time in danger to be lost. And such men they were, as by the Kingdom were sent to advise him, not sent to be cavill'd at, because elected, or to be entertained by him with an undervalue and misprision of their temper, judgement, or affection. In vaine was a Parliament thought fittest by the known Laws of our Nation, to advise and regulate unruly Kings, if they, instead of hearkning to advice, should be permitted to turn it off, and refuse it by vilifying and traducing thir advisers, or by accusing of a popular heat those that lawfully elected them.

His own and his Childrens interest oblig'd him to seek, and to preserve the love and welfare of his Subjects. Who doubts it? But the same interest, common to all Kings, was never yet available to make them all seek that, which was indeed best for

for themselves and thir Posteritie. All men by thir own and thir Childrens interest are oblig'd to Honesty and Justice : but how little that consideration works in private men, how much less in Kings, their deeds declare best.

He intended to oblige both Friends and Enemies, and to exceed their Desires, did they but pretend to any modest and sober sense ; mistaking the whole business of a Parliament. Which mett not to receive from him Obligations, but Justice ; nor hee to expect from them thir modesty, but their grave advice, utter'd with freedom in the public cause. His talk of modesty in thir desires of the common welfare, argues him not much to have understood what he had to grant, who misconceav'd so much the nature of what they had to desire. And for sober sense, the expression was too mean, and recoiles with as much dishonour upon himselve, to be a King where sober sense could possibly be so wanting in a Parliament.

*The odium and offences which some mens rigour, or remissness in Church and State had contracted upon his Government, hee resolved to have expiated with better Laws and Regulations. And yet the worst of misdemeanors committed by the worst of all his favourites in the hight of thir dominion, whether acts of rigor or remissness, he hath from time to time continu'd, own'd, and tak'n upon himself by public Declarations, as oft'n as the Clergie, or any other of his Instruments felt themselves overburdn'd with the peoples hatred. And who knows not the superstitious rigor of his Sundays Chappel, and the licentious remissness of his Sundays Theater ; accompanied with that reverend Statute for *Dominical* Jigs and Maypoles, publisht in his own Name, and deriv'd from the example of his Father *James* ? Which testifies all that rigor in Superstition, all that remissness in Religion to have issu'd out originally from his own House, and from his own Authority. Much rather then may those general miscarriages in State, his proper Sphear, be imputed to no other person chiefly than to himself. And which of all those oppressive Acts or Impositions did he ever disclaime or disavow, till the fatal aw of this Parliament hung ominously over him ? Yet heer hee smoothly seeks to wipe off all the envy of his evill Government upon his Substitutes and under Officers ; and promises, though much too late, what wonders he purpos'd to have don in the reforming of Religion ; a work wherein all his undertakings heretofore declare him to have had little or no judgment : Neither could his breeding, or his cours of life acquaint him with a thing so spiritual. Which may well assure us what kind of Reformation we could expect from him ; either some politic form of an impos'd Religion, or els perpetual vexation and persecution to all those that comply'd not with such a form. The like amendment he promises in State ; not a step further then his *Reason and Conscience* told him was fit to bee desir'd ; wishing hee had kept within those bounds, and not suffer'd his own judgment to have bin over-born in some things, of which things one was the Earle of *Straffords* execution. And what signifies all this, but that still his resolution was the same to set up an arbitrary Government of his own, and that all *Britain* was to bety'd and chain'd to the conscience, judgment, and reason of one Man ; as if those gifts had been only his Peculiar and Prerogative, intail'd upon him with his fortune to be a King ? When as doubtless no man so obstinate, or so much a Tyrant, but professes to be guided by that which he calls his Reason and his Judgment, tho never so corrupted ; and pretends also his Conscience. In the mean while for any Parliament, or the whole Nation to have either reason, judgment, or conscience by this rule, was altogether in vaine, if it thwarted the King's Will ; which was easie for him to call by any other more plausible name. And thus we find these faire and specious promises, made upon the experience of many hard sufferings, and his most mortifi'd retirements, being thoroughly sifted, to contain nothing in them much different from his former practices, so cross and so aversé to all his Parliaments, and both the Nations of this Iland. What fruits they could in likelihood have produc'd in his reforement is obvious to any prudent foresight.*

And this is the substance of his first Section, till wee come to the devout of it, model'd into the form of a privat Psalter. Which they who so much admire the Arch-Bishops late Breviary, and many other as good *Manuels* and *Hand-maids of Devotion*, the lip-work of every Prelatical Liturgist, clapt together, and quilted out of Scripture-phraze, with as much ease, and as little need of Christian diligence or judgment as belongs to the compiling of any ordinary

and fable piece of English Divinity that the Shops value. But he who from such a kind of Psalmistry, or any other verbal Devotion, without the pledge and earnest of futable deeds, can be perswaded of a zeal and true righteousness in the person, hath much yet to learn, and knows not that the deepest policy of a Tyrant hath been ever to counterfet Religious. And *Aristotle* in his *Politics* hath mentioned that special craft among twelve other tyrannical *Sophisms*. Neither want we examples: *Andronicus Comnenus* the *Byzantine* Emperor, though a most cruel Tyrant, is reported by *Nicetas* to have been a constant reader of *Saint Pauls* Epistles; and by continual study had so incorporated the phrase and stile of that transcendent Apostle into all his familiar Letters, that the imitation seem'd to vie with the original. Yet this availd not to deceive the people of that Empire, who notwithstanding his Saints vizard, tore him to peeces for his Tyranny. From Stories of this nature both antient and modern which abound, the Poets also, and som English have been in this point so mindfull of *Decorum*, as to put never more pious words in the mouth of any person then of a Tyrant. I shall not instance an abstruse Author, wherein the King might be less conversant, but one whom wee well know was the Closet Companion of these his solitudes, *William Shakespeare*, who introduces the Perion of *Richard* the third, speaking in as high a strain of pietie and mortification as is utterd in any passage of this Book; and sometimes to the same sense and purpose with some words in this place; *I intended, saith he, not onely to oblige my Friends, but mine Enemies.* The like saith *Richard*, *Act 2. Scen. 1.*

*I do not know that Englishman alive,
With whom my soule is any jot at odds,
More then the Infant that is born to night;
I thank my God for my humilitie.*

Other stuff of this sort may be read throughout the whole Tragedie, wherein the Poet us'd not much licence in departing from the truth of History, which delivers him a deep dissembler, not of his affections onely, but of Religion.

In praying therefore, and in the outward work of Devotion, this King we see hath not at all exceeded the worst of Kings before him. But herein the worst of Kings, professing Christianity, have by farr exceeded him. They, for ought we know, still pray'd their own, or at least borrowed from fit Authors. But this King, not content with that which, although in a thing holy, is no holy theft, to attribute to his own making other mens whole Prayers, hath as it were unhallow'd and unchristn'd the very duty of Prayer it self, by borrowing to a Christian use Prayers offerd to a Heathen God. Who would have imagin'd so little feare in him of the true all-seeing Deitie, so little reverence of the Holy Ghost, whose office is to dictat and present our Christian Prayers, so little care of truth in his last words, or honour to himself, or to his Friends, or sense of his afflictions, or of that sad hour which was upon him, as immediatly before his death to pop into the hand of that grave Bishop who attended him, as a special Relique of his Saintly exercises, a Prayer stol'n word for word from the mouth of a Heathen Woman praying to a Heathen God; and that in no serious Book, but in the vain amatorious Poem of *Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia*; a Book in that kind full of worth and witt, but among religious thoughts and duties not worthy to be nam'd; nor to be read at any time without good caution, much less in time of trouble and affliction to be a Christians Prayer-Book? It hardly can be thought upon without som laughter, that he who had acted over us so stately and so tragically, should leave the World at last with such a ridiculous exit, as to bequeath among his deifying friends that stood about him such a piece of mockery to be publiht by them, as must needs cover both his and their heads with shame and confusion. And sure it was the hand of God that let them fall, and be taken in such a foolish Trapp, as hath expos'd them to all derision, if for nothing els, to throw contempt and disgrace in the sight of all Men upon this his idoliz'd Book, and the whole rosarie of his Prayers; thereby testifying how little he accepted them from those who thought no better of the living God than of a Buzzard Idol, that would be serv'd and worshipt with the polluted trash of Romances and *Arcadias*,

cadias, without discerning the affront so irreliously and so boldly offer'd him to his face.

Thus much be said in general to his Prayers, and in special to that Arcadian Prayer us'd in his Captivity ; enough to undeceive us what esteem we are to set upon the rest.

And thus farr in the whole Chapter we have seen and consider'd, and it cannot but be clear to all men, how and for what ends, what concerns and necessities the late King was no way induc'd, but every way constrain'd to call this last Parliament : yet here in his first Prayer he trembles not to avow as in the ears of God, *That he did it with an upright intention to his Glory, and his peoples Good* : of which dreadful Attestation how sincerely meant, God, to whom it was avow'd, can only judg ; and he hath judg'd already, and hath writt'n his impartial Sentence in Characters legible to all Christ'ndom ; and besides hath taught us that there be some whom he hath giv'n over to delusion, whose very Mind and Conscience is defil'd, of whom Saint *Paul* to *Titus* makes mention.

II. Upon the Earle of Strafford's Death.

THIS next Chapter is a penitent Confession of the King, and the strangest, if it be well weigh'd, that ever was Auricular. For he repents heer of giving his Consent, though most unwillingly, to the most seasonable and solemn piece of Justice that had bin done of many years in the Land : But his sole Conscience thought the contrary. And thus was the welfare, the safety, and within a little, the unanimous demand of three populous Nations to have attended still on the singularity of one Man's opinionated Conscience ; if men had always been so tame and spiritless, and had not unexpectedly found the grace to understand, that if his Conscience were so narrow and peculiar to it self, it was not fit his Authority should be so ample and universal over others : For certainly a private Conscience sorts not with a publick Calling, but declares that Person rather meant by nature for a private Fortune. And this also we may take for truth, that he whose Conscience thinks it sin to put to death a capital Offendor, will as oft think it meritorious to kill a righteous Person. But let us hear what the sin was that lay so fore upon him ; and as his Prayer giv'n to Dr. *Fuxton*, testifies to the very day of his death, it was his signing the Bill of *Strafford's* execution : A Man whom all men look'd upon as one of the boldest and most impetuous Instruments that the King had to advance any violent or illegal Design. He had rul'd *Ireland* and som parts of *England*, in an arbitrary manner ; had endeavour'd to subvert fundamental Laws, to subvert Parliaments, and to incense the King against them ; he had also endeavour'd to make Hostility between *England* and *Scotland* : He had counsel'd the King to call over that Irish Army of Papists, which he had cunningly rais'd, to reduce *England*, as appear'd by good Testimony then present at the Consultation : For which, and many other Crimes alleg'd and prov'd against him in 28 Articles, he was condemn'd of High Treason by the Parliament. The Commons by far the greater number cast him ; the Lords after they had bin satisfi'd in a full Discourse by the King's Solicitor, and the Opinions of many Judges deliver'd in their House, agreed likewise to the Sentence of Treason. The People universally cri'd out for Justice. None were his Friends but Courtiers and Clergymen, the worst at that time, and most corrupted sort of Men ; and Court-Ladies, not the best of Women ; who when they grow to that insolence as to appear active in State-Affairs, are the certain sign of a dissolute, degenerat, and pusillanimous Common-wealth. Last of all the King, or rather first, for these were but his Apes, was not satisfi'd in Conscience to condemn him of High Treason ; and declar'd to both Houses, *That no fears or respects whatsoever should make him alter that Resolution founded upon his Conscience*. Either then his Resolution was indeed not founded upon his Conscience, or his

Conscience receav'd better information, or els both his Conscience and this his strong Resolution strook fail, notwithstanding these glorious words, to his stronger fear; for within a few days after, when the Judges at a privie Council, and four of his elected Bishops had pick'd the thorn out of his Conscience, he was at length perswaded to signe the Bill for *Strafford's* Execution. And yet perhaps that it wrung his Conscience to condemn the *Earl* of High Treason is not unlikely; not because he thought him guiltless of highest Treason, had half those Crimes bin committed against his owne privat Interest or Person, as appear'd plainly by his charge against the six Members; but because he knew himself a Principal in what the *Earl* was but an Accessory, and thought nothing Treason against the Common-wealth, but against himself only.

Had he really scrupl'd to sentence that for Treason which he thought not treasonable, why did he seem retolv'd by the Judges and the Bishops? and if by them resolv'd, how comes the scruple heer again? It was not then as he now pretends, *The importunities of some, and the fear of many*, which made him sign, but the satisfaction giv'n him by those Judges and ghostly Fathers of his own choosing. Which of him shall we believe? for he seems not one, but double; either here we must not beleeve him professing that his Satisfaction was but seemingly receav'd and out of fear, or els we may as well beleeve that the scruple was no real scruple, as we can beleeve him heer against himself before, that the satisfaction then receiv'd was no real satisfaction: of such a variable and fleeting Conscience what hold can be tak'n? But that indeed it was a facile Conscience, and could dissemble satisfaction when it pleas'd, his own insuing Actions declar'd; being soon after found to have the chief hand in a most detested Conspiracy against the Parliament and Kingdom, as by Letters and Examinations of *Percy*, *Goring*, and other Conspirators came to light; that his intention was to rescue the *Earl* of *Strafford*, by seizing on the Tower of *London*; to bring up the English Army out of the North, joyn'd with eight thousand Irish Papists rais'd by *Strafford*, and a French Army to be landed at *Portsmouth* against the Parliament and thir Friends. For which purpose the King, though requested by both Houses to disband those Irish Papists, refus'd to do it, and kept them still in armes to his own purposes. No marvel then, if being as deeply criminous as the *Earl* himself, it stung his Conscience to adjudg to death those misdeeds whereof himself had been the chief Author: no marvel though instead of blaming and detesting his Ambition, his evil Counsel, his violence and oppression of the People, he fall to praise his great *Abilities*, and with Scolaſtick Flourishes beneath the decencie of a King, compares him to the *Sun*, which in all figurative use and significance beares allusion to a King, not to a Subject: No marvel though he knit Contradictions as close, as words can lie together, *not approving in his judgment*, and yet approving in his subsequent reason all that *Strafford* did, as *driv'n by the necessity of times, and the temper of that people*; for this excuses all his Misdemeanors: Lastly, no marvel that he goes on building many fair and pious Conclusions upon false and wicked Premises, which deceive the common Reader, not well discerning the antipathy of such Connexions: but this is the marvel, and may be the astonishment of all that have a Conscience, how he durst in the sight of God (and with the same words of contrition wherewith *David* repents the murdering of *Uriah*) repent his lawful compliance to that just act of not saving him, whom he ought to have deliver'd up to speedy punishment, though himself the guiltier of the two. If the deed were so sinful to have put to death so great a Malefactor, it would have tak'n much doubtless from the heaviness of his Sin, to have told God in his Confession, how he labour'd, what dark Plots he had contriv'd, into what a League entred, and with what Conspirators against his Parliament and Kingdoms, to have rescu'd from the claim of Justice so notable and so dear an Instrument of Tyranny; which would have bin a Story, no doubt, as pleasing in the ears of Heav'n, as all these equivocal Repentances. For it was fear, and nothing els, which made him fain before both the scruple and the satisfaction of his Conscience, that is to say, of his mind: his first fear, pretended Conscience, that he might be born with to refuse signing; his latter fear being more urgent, made him find a Conscience both to sign, and to be satisfy'd. As for Repentance it came not on him till a long time after; when he saw he could have suffer'd nothing more though he had deny'd that Bill. For how could

could he understandingly repent of letting that be Treason which the Parliament and whole Nation so judg'd? This was that which repented him, to have giv'n up to just punishment so stout a Champion of his Designs, who might have bin so useful to him in his following civil Broiles. It was a worldly Repentance, not a conscientious; or els it was a strange Tyranny which his Conscience had got over him, to vex him like an evil Spirit for doing one act of Justice, and by that means to *fortify his Resolution* from ever doing so any more. That mind must needs be irrecoverably deprav'd, which either by chance or importunity, tasting but once of one just deed, spatters at it and abhors the relish ever after. To the Scribes and Pharisees, Wo was denounc'd by our Saviour, for straining at a Gnat and swallowing a Camel, though a Gnat were to be strain'd at: But to a Conscience with whom one good deed is so hard to pass down as to endanger almost a choaking, and bad deeds without number, though as big and bulkie as the ruin of three Kingdoms, go down currently without straining, certainly a far greater woe appertains. If his Conscience were come to that unnatural *Dyscrasy*, as to digest poyson and to keck at wholesom food, it was not for the Parliament, or any of his Kingdoms to feed with him any longer. Which to conceal he would perswade us that the Parliament also in their Conscience escap'd not *some touches of remorse* for putting *Strafford* to death, in forbidding it by an *after-act* to be a Precedent for the future. But in a fairer construction, that act impli'd rather a desire in them to pacifie the King's mind, whom they perceav'd by this means quite alienated; in the mean while not imagining that this after-act should be retorted on them to tie up Justice for the time to come upon like occasion, whether this were made a Precedent or not, no more then the want of such a Precedent, if it had bin wanting, had bin available to hinder this.

But how likely is it that this after-act argu'd in the Parliament thir least repenting for the death of *Strafford*, when it argu'd so little in the King himself, who notwithstanding this after-act, which had his own hand and concurrence, if not his own instigation, within the same year accus'd of High Treason no less than six Members at once for the same pretended Crimes which his Conscience would not yield to think treasonable in the Earl: So that this his suttile Argument to fast'n a repenting, and by that means a guiltiness of *Strafford's* death upon the Parliament, concludes upon his own head; and shews us plainly that either nothing in his judgment was Treason against the Common-wealth, but only against the King's Person; a tyrannical Principle; or that his Conscience was a perverse and prevaricating Conscience, to scruple that the Common-wealth should punish for treasonous in one eminent Offender, that which he himself sought so vehemently to have punisht in six guiltless persons. If this were *that touch of Conscience which he bore with greater regret* then for any other sin committed in his life, whether it were that proditory Aid sent to *Rochel* and Religion abroad, or that prodigality of shedding blood at home, to a million of his Subjects lives not valu'd in comparison of one *Strafford*, we may consider yet at last what true sense and feeling could be in that Conscience, and what fitness to be the Master-conscience of three Kingdoms.

But the reason why he labours that we should take notice of so much *tenderness and regret in his Soul* for having any hand in *Strafford's* death, is worth the marking ere we conclude: He hop'd it would be some evidence before God and Man to all posteritie that he was farr from bearing that vast load and guilt of blood layd upon him by others: Which hath the likeness of a suttile Dissimulation, bewailing the blood of one Man, his commodious Instrument, put to death most justly, though by him unwillingly, that we might think him too tender to shed willingly the blood of those thousands, whom he counted Rebels. And thus by dipping voluntarily his fingers end, yet with shew of great remorse, in the blood of *Strafford*, whereof all Men cleer him, he thinks to scape that Sea of innocent blood wherein his own guilt inevitably hath plung'd him all over. And we may well perceive to what easie satisfactions and purgations he had inur'd his secret Conscience, who thinks by such weak policies and ostentations as these to gain belief and absolution from understanding Men.

III. Upon his going to the House of Commons.

CONCERNING his unexcusable and hostile march from the Court to the House of Commons, there needs not much be said; for he confesses it to be an act which most men whom he calls *his Enemies* cry'd shame upon, *indifferent men* grew jealous of and fearfull, and many of his *Friends* resented, as a motion arising rather from passion than reason: He himself in one of his Answers to both Houses made profession to be convinc'd that it was a plaine breach of thir Privilege; yet here like a rotten building newly trimm'd over, he represents it speciously and fraudulently, to impose upon the simple Reader; and seeks by smooth and suttile words not here only, but through his whole Book, to make some beneficial use or other even of his worst miscarriages.

These Men, saith he, meaning his *Friends*, knew not the just motives and pregnant grounds with which I thought my self furnished; to wit, against the five Members whom he came to dragg out of the House. His best *Friends* indeed knew not, nor could ever know his Motives to such a riotous act: and had he himselfe known any just grounds, he was not ignorant how much it might have tended to his justifying, had he nam'd them in this place, and not conceal'd them. But to suppose them real, suppose them known, what was this to that violation and dishonour put upon the whole House, whose very dore forcibly kept op'n, and all the passages neer it he besett with Swords and Pistols cockt and menac'd in the hands of about three hundred Swaggerers and Ruffians, who but expected, nay audibly call'd for, the word of Onset to begin a slaughter.

He had discover'd as he thought unlawfull correspondencies which they had us'd, and Engagements to imbroyle his Kingdomes, and remembers not his own unlawfull Correspondencies and Conspiracies with the Irish Army of Papists, with the French to land at Portsmouth, and his tampering both with the English and Scotch Army to come up against the Parliament: the least of which attempts by whomsoever, was no less then manifest Treason against the Common-wealth.

If to demand Justice on the five Members were his Plea, for that which they with more reason might have demanded Justice upon him (I use his own Argument) there needed not so rough assistance. If hee had resolv'd to bear that repuls with patience, which his Queen by her words to him at his return little thought he would have done, wherefore did he provide against it with such an armed and unusual Force? But his heart serv'd him not to undergoe the hazzard that such a desperate scuffle would have brought him to. But wherfore did he goe at all, it behooving him to know there were two Statutes that declar'd he ought first to have acquainted the Parliament who were the Accusers, which he refus'd to doe, though itill professing to govern by Law, and still justifying his attempts against Law: And when he saw it was not permitted him to attaint them but by a fair tryal, as was offer'd him from time to time, for want of just matter which yet never came to light, he let the business fall of his own accord; and all those Pregnancies and just motives came to just nothing.

He had no temptation of displeasure or revenge against those Men: None but what he thirsted to execute upon them, for the constant opposition which they made against his tyrannous Proceedings, and the love and reputation which they therefore had among the people.

He mist but little to have produc'd Writings under some Mens own hands. But yet he mist, though their Chambers, Trunks, and Studies were seal'd up and searcht; yet not found guilty. Providence would not have it so. Good Providence that curbs the raging of proud Monarchs, as well as of madd Multitudes. Yet he wanted not such probabilities (for his pregnant is come now to probable) as were sufficient to raise jealousies in any King's heart: And thus his pregnant motives are at last prov'd nothing but a Tympany, or a Queen Maries Cushion; for in any Kings heart, as Kings go now, what shadowie conceit or groundless toy will not create a Jealousie?

That he had design'd to assault the House of Commons, taking God to witness, he utterly denies; yet in his Answer to the City, maintains that any course of violence

lence had bin very justifiable. And we may then guess how far it was from his design: However it discover'd in him an excessive eagerness to be aveng'd on them that cross'd him; and that to have his will, he stood not to doe things never so much below him. What a becoming sight it was to see the King of England one while in the House of Commons, by and by in the *Guild-Hall* among the Liveries and Manufactures, prosecuting so greedily the track of five or six fled Subjects; himself not the Soliciter only but the Pursivant, and the Apparitor of his own partial Cause. And although in his Answers to the Parliament, he hath confess'd, first that his manner of prosecution was illegal, next that as he once conceiv'd he had ground enough to accuse them, so at length that he found as good cause to desert any prosecution of them; yet here he seems to reverse all, and against promise takes up his old deserted Accusation, that he might have something to excuse himself, instead of giving due reparation, which he always refus'd to give them whom he had so dishonour'd.

That I went, saith he of his going to the House of Commons, attended with some Gentlemen; Gentlemen indeed, the ragged Infantrie of Stewes and Brothels; the spawn and shipwrack of Taverns and Dicing-Houses: and then he pleads it was no unwonted thing for the Majesty and safety of a King to be so attended, especially in discontented times. An illustrious Majestie no doubtr, so attended; a becoming safety for the King of England, plac'd in the fidelity of such Guards and Champions: happy times, when Braves and Hacksters, the only contented Members of his Government, were thought the fittest and the faithfullest to defend his Person against the discontents of a Parliament and all good Men. Were those the chos'n ones to preserve reverence to him, while he enter'd unassur'd, and full of suspicions, into his great and faithful Counsel? Let God then and the World judg whether the Cause were not in his own guilty and unwarrantable doings: The House of Commons upon severall Examinations of this buisness declar'd it sufficiently prov'd that the comming of those Souldiers, Papists and others with the King, was to take away some of thir Members, and in case of opposition or denial, to have fall'n upon the House in a hostile manner. This the King here denies; adding a fearful Imprecation against his own life, *If he purposed any violence or oppression against the Innocent, then, saith he, let the Enemy persecute my Soul, and tread my life to the ground, and lay my Honour in the dust.* What need then more disputing? He appeal'd to God's Tribunal, and behold God hath judg'd and done to him in the sight of all men according to the verdict of his own mouth: To be a warning to all Kings hereafter how they use presumptuously the words and protestations of *David*, without the spirit and conscience of *David*. And the King's admirers may heer see thir madness, to mistake this Book for a monument of his worth and wisdom, when as indeed it is his *Doomsday Booke*; not like that of *William the Norman* his Predecessor, but the record and memorial of his Condemnation; and discovers whatever hath befall'n him, to have bin hast'nd on from Divine Justice by the rash and inconsiderat Appeal of his own lips. But what evasions, what pretences, though never so unjust and emptie, will he refuse in matters more unknown, and more involv'd in the mists and intricacies of State, who, rather than not justifie himself in a thing so generally odious, can flatter his Integritie with such frivolous excuses against the manifest dissent of all men, whether Enemies, Neuters, or Friends. But God and his Judgments have not bin mock'd; and good men may well perceive what a distance there was ever like to be between him and his Parliament, and perhaps between him and all amendment, who for one good deed, though but consented to, asks God forgiveness; and from his worst deeds done, takes occasion to insist upon his righteousness.

IV. *Upon the Insolency of the Tumults.*

WE have here, I must confess, a neat and well-couch'd invective against Tumults, expressing a true fear of them in the Author ; but yet so handsomly compos'd, and withal so feelingly, that, to make a Royal comparifon, I believe *Rehoboam*, the Son of *Solon*, could not have compos'd it better. Yet *Rehoboam* had more cause to inveigh against them ; for they had ston'd his Tribute-gatherer, and perhaps had as little spar'd his own Person, had he not with all speed betak'n him to his Charret. But this King hath stood the worst of them in his own House without danger, when his Coach and Horses, in a panic feare, have bin to seek, which argues that the Tumults at *Whitehall* were nothing so dangerous as those at *Sechem*.

But the matter here considerable is not whether the King, or his Household *Rhetorician* have made a pithy declamation against Tumults, but first whether these were Tumults or not ; next if they were, whether the King himself did not cause them. Let us examin therefore how things at that time stood. The King, as before hath bin prov'd, having both call'd this Parliament unwillingly, and as unwillingly from time to time condescended to thir several acts, carrying on a disjoint and privat interest of his own, and not enduring to be so cross'd and overswaid, especially in the executing of his chief and boldest Instrument, the Deputy of *Ireland*, first tempts the English Army, with no less reward than the spoil of *London*, to come up and destroy the Parliament. That being discover'd by some of the Officers, who, tho bad enough, yet abhorr'd so foul a deed, the King hard'nd in his purpose, turns him next to the Scotch Army, and baites his temptation with a richer reward ; not only to have the sacking of *London*, but four Northern Counties to be made Scottish, with Jewels of great value to be giv'n in pawn the while. But neither would the Scots, for any promise of reward, be bought to such an execrable and odious treachery ; but with much honesty gave notice of the Kings design both to the Parliament and City of *London*. The Parliament moreover had intelligence, and the people could not but discern that there was a bitter and malignant party grown up now to such a boldness, as to give out insolent and threatening speeches against the Parliament it self. Besides this, the Rebellion in *Ireland* was now broke out ; and a Conspiracy in *Scotland* had been made, while the King was there, against some chief Members of that Parliament ; great numbers here of unknown and suspicious persons resorted to the City. The King being return'd from *Scotland*, presently dismisses that Guard which the Parliament thought necessary in the midst of so many dangers to have about them, and puts another Guard in thir place, contrary to the privilege of that high Court, and by such a one commanded, as made them no less doubtful of the Guard it self. Which they therefore upon some ill effects thereof first found, discharge ; deeming it more safe to sit free, tho without a Guard, in op'n danger, then inclos'd with a suspected safety. The people therefore, lest thir worthiest and most faithful Patriots, who had expos'd themselves for the public, and whom they saw now left naked, should want aid, or be deserted in the midst of these dangers, came in multitudes, tho unarm'd, to witness their fidelity and readines in case of any violence offer'd to the Parliament. The King both envying to see the peoples love thus devolv'd on another object, and doubting lest it might utterly disable him to do with Parliaments as he was wont, sent a Messäge into the City forbidding such resorts. The Parliament also both by what was discover'd to them, and what they saw in a malignant Party (some of which had already drawn blood in a Fray or two at the Court Gate, and ev'n at thir own Gate in *Westminster-Hall*) conceaving themselves to be still in danger where they sate, sent a most reasonable and just Petition to the King, that a Guard might be allow'd them out of the City, whereof the Kings own *Chamberlain*, the Earl of *Essex*, might have command ; it being the right of inferiour Courts to make chois of thir own Guard. This the King refus'd to do, and why he refus'd, the very next day made manifest : For on that day it was that he sallied out from *Whitehall*, with those trusty *Myrmidons*, to block up, or give assault to the House of Commons.

Commons. He had, besides all this, begun to fortify his Court, and entertain'd armed Men not a few; who standing at his Palace Gate, revil'd, and with drawn Swords wounded many of the People, as they went by unarm'd, and in a peaceable manner, whereof some dy'd. The passing by of a multitude, tho neither to St. George's Feast, nor to a Tilting, certainly of it self was no Tumult; the expression of thir loyalty and stedfastness to the Parliament, whose lives and safeties by more than slight rumors they doubted to be in danger, was no Tumult. If it grew to be so, the cause was in the King himself and his injurious retinue, who both by hostile preparations in the Court, and by actual assailing of the People, gave them just cause to defend themselves.

Surely those unarmed and petitioning people needed not have been so formidable to any, but to such whose consciences misgave them how ill they had deserv'd of the people; and first began to injure them, because they justly fear'd it from them; and then ascribe that to popular Tumult, which was occasion'd by thir own provoking.

And that the King was so emphatical and elaborat on this Theam against Tumults, and express'd with such a vehemence his hatred of them, will redound less perhaps than he was aware to the commendation of his Government. For besides that in good Governments they happ'n seldomest, and rise not without cause, if they prove extreme and pernicious, they were never counted so to Monarchy, but to Monarchical Tyranny; and extremes one with another are at most antipathy. If then the King so extremely stood in fear of Tumults, the inference will endanger him to be the other extreme. Thus far the occasion of this discours against Tumults; now to the discourse it self, voluble enough, and full of sentence, but that, for the most part, either specious rather than solid, or to his cause nothing pertinent.

He never thought any thing more to presage the mischiefs that ensued, than those Tumults. Then was his foresight but short, and much mistak'n. Those Tumults were but the mild effects of an evil and injurious reign; not signs of mischiefs to come, but seeking relief for mischiefs past: those signs were to be read more apparent in his rage and purpos'd revenge of those free expostulations and clamors of the people against his lawless Government. *Not any thing, saith he, portends more God's displeasure against a Nation than when he suffers the clamours of the Vulgar to pass all bounds of Law and reverence to Authority.* It portends rather his displeasure against a tyrannous King, whose proud Throne he intends to overturn by that contemptible Vulgar; the sad cries and oppressions of whom his Royaltie regarded not. As for that supplicating people, they did no hurt either to Law or Authority, but stood for it rather in the Parliament against whom they fear'd would violate it.

That they invaded the Honour and Freedom of the two Houses, is his own officious accusation, not seconded by the Parliament, who had they seen cause, were themselves best able to complain. And if they shook and menac'd any, they were such as had more relation to the Court than to the Commonwealth; Enemies, not Patrons of the people. But if their petitioning unarmed were an invasion of both Houses, what was his entrance into the House of Commons, besetting it with armed men? In what condition then was the honour and freedom of that House?

They forebore not rude deportments, contemptuous words and actions to himself and his Court.

It was more wonder, having heard what treacherous hostility he had design'd against the City and his whole Kingdom, that they forbore to handle him as people in thir rage have handl'd Tyrants heretofore for less offences.

They were not a short Ague, but a fierce quotidian Fever. He indeed may best say it, who most felt it; for the shaking was within him, and it shook him by his own description worse than a Storm, worse than an Earthquake; Belshazzars Palsy. Had not worse fears, terrors, and envies made within him that commotion, how could a multitude of his Subjects, arm'd with no other weapon then Petitions, have shak'n all his joints with such a terrible Ague? Yet that the Parliament should entertain the least fear of bad intentions from him or his party, he endures not; but would perswade us that *men scare themselves and others without cause*: for he thought fear would be to them a kind of Armor, and his design was, if possible, to disarm all, especially of a wise fear and suspicion; for that he knew would find weapons.

He goes on therefore with vehemence to repeat the mischiefs done by these Tumults. *They first petitioned, then protested; dilate next, and lastly overaw the Parliament. They remov'd obstructions, they purg'd the House, cast out rotten members.* If there were a man of iron, such as *Talus*, by our Poet *Spencer*, is feign'd to be the page of Justice, who with his iron Flail could do all this, and expeditiously, without those deceitful forms and circumstances of Law, worse than ceremonies in Religion; I say God send it done, whether by one *Talus*, or by a thousand.

But they subdu'd the men of conscience in Parliament, back'd and abetted all seditious and schismatical Proposals against Government ecclesiastical and civil.

Now we may perceive the root of his hatred whence it springs. It was not the King's grace or princely goodnes, but this iron Flail, the People, that drove the Bishops out of thir Baronies, out of thir Cathedrals, out of the Lords House, out of thir Copes and Surplices, and all those Papistical innovations, threw down the High-Commission and Star chamber, gave us a Triennial Parliament, and what we most desir'd; in revenge whereof he now so bitterly inveighs against them: these are those seditious and schismatical Proposals then by him condescended to as acts of Grace, now of another name; which declares him, touching matters of Church and State, to have been no other man in the deepest of his Solitude, than he was before at the highest of his Sovereignty.

But this was not the worst of these Tumults, they plaid the hasty *Midwives*, and would not stay the ripening, but went straight to ripping up, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes.

They would not stay perhaps the Spanish demurring, and putting off such wholsom acts and counsels, as the politic Cabinet at *Whitehall* had no mind to. But all this is complain'd here as done to the Parliament, and yet we heard not the Parliament at that time complain of any violence from the people, but from him. Wherefore intrudes he to plead the cause of Parliament against the people, while the Parliament was pleading thir own cause against him, and against him were forced to seek refuge of the people? 'Tis plain then that those confluxes and resorts interrupted not the Parliament, nor by them were thought tumultuous, but by him only and his Court Faction.

But what good man had not rather want any thing he most desired for the public good, than attain it by such unlawful and irreligious means? as much as to say, Had not rather sit still, and let his COUNTRY be tyranniz'd, than that the people, finding no other remedy, should stand up like Men, and demand thir Rights and Liberties. This is the artificialest piece of fineness to perswade Men to be Slaves, that the wit of Court could have invented. But hear how much better the Moral of this Lesson would besit the Teacher: What good man had not rather want a boundless and arbitrary power, and those fire Flowers of the Crown, call'd Prerogatives, then for them to use force and perpetual vexation to his faithful Subjects, nay to wade for them through Blood and civil War? So that this and the whole bundle of those following sentences may be apply'd better to the conviction of his own violent courses, than of those pretended Tumults.

Who were the chief Demagogues to send for those Tumults, some alive are not ignorant. Setting aside the affrightment of this Goblin word; for the King by his leave, cannot coin English, as he could Money, to be current (and 'tis believ'd this wording was above his known Stile and Orthography, and accus'd the whole composition to be conscious of some other Author) yet if the People were sent for, embold'nd and directed by those Demagogues, who, saving his Greek, were good Patriots, and by his own confession *Men of some repute for Parts and Piety*, it helps well to assure us there was both urgent cause, and the less danger of thir coming.

Complaints were made, yet no redress could be obtain'd. The Parliament also complain'd of what danger they sate in from another party, and demanded of him a Guard, but it was not granted. What marvel then if it chear'd them to see some store of thir Friends, and in the Roman, not the pettifogging sense, thir Clients so neer about them; a defence due by nature both from whom it was offer'd, and to whom, as due as to thir Parents; tho' the Court storm'd and fretted to see such honour giv'n to them, who were then best Fathers

thers of the Common-wealth. And both the Parliament and People complain'd, and demanded Justice for those assaults, if not Murders done at his own doors by that crew of Rufflers; but he, instead of doing Justice on them, justifi'd and abetted them in what they did, as in his public Answer to a Petition from the City may be read. Neither is it slightly to be pass'd over, that in the very place where Blood was first drawn in this Cause, as the beginning of all that follow'd, there was his own Blood shed by the Executioner: According to that sentence of Divine Justice; *In the place where Dogs lick'd the Blood of Naboth, shall Dogs lick thy Blood, ev'n thine.*

From hence he takes occasion to excuse that improvident and fatal error of his absenting from the Parliament. *When he found that no Declaration of the Bishops could take place against those Tumults.* Was that worth his considering, that foolish and self-undoing Declaration of twelve Cypher Bishops, who were immediately appeacht of Treason for that audacious Declaring? The Bishops peradventure were now and then pull'd by the Rochets, and deserv'd another kind of pulling; but what amounted this to *the fear of his own Person in the Streets*? Did he not the very next day after his irruption into the House of Commons, than which nothing had more exasperated the people, go in his Coach unguarded into the City? Did he receive the least affront, much less violence in any of the Streets, but rather humble demeanors and supplications? Hence may be gather'd, that however in his own guiltiness he might have justly fear'd, yet that he knew the people so full of aw and reverence to his Person, as to dare commit himself single among the thickest of them, at a time when he had most provok'd them. Besides in *Scotland* they had handled the Bishops in a more robustious manner; *Edinburgh* had bin full of Tumults, two Armies from thence had entred *England* against him: yet after all this he was not fearful, but very forward to take so long a Journey to *Edinburgh*; which argues first, as did also his rendition afterward to the Scotch Army, that to *England* he continu'd still, as he was indeed, a stranger, and full of diffidence; to the Scots only a native King, in his confidence, tho not in his dealing towards them. It shews us next beyond doubting, that all this his fear of Tumults was but a meer pretence and occasion tak'n of his resolved absence from the Parliament for some other end not difficult to be guess'd. And those instances wherein valour is not to be question'd for not *scuffling with the Sea, or an undisciplin'd Rabble*, are but subservient to carry on the solemn jest of his fearing Tumults; if they discover not withal the true reason why he departed, only to turn his slashing at the Court Gate to slaughtering *in the Field*; his disorderly bickering to an orderly invading; which was nothing els but a more orderly disorder.

Some suspected and affirm'd that he meditated a War, when he went first from Whitehall. And they were not the worst heads that did so, nor did any of his former acts weak'n him to that, as he alledges for himself; or if they had, they cleer him only for the time of passing them, not for whatever thoughts might come after into his mind. Former actions of improvidence or fear, not with him unusual, cannot absolve him of all after-meditations.

He goes on protesting his *no intention to have left Whitehall*, had these horrid Tumults giv'n him but *fair Quarter*, as if he himself, his Wife and Children had been in peril. But to this enough hath bin answer'd.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its first Election, namely with the Lord and Baron Bishops, *safe full and free*, he doubts not but all had gon well. What warrant is this of his to us? whose not doubting was all good mens greatest doubt.

He was resolv'd to hear Reason, and to consent so far as he could comprehend. A hopeful resolution: what if his reason were found by oft experience to comprehend nothing beyond his own advantages, was this a reason fit to be intrusted with the common good of three Nations?

But, saith he, *as Swine are to Gardens, so are Tumults to Parliaments.* This the Parliament, had they found it so, could best have told us. In the mean while who knows not that one great Hog may do as much mischief in a Garden as many little Swine? He was sometimes prone to think, that had he call'd this last Parliament to any other place in England, the sad consequences might have bin prevented. But change of Air changes not the mind. Was not his first Parliament

at *Oxford* dissolv'd after two Subsidies giv'n him, and no Justice receiv'd? Was not his last in the same place, where they sat with as much freedom, as much quiet from Tumults as they could desire, a Parliament, both in his account and their own, consisting of all his Friends, that fled after him, and suffer'd for him, and yet by him nicknam'd, and cashiered for a *Mangril Parliament*, that vex'd his *Queen with their base and mutinous motions*? as his Cabinet-letter tells us. Whereby the World may see plainly, that no shifting of place, no sifting of Members to his own mind, no number, no paucity, no freedom from Tumults could ever bring his arbitrary wilfulness, and tyrannical Designs to brook the least shape or similitude, the least counterfet of a Parliament.

Finally, instead of praying for his people as a good King should do, he prays to be deliver'd from them, as *from wild Beasts, Inundations, and raging Seas, that had overborn all Loyalty, Modesty, Laws, Justice, and Religion*. God save the People from such Intercessors.

V. Upon the Bill for Triennial Parliaments, and for settling this, &c.

THE Bill for Triennial Parliaments was doubtless a good Bill, and the other for settling this was at that time very expedient; and in the Kings own words no more then what the World was fully confirm'd he might in Justice, Reason, Honour, and Conscience grant them; for to that end he affirms to have don it.

But whereas he attributes the passing of them to his own act of Grace and Willingness, as his manner is to make Vertues of his necessities, and giving to himself all the praise, heaps ingratitude upon the Parliament, a little memory will set the clean contrary before us; that for those beneficial Acts we owe what we owe to the Parliament; but to his granting them neither praise nor thanks. The first Bill granted much less than two former Statutes yet in force by *Edward the third*; that a Parliament should be call'd every year, or oftner, if need were: nay from a far antienter Law-Book call'd the *Mirror*, it is affirm'd in a late Treatise call'd *Rights of the Kingdom*, that Parliaments by our old Laws ought twice a year to be at *London*. The second was so necessary that nothing in the power of man more seem'd to be the stay and support of all things from that steep ruin to which he had nigh brought them, then that Act obtain'd. He had by his ill Stewardship, and, to say no worse, the needless raising of two Armies intended for a civil War, begger'd both himself and the Public; and besides had left us upon the score of his needy Enemies for what it cost them in their own defence against him. To disengage him and the Kingdom great sums were to be borrow'd, which would never have bin lent, nor could ever be repaid, had the King chanced to dissolve this Parliament as heretofore. The Errors also of his Government had brought the Kingdom to such extremes, as were incapable of all recovery without the absolute continuance of this Parliament. It had bin els in vain to go about the settling of so great distempers, if he, who first caus'd the Malady, might, when he pleas'd, reject the Remedy. Notwithstanding all which, that he granted both these Acts unwillingly, and as a meer passive Instrument, was then visible ev'n to most of those men who now will see nothing.

At passing of the former Act he himself conceal'd not his unwillingness; and testifying a general dislike of their actions, which they then proceeded in with great approbation of the whole Kingdom, he told them with a masterly Brow, that *by this Act he had oblig'd them above what they had deserv'd*, and gave a piece of Justice to the Common-wealth three times short of his Predecessors, as if he had bin giving som boon, or begg'd office to a sort of his desertless Grooms.

That he pass'd the latter Act against his will, no man in reason can hold it questionable. For if the *February* before he made so dainty, and were so loth

to bestow a Parliament once in three years upon the Nation, because this had so oppos'd his courses, was it likely that the *May* following he should bestow willingly on this Parliament an indissoluble sitting, when they had offended him much more by cutting short and impeaching of High Treason his chief Favourites? It was his fear then, not his favour, which drew from him that Act, lest the Parliament, incens'd by his Conspiracies against them, about the same time discover'd, should with the People have resent'd too hainously those his doings, if to the suspicion of their danger from him he had also added the denial of this only means to secure themselves.

From these Acts therefore in which he glories, and wherewith so oft he upbraids the Parliament, he cannot justly expect to reap ought but dishonour and dispraise; as being both unwillingly granted, and the one granting much less than was before allow'd by Statute, the other being a testimony of his violent and lawless Custom, not only to break Privileges, but whole Parliaments; from which Enormity they were constrain'd to bind him first of all his Predecessors; never any before him having giv'n like causes of distrust and jealousy to his People. As for this Parliament, how far he was from being advis'd by them, as he ought, let his own words express.

He taxes them with *undoing what they found well done*: and yet knows they undid nothing in the Church but Lord Bishops, Liturgies, Ceremonies, High Commission, judg'd worthy by all true Protestants to be thrown out of the Church. They undid nothing in the State but irregular and grinding Courts, the main grievances to be remov'd; and if these were the things which in his opinion they found well done, we may again from hence be inform'd with what unwillingness he remov'd them; and that those gracious Acts wherof so frequently he makes mention, may be english'd more properly Acts of fear and dissimulation against his mind and conscience.

The Bill preventing dissolution of this Parliament he calls *An unparallel'd Act, out of the extreme confidence that his Subjects would not make ill use of it*. But was it not a greater confidence of the People to put into one Man's hand so great a Power, till he abus'd it, as to summon and dissolve Parliaments? He would be thank'd for trusting them, and ought to thank them rather for trusting him: the trust issuing first from them, not from him.

And that it was a meer trust, and not his Prerogative, to call and dissolve Parliaments at his pleasure; and that Parliaments were not to be dissolv'd, till all Petitions were heard, all Grievances redrest, is not only the assertion of this Parliament, but of our antient Law-books, which averr it to be an unwritt'n Law of common Right, so ingrav'n in the Hearts of our Ancestors, and by them so constantly enjoy'd and claim'd, as that it needed not enrouling. And if the Scots in thir Declaration could charge the King with breach of their Laws for breaking up that Parliament without their consent, while matters of greatest moment were depending; it were unreasonable to imagin that the Wisdom of *England* should be so wanting to it self through all ages, as not to provide by some known Law, writt'n or unwritt'n, against the not calling, or the arbitrary dissolving of Parliaments; or that they who ordain'd thir summoning twice a year, or as oft as need requir'd, did not tacitely enact also, that as necessity of affaires call'd them, so the same necessity should keep them undissolv'd till that were fully satisfi'd. Were it not for that, Parliaments, and all the fruit and benefit we receive by having them, would turn soon to meer abusion. It appears then that if this Bill of not dissolving were an unparallel'd Act, it was a known and common Right which our Ancestors under other Kings enjoy'd as firmly as if it had bin grav'n in Marble; and that the infringement of this King first brought it into a writt'n Act: Who now boasts that as a great favour done us, which his own less fidelity then was in former Kings, constrain'd us only of an old undoubted Right, to make a new writt'n Act. But what needed writt'n Acts, when as antiently it was esteem'd part of his Crown-Oath not to dissolve Parliaments till all Grievances were consider'd? whereupon the old *Modi of Parliament*, calls it flat Perjury, if he dissolve them before, as I find cited in a Book mention'd at the beginning of this Chapter, to which and other Law-tractats I refer the more Lawyerlic mootings of this point, which is neither my clement, nor my proper work heere; since the Book which I have

to answer pretends to reason not to authorities and quotations: and I hold reason to be the best Arbitrator, and the Law of Law it self.

'Tis true, that good Subjects think it not just that the King's condition should be worse by bettering theirs. But then the King must not be at such a distance from the people in judging what is better and what worse; which might have bin agreed, had he known (for his own words condemn him) as well with moderation to use, as with earnestness to desire his own advantages.

A continual Parliament he thought would keep the Common-wealth in tune. Judg, Common-wealth, what proofs he gave that this boasted profession was ever in his thought.

Some, saith he, gave out that I repented me of that settling Act. His own actions gave it out beyond all supposition; for doubtless it repented him to have establish'd that by Law, which he went about so soon after to abrogate by the Sword.

He calls those Acts which he confesses tended to thir good, not more Princely then friendly Contributions: As if to do his duty were of courtesie, and the discharge of his trust a parcel of his liberality; so nigh lost in his esteem was the birthright of our Liberties, that to give them back again upon demand stood at the mercy of his Contribution.

He doubts not but the affections of his People will compensate his sufferings for those acts of confidence: And imputes his sufferings to a contrary Cause. Not his confidence but his distrust was that which brought him to those sufferings, from the time that he forsook his Parliament; and trusted them ne're the sooner for what he tells of thir pietie and religious strictness, but rather hated them as Puritans, whom he always sought to extirpate.

He would have it belev'd, that to bind his hands by these Acts argu'd a very short foresight of things, and extreme fatuitie of mind in him, if he had meant a War. If we should conclude so, that were not the only Argument: neither did it argue that he meant Peace; knowing that what he granted for the present out of fear, he might as soon repeal by force, watching his time; and deprive them the fruit of those Acts, if his own designs wherein he put his trust took effect.

Yet he complains, That the Tumults threatn'd to abuse all Acts of Grace and turn them into wantonness. I would they had turn'd his wantonness into the grace of not abusing Scripture. Was this becoming such a Saint as they would make him, to adulterate those sacred words from the grace of God to the acts of his own grace? Herod was eat'n up of Worms for suffering others to compare his voice to the voice of God; but the Borrower of this Phrase gives much more cause of jealousy, that he lik'n'd his own acts of grace to the acts of God's Grace.

From profaneness he scarce comes off with perfect sense. I was not then in a capacity to make War, therefore I intended not. I was not in a capacity, therefore I could not have giv'n my Enemies greater advantage then by so unprincely inconstancy to have scatter'd them by Arms, whom but lately I had settl'd by Parliament. What place could there be for his inconstancy to do that thing wher-to he was in no capacity? Otherwise his inconstancy was not so unwonted, or so nice but that it would have easily found pretences to scatter those in revenge whom he settl'd in fear.

It had bin a course full of sin as well as of hazard and dishonour. True; but if those Considerations withheld him not from other actions of like nature, how can we believe they were of strength sufficient to withhold him from this? And that they withheld him not, the event soon taught us.

His letting some men go up to the Pinnacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to cast him down headlong. In this Simily we have himself compar'd to Christ, the Parliament to the Devil, and his giving them that Act of settling, to his letting them go up to the Pinnacle of the Temple. A tottring and giddy Act rather then a settling. This was goodly use made of Scripture in his Solitudes: But it was no Pinnacle of the Temple, it was a Pinnacle of Nebuchadnezzar's Palace from whence he and Monarchy fell headlong together.

He would have others see that All the Kingdoms of the World are not worth gaining by ways of sin which hazard the Soul; and hath himself left nothing unhazarded to keep three. He concludes with sentences that rightly scand, make

make not so much for him as against him, and confesses that *the Act of settling was no sin of his Will*; and we easily believe him, for it hath bin clearly prov'd a sin of his unwillingness.

With his Orisons I meddle not, for he appeals to a high Audit. This yet may be noted, that at his Prayers he had before him the sad presage of his ill success, *As of a dark and dangerous Storm, which never admitted his return to the Port from whence he set out*. Yet his Prayer-Book no sooner shut, but other hopes flatter'd him; and thir flattering was his destruction:

VI. Upon his Retirement from Westminster.

THE Simily wherwith he begins I was about to have found fault with, as in a garb somewhat more poetical then for a Statist: but meeting with many strains of like dress in other of his *Essaies*, and him hearing reported a more diligent reader of Poets, then of Politicians, I begun to think that the whole Book might perhaps be intended a piece of Poetrie. The words are good, the fiction smooth and cleanly; there wanted only Rime, and that they say is bestow'd upon it lately. But to the Argument.

I stay'd at White-Hall till I was driv'n away by shame more than fear. I retract not what I thought of the fiction, yet heer I must confess it lies too op'n. In his Messages and Declarations, nay in the whole Chapter next but one before this, he affirms that *The danger wherein his Wife, his Children, and his own Person* were by those Tumults, was the main cause that drove him from *White-Hall*, and appeals to God as witness: he affirms here that it was *shame more then fear*. And Digby, who knew his mind as well as any, tells his new-listed Guard, *That the principal cause of his Majesties going thence, was to save them from being trod in the dirt*. From whence we may discern what false and frivolous excuses are avow'd for truth, either in those Declarations, or in this penitential Book. Our Forefathers were of that courage and severity of zeal to Justice and their native Liberty, against the proud contempt and misuse of thir Kings, that when *Richard the Second* departed but from a Committee of Lords who sate preparing matter for the Parliament, not yet assenbl'd, to the removal of his evil Counsellors, they first vanquish'd and put to flight *Robert de Vere* his chief Favourite; and then coming up to *London* with a huge Army, requir'd the King then withdrawn for fear, but no furdor off then the *Tower*, to come to *Westminster*. Which he refusing, they told him flatly that unless he came they would choose another. So high a Crime it was accounted then for Kings to absent themselves, not from a Parliament, which none ever durst, but from any meeting of his Peers and Counsellors which did but tend towards a Parliament. Much less would they have suffer'd that a King for such trivial and various pretences, one while for fear of Tumults, another while *for shame to see them*, should leave his Regal Station, and the whole Kingdom bleeding to death of those wounds which his own unskilful and pervers Government had inflicted.

Shame then it was that drove him from the Parliament, but the shame of what? was it the shame of his manifold errors and misdeeds, and to see how weakly he had play'd the King? No; *But to see the barbarous rudeness of those Tumults to demand any thing*. We have started here another, and I believe the truest, cause of his deserting the Parliament. The worst and strangest of that *Any-thing* which the people then demanded, was but the unlording of Bishops, and expelling them the House, and the reducing of Church-Discipline to a conformity with other Protestant Churches; this was the *Barbarism* of those Tumults: and that he might avoid the granting of those honest and pious demands, as well demanded by the Parliament as the People, for this very cause more then for fear, by his own confession here, he left the City; and in a most tempestuous season forsook the Helm and Steerage of the Commonwealth. This was that terrible *Any-thing* from which his Conscience and his Reason chose to run rather then not deny. To be importun'd the removing of evil Counsellors, and other grievances in Church and State, was to him an intolerable

intolerable oppression. If the Peoples demanding were so burd'nsome to him, what was his denial and delay of Justice to them?

But as the demands of his People were to him a burd'n and oppression, so was the advice of his Parliament esteem'd a bondage; *Whose agreeing Votes*, as he affirms, *were not by any Law or Reason conclusive to his Judgment.* For the Law, it ordains a Parliament to advise him in his great Affairs; but if it ordain also that the single judgment of a King shall out-balance all the wisdom of his Parliament, it ordains that which frustrats the end of its own ordaining. For where the King's judgment may dissent to the destruction, as it may happ'n, both of himself and the Kingdom, there Advice, and no furdur, is a most insufficient and frustraneous means to be provided by Law in cases of so high concernment. It being therefore most unlike a Law, to ordain a remedy so slender and unlawlike, to be the utmost means of all publick safety or prevention, as Advice is, which may at any time be rejected by the sole judgment of one man, the King, and so unlike the Law of *England*, which Lawyers say is the quintessence of Reason; we may conclude that the King's negative voice was never any Law, but an absurd and reasonless Custom, begott'n and grown up either from the flattery of basest times, or the usurpation of immoderate Princes. Thus much to the Law of it, by a better evidence then Rowles and Records, Reason.

But is it possible he should pretend also to Reason, that the judgment of one Man, not as a wife or good Man, but as a King, and oft times a wilful, proud, and wicked King, should outweigh the prudence and all the vertue of an elected Parliament? What an abusive thing it were then to summon Parliaments, that by the major part of voices greatest matters may be there debated and resolv'd, when as one voice after that shall dash all thir Resolutions?

He attempts to give a reason why it should, *Because the whole Parliament represents not him in any kind.* But mark how little he advances; for if the Parliament represent the whole Kingdom, as is sure enough they do, then doth the King represent only himself; and if a King without his Kingdom be in a civil sense nothing, then without or against the Representative of his whole Kingdom, he himself represents nothing, and by consequence his judgment and his negative is as good as nothing; and though we should allow him to be something, yet not equal or comparable to the whole Kingdom, and so neither to them that represent it.

Yet here he maintains, *To be no furdur bound to agree with the Votes of both Houses, then he sees them to agree with the will of God, with his just Rights as a King, and the general good of his People.* As to the freedom of his agreeing or not agreeing, limited with due bounds, no man reprehends it; this is the Question here, or the Miracle rather, why his only not agreeing should lay a negative bar and inhibition upon that which is agreed to by a whole Parliament, though never so conducing to the publick good or safety. To know the will of God better then his whole Kingdom, whence should he have it? Certainly Court-breeding and his perpetual conversation with Flatterers was but a bad School. To judg of his own Rights could not belong to him, who had no right by Law in any Court to judg of so much as Felony or Treason, being held a party in both these cases, much more in this; and his Rights however should give place to the general good, for which end all his Rights were giv'n him. Lastly to suppose a clearer insight and discerning of the general good, allotted to his own singular judgment, then to the Parliament and all the People, and from that self-opinion of discerning to deny them that good which they, being all Freemen, seek earnestly and call for, is an arrogance and iniquity beyond imagination rude and unreasonable; they undoubtedly having most autoritie to judg of the public good, who for that purpose are chos'n out and sent by the People to advise him. And if it may be in him to see oft *the major part of them not in the right*, had it not bin more his modestie to have doubted thir seeing him more oft'n in the wrong?

He passes to another reason of his denials, *Because of some mens hydropic unsatiableness, and thirst of asking, the more they drank, whom no fountain of Regal bounty was able to overcome.* A comparison more properly bestow'd on those that came to guzzle in his Wine-cellar, then on a freeborn People that came to claim in Parliament thir Rights and Liberties, which a King ought therefore to grant,

grant, because of right demanded ; not to deny them for fear his bounty should be exhaust, which in these demands (to continue the same Metaphor) was not so much as broach'd ; it being his duty, not his bounty to grant these things.

Putting off the Courtier, he now puts on the Philosopher, and sententiouly disputes to this effect, *That reason ought to be us'd to men, force and terror to Beasts ; that he deserves to be a Slave who captivates the rational sovereignty of his Soul, and liberty of his Will to compulsion ; that he would not forfeit that freedom which cannot be deny'd him as a King, because it belongs to him as a Man and a Christian, though to preserve his Kingdom ; but rather dye enjoying the Empire of his Soul, then live in such a vassalage, as not to use his reason and conscience to like or dislike as a King.* Which words of themselves, as far as they are sense, good and philosophical, yet in the mouth of him who to engross this common liberty to himself, would tread down all other men into the condition of Slaves and Beasts, they quite lose their commendation. He confesses a rational sovereignty of Soul, and freedom of Will in every man, and yet with an implicit repugnancy would have his reason the sovereign of that sovereignty, and would captivate and make useless that natural freedom of will in all other men but himself. But them that yeeld him this obedience he so well rewards, as to pronounce them worthy to be Slaves. They who have lost all to be his Subjects, may stoop and take up the reward. What that freedom is, which *cannot be deny'd him as a King, because it belongs to him as a Man and a Christian*, I understand not. If it be his Negative Voice, it concludes all men who have not such a Negative as his against a whole Parliament, to be neither Men nor Christians : and what was he himself then all this while, that we deny'd it him as a King ? Will he say that he enjoy'd within himself the less freedom for that ? Might not he, both as a Man and as a Christian, have reign'd within himself in full sovereignty of soul, no man repining, but that his outward and imperious Will must invade the civil Liberties of a Nation ? Did we therefore not permit him to use his reason or his conscience, not permitting him to bereave us the use of ours ? And might not he have enjoy'd both as a King, governing us as Free-men by what Laws we our selves would be govern'd ? It was not the inward use of his reason and his conscience that would content him, but to use them both as a Law over all his Subjects, *in whatever he declar'd as a King to like or dislike.* Which use of reason, most reasonless and unconscionable, is the utmost that any Tyrant ever pretended over his Vassals.

In all wise Nations the Legislative Power, and the judicial execution of that Power, have bin most commonly distinct, and in several hands ; but yet the former supreme, the other subordinat. If then the King be only set up to execute the Law, which is indeed the highest of his Office, he ought no more to make or forbid the making of any Law agreed upon in Parliament, then other inferior Judges, who are his Deputies. Neither can he more reject a Law offer'd him by the Commons, then he can new make a Law which they reject. And yet the more to credit and uphold his cause, he would seem to have Philosophy on his side, straining her wise dictates to unphilosophical purposes. But when Kings come so low, as to fawn upon Philosophy, which before they neither valu'd nor understood, 'tis a sign that fails not, they are then put to their last Trump. And Philosophy as well requites them, by not suffering her gold'n sayings either to become their lips, or to be us'd as masks and colours of injurious and violent deeds. So that what they presume to borrow from her sage and vertuous Rules, like the Riddle of *Sphinx* not understood, breaks the neck of their own cause.

But now again to Politicks : *He cannot think the Majesty of the Crown of England to be bound by any coronation Oath in a blind and brutish formality, to consent to whatever its Subjects in Parliament shall require* What Tyrant could presume to say more, when he meant to kick down all Law, Government, and bond of Oath ? But why he so desires to absolve himself the Oath of his Coronation would be worth the knowing. It cannot but be yielded that the Oath which binds him to performance of his Trust, ought in reason to contain the sum of what his chief Trust and Office is. But if it neither do enjoin nor mention to him, as a part of his duty, the making or the marring of any Law, or scrap of Law, but requires only his assent to those Laws which the People have already chos'n, or shall choose (for so both the Latin of that Oath, and the old English, and all reason admits, that the People should not lose under a new King

what freedom they had before) then that Negative Voice so contended for, to deny the passing of any Law which the Commons choose, is both against the Oath of his Coronation, and his Kingly Office. And if the King may deny to pass what the Parliament hath chosen to be a Law, then doth the King make himself superiour to his whole Kingdom; which not only the general Maxims of Policy gainsay, but ev'n our own standing Laws, as hath bin cited to him in Remonstrances heertofore, that *the King hath two Superiors, the Law, and his Court of Parliament*. But this he counts to be a blind and brutish formality, whether it be Law, or Oath, or his Duty, and thinks to turn it off with wholesom words and phrases, which he then first learnt of the honest People, when they were so oft'n compell'd to use them against those more truly blind and brutish formalities thrust upon us by his own command.

As for his instance, in case *He and the House of Peers attempted to enjoin the House of Commons*, it bears no equalitie; for he and the Peers represent but themselves, the Commons are the whole Kingdom.

Thus he concludes *his Oath to be fully discharg'd in governing by Laws already made*, as being not bound to pass any new, *if his Reason bids him deny*. And so may infinite mischiefs grow, and a whole Nation be ruin'd, while our general good and safety shall depend upon the privat and overweening Reason of one obstinat Man, who against all the Kingdom, if he list, will interpret both the Law, and his Oath of Coronation by the tenor of his own Will: Which he himself confesses to be an arbitrary power, yet doubts not in his Argument to imply, as if he thought it more fit the Parliament should be subject to his Will, then he to their Advice, a man neither by nature nor by nurture wise. How is it possible that he in whom such Principles as these were so deep rooted, could ever, tho restor'd again, have reign'd otherwise then tyrannically?

He objects, *That Force was but a slavish Method to dispel his Error*. But how oft'n shall it be answer'd him, that no force was us'd to dispel the error out of his head, but to drive it from off our necks? for his error was imperious, and would command all other men to renounce their own reason and understanding, till they perish'd under the injunction of his all-ruling error.

He alleges the uprightness of his intentions to excuse his possible failings; a Position fals both in Law and Divinity: Yea contrary to his own better principles, who affirms in the twelfth Chapter, that *The goodness of a mans intention will not excuse the scandal and contagion of his example*. His not knowing, through the corruption of Flattery and Court-principles, what he ought to have known, will not excuse his not doing what he ought to have don; no more than the small skill of him who undertakes to be a *Pilot* will excuse him to be misled by any wandring Star mistak'n for the Pole. But let his intentions be never so upright, what is that to us? What answer for the reason and the National Rights which God hath giv'n us, if having Parliaments, and Laws, and the power of making more to avoid mischief, we suffer one mans blind intentions to lead us all with our eyes op'n to manifest destruction?

And if Arguments prevail not with such a one, Force is well us'd; not to *carry on the weakness of our Counsels, or to convince his Error*, as he surmises, but to acquit and rescue our own Reason, our own Consciences from the force and prohibition laid by his usurping error upon our Liberties and Understandings.

Never thing pleas'd him more, then when his judgment concur'd with theirs. That was to the applause of his own judgment, and would as well have pleas'd any self-conceited man.

Yea in many things he chose rather to deny himself then them. That is to say in trifles. For of *his own Interests* and personal Rights he conceives himself *Master*. To part with, if he please, not to contest for, against the Kingdom which is greater then he, whose Rights are all subordinat to the Kingdoms good: And in what concerns *Truth, Justice, the right of Church, or his Crown*, no man shall gain his consent against his mind. What can be left then for a Parliament, but to sit like Images, while he still thus either with incomparable arrogance assumes to himself the best ability of judging for other men what is Truth, Justice, Goodness, what his own or the Churches right, or with unsufferable Tyranny restrains all men from the enjoyment of any good, which his judgment, though erroneous, thinks not fit to grant them; notwithstanding that the Law and his

his Coronal Oath requires his undeniable assent to what Laws the Parliament agree upon.

He had rather wear a Crown of Thorns with our Saviour. Many would be all one with our Saviour, whom our Saviour will not know. They who govern ill those Kingdoms which they had a right to, have to our Saviours Crown of Thorns no right at all. Thorns they may find anow of their own gathering, and their own twisting; for Thorns and Snares, saith *Solomon*, are in the way of the froward: but to wear them, as our Saviour wore them, is not giv'n to them that suffer by thir own demerits. Nor is a Crown of Gold his due, who cannot first wear a *Crown of Lead*; not only for the weight of that great Office, but for the compliance which it ought to have with them who are to counsel him, which heer he terms in scorn *An imbased flexibleness to the various and oft contrary dictates of any Factions*, meaning his Parliament; for the question hath bin all this while between them two. And to his Parliament, though a numerous and choise Assembly, of whom the Land thought wisest, he imputes, rather then to himself, *want of reason, neglect of the Public, interest of Parties, and particularitie of private will and passion*; but with what modesty or likelihood of truth, it will be wearisome to repeat so oft'n.

He concludes with a sentence fair in seeming, but fallacious. For if the conscience be ill edifi'd, the resolution may more besit a foolish then a Christian King, to prefer a self-will'd conscience before a Kingdoms good; especially in the denial of that which Law and his Regal Office by Oath bids him grant to his Parliament and whole Kingdom rightfully demanding. For we may observe him throughout the discours to assert his Negative power against the whole Kingdom; now under the specious Plea of his conscience and his reason, but heretofore in a lowder note; *Without us, or against our consent, the Votes of either or of both Houses together, must not, cannot, shall not. Declar. May 4. 1642.*

With these and the like deceivable Doctrines he leuens also his Prayer.

VII. Upon the Queens departure.

TO this Argument we shall soon have said; for what concerns it us to hear a Husband divulge his Household privacies, extolling to others the vertues of his Wife? an infirmity not seldom incident to those who have least cause. But how good she was a Wife, was to himself, and be it left to his own fancy; how bad a Subject is not much disputed. And being such, it need be made no wonder, tho she left a Protestant Kingdom with as little honour as her Mother left a Popish.

That this is the first example of any Protestant Subjects that have tak'n up Arms against thir King a Protestant, can be to Protestants no dishonour; when it shall be heard that he first levied War on them, and to the interest of Papists more then of Protestants. He might have giv'n yet the precedence of making War upon him to the Subjects of his own Nation, who had twice oppos'd him in the op'n Field, long ere the English found it necessary to do the like. And how groundless, how dissembled is that fear, lest she, who for so many years had bin averse from the Religion of her Husband, and every year more and more, before these disturbances broke out, should for them be now the more alienated from that to which we never heard she was inclin'd? But if the fear of her Delinquency, and that Justice which the Protestants demanded on her, was any cause of her alienating the more, to have gain'd her by indirect means had been no advantage to Religion, much less then was the detriment to loose her furdre off. It had bin happy if his own actions had not giv'n cause of more scandal to the Protestants, then what they did against her could justly scandalize any Papist.

Them who accus'd her, well enough known to be the Parliament, he censures for *Mien yet to seek thir Religion, whether Doctrine, Discipline, or good manners*; the rest he sooths with the name of true English Protestants, a meer scismatical name, yet he so great an enemy of Scism.

He ascribes *rudeness and barbarity, worse than Indian*, to the English Parliament ; and *all vertue* to his Wife, in strains that come almost to Sonnetting : How fit to govern men, undervaluing and aspersing the great Council of his Kingdom, in comparison of one Woman. Examples are not far to seek how great mischief and dishonour hath befall'n to Nations under the Government of effeminate and uxorious Magistrates, who being themselves govern'd and overswaid at home under a feminine Usurpation, cannot but be far short of spirit and authority without dores to govern a whole Nation.

Her tarrying here he could not think safe among them who were shaking hands with Allegiance, to lay faster hold on Religion ; and taxes them of a duty rather than a crime, it being just to obey God rather than Man, and impossible to serve two Masters. I would they had quite shak'n off what they stood shaking hands with ; the fault was in thir courage, not in thir cause.

In his Prayer he praises that *the disloyalty of his Protestant Subjects may not be a hindrance to her love of the true Religion* ; and never prays, that the dissoluteness of his Court, the scandals of his Clergy, the unsoundness of his own Judgment, the lukewarmness of his Life, his Letter of compliance to the Pope, his permitting Agents at *Rome*, and the Pope's *Nuntio* here, may not be found in the sight of God far greater hindrances to her conversion.

But this had bin a suttler Prayer indeed, and well pray'd, though as duly as a *Pater-noster*, if it could have charm'd us to sit still and have Religion and our Liberties one by one snatch'd from us, for fear lest rising to defend our selves, we should fright the Queen, a stiff Papist, from turning Protestant. As if the way to make his Queen a Protestant, had bin to make his Subjects more than half-way Papists.

He prays next *that his constancy may be an antidote against the poyson of other mens example*. His constancy in what ? Not in Religion, for it is op'nly known that her Religion wrought more upon him, then his Religion upon her ; and his op'n favouring of Papists, and his hatred of them call'd Puritans, made most men suspect she had quite perverted him. But what is it that the blindness of hypocrisy dares not do ? It dares pray, and thinks to hide that from the eyes of God, which it cannot hide from the op'n view of man.

VIII. Upon his repulse at Hull, and the fate of the Hothams.

HULL, a Town of great strength and opportunitie both to Sea and Land-Affairs, was at that time the Magazin of all those Arms which the King had bought with money most illegally extorted from his Subjects of *England*, to use in a causeless and most unjust Civil War against his Subjects of *Scotland*. The King in high discontent and anger had left the Parliament, and was gone toward the *North*, the Queen into *Holland*, where she pawn'd and set to sail the Crown-Jewels (a crime heretofore counted treasonable in Kings) and to what intent these sums were rais'd, the Parliament was not ignorant. His going northward in so high a chafe, they doubted was to possess himself of that strength, which the store-house and situation of *Hull* might add suddenly to his malignant Party. Having first therefore in many Petitions earnestly pray'd him to dispose and settle, with consent of both Houses, the military Power in trusty hands, and he as oft refusing, they were necessitated by the turbulence and danger of those times to put the Kingdom by thir own authority into a posture of defence ; and very timely sent Sir *John Hotham*, a Member of the House, and Knight of that County. to take *Hull* into his custody, and some of the Train'd-bands to his assistance : Neither had the King before that time omitted to attempt the same, first by Colonel *Legg*, one of those who were imploy'd to bring the Army up against the Parliament, then by the Earl of *Newcastle* under a disguise. And Letters of the Lord *Digby* were intercepted, wherein was wisht that the King would declare himself, and retire to some safe place ; other information came from abroad, that *Hull* was the place design'd for some new enterprise.

But

But these Attempts not succeeding, and that Town being now in custody of the Parliament, he sends a Message to them, that he had firmly resolv'd to go in Person into *Ireland*, to chastise those wicked Rebels (for these and worse words he then gave them) and that toward this work he intended forthwith to raise by his Commissions, in the Counties near *Westchester*, a Guard for his own Person consisting of 2000 foot, and 200 horse, that should be arm'd from his Magazine at *Hull*. On the other side, the Parliament, foreseeing the King's drift, about the same time send him a Petition, that they might have leave for necessary causes to remove the Magazin of *Hull* to the Tower of *London*; to which the King returns his denial; and soon after going to *Hull*, attended with about 400 horse, requires the Governour to deliver him up the Town: whereof the Governour besought humbly to be excus'd, till he could send notice to the Parliament who had entrusted him; wherat the King much incens'd, proclaims him Traitor before the Town Walls, and gives immediate order to stop all Passages between him and the Parliament. Yet he himself dispatches post after post to demand justice as upon a Traitor, using a strange iniquity to require Justice upon him whom he then waylaid and debarr'd from his appearance. The Parliament no sooner understood what had pass'd, but they declare that Sir *John Hotham* had done no more then was his duty, and was therefore no Traitor.

This relation being most true, proves that which is affirm'd here to be most false; seeing the Parliament, whom he accounts his *greatest Enemy*, had more confidence to abet and own what Sir *John Hotham* had done, then the King had confidence to let him answer in his own behalf.

To speak of his patience, and in that solemn manner, he might better have forborn; *God knows*, saith he, *it affected me more with sorrow for others then with anger for my self; nor did the affront trouble me so much as their sin*. This is read, I doubt not, and beleev'd: and as there is some use of every thing, so is there of this Book, were it but to shew us, what a miserable, credulous, deluded thing that creature is, which is call'd the vulgar; who notwithstanding what they might know, will beleve such vain-glories as these. Did not that cholerick and vengeful act of proclaiming him Traitor before due process of Law, having bin convinc'd so late before of his illegality with the five Members, declare his anger to be incens'd? doth not his own relation confess as much? and his second Message left him fuming three days after, and in plain words testifies *his impatience of delay* till *Hotham* be severely punish'd, for that which he there terms an insupportable affront.

Surely if his sorrow for Sir *John Hotham's* sin were greater then his anger for the affront, it was an exceeding great sorrow indeed, and wondrous charitable. But if it stirr'd him so vehemently to have Sir *John Hotham* punish'd, and not at all that we hear to have him repent, it had a strange operation to be call'd a sorrow for his sin. He who would perswade us of his sorrow for the sins of other men, as they are sins, not as they are sin'd against himself, must give us first some testimony of a sorrow for his own sins, and next for such sins of other men as cannot be suppos'd a direct injury to himself. But such compunction in the King no man hath yet observ'd; and till then, his sorrow for Sir *John Hotham's* sin will be call'd no other then the resentment of his repulse; and his labour to have the sinner only punish'd, will be call'd by a right name, his revenge.

And the hand of that cloud which cast all soon after into darkness and disorder, was his own hand. For assembling the Inhabitants of *Yorkshire*, and other Counties, horse and foot, first under colour of a new Guard to his Person, soon after, being suppli'd with Ammunition from *Holland*, bought with the Crown-Jewels, he begins an op'n War by laying Siege to *Hull*: which Town was not his own, but the Kingdom's; and the Arms there, public Arms, bought with the publick Mony, or not his own. Yet had they bin his own by as good right as the privat House and Arms of any man are his own; to use either of them in a way not privat, but suspicious to the Common-wealth, no Law permits. But the King had no proprietie at all either in *Hull* or in the Magazin: so that the following *Maxims* which he cites of bold and disloyal Undertakers may belong more justly to whom he least meant them. After this he again relapses into the praise of his patience at *Hull*, and by his overtalking of it, seems to doubt ei-

ther

ther his own conscience, or the hardness of other mens belief. To me the more he praises it in himself, the more he seems to suspect that in very deed it was not in him, and that the lookers on so likewise thought.

Thus much of what he suffer'd by *Hotham*, and with what patience; now of what *Hotham* suffer'd, as he judges, for opposing him: *He could not but observe how God not long after pleaded and aveng'd his cause.* Most men are too apt, and commonly the worst of men, so to interpret and expound the judgments of God, and all other events of providence or chance, as makes most to the justifying of thir own cause, though never so evil; and attribute all to the particular favour of God towards them. Thus when *Saul* heard that *David* was in *Keilah*, God, saith he, *hath delivered him up into my hands, for he is shut in.* But how far that King was deceav'd in his thought that God was favouring to his cause, that story unfolds; and how little reason this King had to impute the death of *Hotham* to God's avengement of his repulse at *Hull*, may easily be seen. For while *Hotham* continu'd faithful to his trust, no man more safe, more successful, more in reputation then he: But from the time he first sought to make his peace with the King, and to betray into his hands that Town, into which before he had deny'd him entrance, nothing prosper'd with him. Certainly had God purpos'd him such an end for his opposition to the King, he would not have deferr'd to punish him till then, when of an Enemy he was chang'd to be the King's Friend, nor have made his repentance and amendment the occasion of his ruin. How much more likely is it, since he fell into the act of disloyalty to his charge, that the judgment of God concurr'd with the punishment of man, and justly cut him off for revolting to the King? To give the World an example, that glorious deeds done to ambitious ends, find reward answerable, not to thir outward seeming, but to thir inward ambition. In the mean while what thanks he had from the King for revolting to his cause, and what good opinion for dying in his service, they who have ventur'd like him, or intend, may here take notice.

He proceeds to declare, not only in general wherfore God's Judgment was upon *Hotham*, but undertakes by fancies, and allusions to give a criticism upon every particular: *That his head was divided from his Body, because his heart was divided from the King; two heads cut off in one family for affronting the head of the Common-wealth; the eldest son being infected with the sin of the Father, against the Father of his Countrie.* These petty glosses and conceits on the high and secret Judgments of God, besides the boldness of unwarrantable commenting, are so weak and shallow, and so like the quibbl's of a Court-Sermon, that we may safely reck'n them either fetcht from such a pattern, or that the hand of some household Priest soisted them in, lest the World should forget how much he was the Disciple of those Cymbal Doctors. But that Argument by which the Author would commend them to us, discredits them the more: For if they be so obvious to every fancy, the more likely to be erroneous, and to misconceive the mind of those high secrecies, whereof they presume to determin. For God judges not by human fancy.

But however God judg'd *Hotham*, yet he had the King's pity: but mark the reason how preposterous; so far he had his pity, *as he thought he at first acted more against the light of his conscience then many other men in the same cause.* Questionless they who act against conscience, whether at the Bar of human, or divine Justice, are pitied least of all. These are the common grounds and verdicts of Nature, whereof when he who hath the judging of a whole Nation, is found destitute under such a Governour, that Nation must needs be miserable.

By the way he jerks at *some mens reforming to models of Religion, and that they think all is gold of Pietie that doth but glister with a shew of Zeal.* We know his meaning, and apprehend how little hope there could be of him from such language as this: But are sure that the pietie of his prelatick Model glister'd more upon the Posts and Pillars which thir zeal and fervencie gilded over, then in the true works of spiritual edification.

He is sorry that Hotham felt the justice of others, and fell not rather into the hands of his mercy. But to clear that, he should have shewn us what mercy he had ever us'd to such as fell into his hands before, rather then what mercy he intend'd to such as never could come to ask it. Whatever mercy one man might have expected, 'tis too well known the whole Nation found none; though they be-

fought

fought it oft'n, and so humbly, but had bin swallow'd up in blood and ruin, to set his private will above the Parliament, had not his strength fail'd him. *The clemency he counts a debt, which he ought pay to those that crave it ; since we pay not any thing to God for his Mercy but Prayers and Praises.* By this reason we ought as freely to pay all things to all men ; for of all that we receive from God, what do we pay for, more then prayers and praises ? we look'd for the discharge of his Office, the payment of his Duty to the Kingdom, and are paid Court-payment with empty sentences that have the sound of gravity, but the significance of nothing pertinent.

Yet again after his mercy past and granted, he returns back to give sentence upon *Hotham* ; and whom he tells us he would so fain have sav'd alive, him he never leaves killing with a repeated Condemnation, though dead long since. It was ill that some body stood not neer to whisper him, that a reiterating Judg is worse then a tormentor. *He pities him, he rejoices not, he pities him again ;* but still is sure to brand him at the tail of his pity with some ignominious mark, either of ambition or disloyaltie. And with a kind of censorious pity aggravates rather then less'ns or conceals the fault : To pity thus is to triumph.

He assumes to foreknow, that *after times will dispute, whether Hotham were more infamous at Hull, or at Tower-hill.* What knew he of after times, who while he sits judging and censuring without end, the fate of that unhappy Father and his Son at *Tower-hill*, knew not that the like fate attended him before his own Palace-Gate ; and as little knew whether after times do not reserve a greater infamy upon his own Life and Reign.

He says but over again in his Prayer, what his Sermon hath preach't ; How acceptably to those in Heav'n we leave to be decided by that precept which forbids *vain Repetitions.* Sure enough it lies as heavie as he can lay it upon the head of poor *Hotham.*

Needs he will fast'n upon God a peece of revenge as done for his sake ; and takes it for a favour, before he know it was intended him : which in his closet had bin excusable, but in a writt'n and publish'd Prayer too presumptuous. *Ecclesiastes* hath a right name for such kind of Sacrifices.

Going on he prays thus, *Let not thy Justice prevent the objects and opportunities of my Mercy.* To folly, or to blasphemy, or to both shall we impute this ? Shall the Justice of God give place, and serve to glorifie the Mercies of a Man ? All other Men who know what they ask, desire of God that thir doings may tend to his glory ; but in this prayer God is requir'd that his Justice would forbear to prevent, and as good have said to intrench upon the glory a Man's Mercy. If God forbear his Justice, it must be sure to the magnifying of his own Mercy : But here a mortal man takes the boldness to ask that glory out of his hand. It may be doubted now by them who understand Religion, whether the King were more unfortunate in this his Prayer, or *Hotham* in those his sufferings.

IX. Upon the listeing and raising Armies, &c.

IT were an endless work to walk side by side with the verbosity of this Chapter ; only to what already hath not bin spok'n, convenient Answer shall be giv'n. He begins again with Tumults ; all demonstration of the Peoples Love and Loyalty to the Parliament was Tumult ; thir petitioning, Tumult ; thir defensive Armies were but *listed Tumults* ; and will take no notice that those about him, those in a time of Peace listed into his own House, were the beginners of all these Tumults ; abusing and assaulting not only such as came peaceably to the Parliament at *London*, but those that came petitioning to the King himself at *Tork*. Neither did they abstain from doing violence and outrage to the Messengers sent from Parliament ; he himself either count'nancing or conniving at them.

He supposes that *His recess gave us confidence that he might be conquer'd.* Other men suppose both that and all things els, who knew him neither by nature warlike, nor experienc'd, nor fortunate ; so far was any Man that discern'd aught from esteeming him unconquerable ; yet such are readiest to imbroider others.

But he had a Soul invincible. What praise is that? The Stomach of a Child is oftentimes invincible to all correction. The unteachable man hath a soul to all reason and good advice invincible; and he who is intractable, he whom nothing can persuade, may boast himself invincible; when as in some things to be overcome is more honest and laudable then to conquer.

He labours to have it thought that *his fearing God more than Man* was the ground of his sufferings; but he should have known that a good principle not rightly understood may prove as hurtful as a bad, and his fear of God may be as faulty as a blind zeal. He pretended to fear God more than the Parliament, who never urg'd him to do otherwise; he should also have fear'd God more then he did his Courtiers, and the Bishops who drew him, as they pleas'd, to things inconsistent with the fear of God. Thus boasted *Saul* to have perform'd the Commandment of God, and stood in it against *Samuel*; but it was found at length that he had fear'd the People more then God, in saving those fat Oxen for the worship of God which were appointed for destruction. Not much unlike, if not much worse was that fact of his, who for fear to displease his Court and mungrel Clergy, with the dissolute of the People, upheld in the Church of God, while his power lasted, those Beasts of *Amalec*, the Prelats, against the advice of his Parliament and the example of all Reformation; in this more unexcusable then *Saul*, that *Saul* was at length convinc'd, he to the hour of death fix'd in his fals persuasion, and sooths himself in the flattering peace of an erroneous and obdurate conscience; singing to his soul vain Psalms of exultation, as if the Parliament had assail'd his reason with the force of Arms, and not he on the contrary their reason with his Arms, which hath been prov'd already, and shall be more hereafter.

He twits them with *his Acts of Grace*; proud, and unself-knowing words in the mouth of any King who affects not to be a God, and such as ought to be as odious in the ears of a free Nation. For if they were unjust acts, why did he grant them as of grace? If just, it was not of his grace, but of his duty and his Oath to grant them.

A glorious King he would be, though by his sufferings: But that can never be to him whose sufferings are his own doings. He fains a *hard choise* put upon him either to kill his Subjects, or be kill'd. Yet never was King less in danger of any violence from his Subjects, till he unsheath'd his Sword against them; nay long after that time, when he had spilt the blood of thousands, they had still his Person in a foolish veneration.

He complains, *That civil War must be the fruits of his seventeen years reigning with such a measure of Justice, Peace, Plenty, and Religion, as all Nations either admir'd or envi'd.* For the Justice we had, let the Council Table, Star-chamber, High Commission speak the praise of it; not forgetting the unprincipally usage, and, as far as might be, the abolishing of Parliaments, the displacing of honest Judges, the sale of Offices, Bribery and Exaction, not found out to be punish'd, but to be shar'd in with impunity for the time to come. Who can number the Extortions, the Oppressions, the public Robberies and Rapines committed on the Subject both by Sea and Land under various pretences? Thir possessions also tak'n from them, one while as *Forrest-Land*, another while a *Crown-Land*; nor were thir Goods exempted, no not the Bullion in the Mint; Piracy was become a project own'd and authoriz'd against the Subject.

For the peace we had, what peace was that which drew out the English to a needless and dishonourable Voyage against the *Spaniard* at *Cales*? Or that which lent our shipping to a treacherous and Antichristian War against the poor Protestants of *Rochel* our suppliants? What peace was that which fell to rob the French by Sea, to the imbarring of all our Merchants in that Kingdom? which brought forth that unblest expedition to the Isle of *Rhee*, doubtful whether more calamitous in the success or in the design, betraying all the flower of our military Youth and best Commanders to a shameful surprisal and execution. This was the peace we had, and the peace we gave, whether to friends or to foes abroad. And if at home any peace were intended us, what meant those billeted Souldiers in all parts of the Kingdom, and the design of German Horse to subdue us in our peaceful Houses?

For our Religion, where was there a more ignorant, profane, and vicious Clergy, learned in nothing but the antiquities of thir Pride, thir Covetousness

and Superstition? whose un sincere and leavenous Doctrine, corrupting the people, first taught them looseness, then bondage; loosning them from all sound knowledge and strictness of life, the more to fit them for the bondage of Tyranny and Superstition. So that what was left us for other Nations not to pity rather than admire or envy all those seventeen years, no wise man could see. For wealth and plenty in a Land where Justice reigns not, is no argument of a flourishing State, but of a nearness rather to ruin or commotion.

These were not *some miscarriages* only of a Government, *which might escape*, but a universal distemper, and reducement of Law to arbitrary Power; not through the evil counsels of *some men*, but through the constant cours and practice of all that were in highest favour: whose worst actions he frequently avow'd and took upon himself, and whose Persons when he could no longer protect, he esteem'd and favour'd to the end; but never otherwise then by constraint, yielded any of them to due Punishment; thereby manifesting that what they did was by his own Authority and Approbation.

Yet heer he asks *Whose innocent Blood he hath shed, what Widows or Orphans tears can witness against him?* After the suspected poysoning of his Father, not inquir'd into, but smother'd up, and him protected and advanc'd to the very half of his Kingdom, who was accus'd in Parliament to be the Author of the fact, after so many Years of cruel War on his People in three Kingdoms. Whence the Author of *Truths manifest*, a Scotchman, not unacquainted with affairs, positively affirms, *That there hath more Christian Blood been shed by the Commission, approbation, and connivance of King Charles and his Father James in the latter end of thir reign, then in the Ten Roman Persecutions.* Not to speak of those many Whippings, Pillories, and other corporal inflictions wherewith his reign also before this War was not unbloodie; some have dy'd in Prison under cruel restraint, others in Banishment, whose lives were shortn'd through the rigour of that Persecution wherewith so many years he infested the true Church. And those six Members all men judg'd to have escap'd no less then capital danger; whom he so greedily pursuing into the House of Commons, had not there the forbearance to conceal how much it troubl'd him, *That the Birds were flown.* If som Vultur in the Mountains could have op'nd his Beak intelligibly and spoke, what fitter words could he have utter'd at the loss of his Prey? The Tyrant *Nero*, though not yet deserving that name, set his hand so unwillingly to the execution of a condemn'd Person, as to wish *He had not known Letters.* Certainly for a King himself to charge his Subjects with High Treason, and so vehemently to prosecute them in his own cause, as to do the Office of a Searcher, argu'd in him no great averfation from shedding blood, were it but *to satisfy his anger*, and that revenge was no unpleasing morsel to him, whereof he himself thought not much to be so diligently his own Caterer. But we insist rather upon what was actual then what was probable.

He now falls to examin the causes of this War, as a difficulty which he had long studied to find out. *It was not*, saith he, *my withdrawing from Whitehall, for no account in reason could be giv'n of those Tumults, where an orderly Guard was granted.* But if it be a most certain truth that the Parliament could never yet obtain of him any Guard fit to be confided in, then by his own confession some account of those pretended Tumults *may in reason be giv'n*; and both concerning them and the Guards anough hath bin said already.

Whom did he protect against the Justice of Parliament? Whom did he not to his utmost power? Endeavouring to have rescu'd *Strafford* from their Justice, tho with the destruction of them and the City; to that end expressly commanding the admittance of new Soldiers into the Tower, rais'd by *Suckling* and other Conspirators, under pretence for the *Portugall*; not to repeat his other Plot of bringing up the two Armies. But what can be disputed with such a King, in whose mouth and opinion the Parliament it self was never but a *Faction*, and thir Justice no Justice, but *The dictates and overswaying Insolence of Tumults and Rabbles?* and under that excuse avouches himself openly the general Patron of most notorious Delinquents, and approves thir flight out of the Land, whose crimes were such, as that the justest and the fairest trial would have soonest condemn'd them to death. But did not *Catiline* plead in like manner against the *Roman Senat*, and the injustice of thir trial, and the justice of his flight from *Rome*? *Cesar* also, then hatching Tyranny, injected the same scrupulous de-

mers to stop the sentence of death in full and free Senat decreed on *Lentulus* and *Cethegus*, two of *Catiline's* accomplices, which were renew'd and urg'd for *Strafford*. He voutsafes to the reformation, by both Kingdoms intended, no better name then *Innovation and ruin both in Church and State*. And what we would have learnt so gladly of him in other passages before, to know wherein, he tells us now of his own accord. The expelling Bishops out of the House of Peers, this was *ruin to the State*; the removing them *root and branch*, this was *ruin to the Church*. How happy could this Nation be in such a Governour who counted that thir ruin, which they thought thir deliverance; the ruin both of Church and State, which was the recovery and the saving of them both?

To the passing of those Bills against Bishops, how is it likely that the House of Peers gave so hardly thir consent, which they gave so easily before to the attaching them of High Treason, 12 at once, only for protesting that the Parliament could not act without them? Surely if thir rights and privileges were thought so undoubted in that House, as is heer maintain'd; then was that Protestation, being meant and intended in the name of thir whole spiritual Order, no Treason; and so that House it self will becom liable to a just construction either of injustice in them for so consenting, or of usurpation, representing none but themselves, to expect that their voting or not voting should obstruct the Commons: Who not for *five repulses of the Lords*, no not for fifty, were to desert from what in the name of the whole Kingdom they demanded, so long as those Lords were none of our Lords. And for the Bill against root and branch, tho it pass'd not in both Houses till many of the Lords and some few of the Commons, either intic'd away by the King, or overaw'd by the sence of thir own Malignancy, not prevailing, deserted the Parliament, and made a fair riddance of themselves; that was no warrant for them who remain'd faithful, being far the greater number, to lay aside that Bill of root and branch, till the return of thir fugitives; a Bill so necessary and so much desir'd by themselves as by the People.

This was the *partiality*, this degrading of the Bishops, a thing so wholsom in the State, and so Orthodoxal in the Church both ancient and reformed, which the King rather then assent to, *will either hazard both his own and the Kingdoms ruin*, by our just defence against his force of arms; or *prostrate our consciences in a blind obedience to himself*, and those men, whose superstition, zealous or unzealous, would inforce upon us an Antichristian tyranny in the Church, neither *Primitive, Apostolical*, nor more *anciently universal*, then som other manifest corruptions.

But he was bound, besides his judgment, by a most strict and undispensible Oath to preserve that Order and the rights of the Church. If he mean the Oath of his Coronation, and that the letter of that Oath admit not to be interpreted either by equity, reformation, or better knowledg, then was the King bound by that Oath to grant the Clergie all those Customs, Franchises, and Canonical Privileges granted to them by *Edward the Confessor*; and so might one day, under pretence of that Oath, and his conscience, have brought us all again to Popery. But had he so well remembred as he ought, the words to which he swore, he might have found himself no otherwise oblig'd there, then *according to the Laws of God, and true profession of the Gospel*. For if those following words, *Establish'd in this Kingdom*, be set there to limit and lay prescription on the Laws of God and truth of the Gospel by mansestablishment, nothing can be more absurd or more injurious to Religion. So that however the German Emperors or other Kings have levied all those Wars on thir Protestant Subjects under the colour of a blind and literal observance to an Oath, yet this King had least pretence of all. Nor is it to be imagin'd, if what shall be establish'd come in question, but that the Parliament should overstay the King, and not he the Parliament. And by all Law and Reason that which the Parliament will not, is no more establish'd in this Kingdom, neither is the King bound by Oath to uphold it as a thing establish'd.

Had he gratifi'd, he thinks, *Antiepiscopal Faction with his consent, and sacrific'd the Church-government and Revenues to the fury of their covetousness, &c.* an Army had not bin rais'd. Whereas it was the fury of his own hatred to the professors of true Religion which first incited him to persecute them with the Sword of War, when Whips, Pillories, Exiles, and Imprisonments were not thought sufficient. To colour which he cannot find wherewithal but that stale pretence of *Charles the fifth*, and other Popish Kings, that the Protestants had only an intent

intent to lay hands on the Church revenues, a thing never in the thoughts of this Parliament, till exhausted by his endless War upon them, thir necessity seisd on that for the Commonwealth, which the luxury of Prelats had abus'd before to a common mischief.

His consent to the unlording of Bishops (for to that he himself consented, and at *Canterbury* the chief seat of their pride, so God would have it) *was from his firm perswasion of thir contentedness to suffer a present diminution of their rights.* Can any man, reading this, not discern the pure mockery of a Royal consent, to delude us only for *the present*, meaning, it seems, when time should serve to revoke all? By this reckning his consents and his denials come all to one pass: and we may hence perceave the wisdom and the integrity of those Votes which voted his Concessions at the Ile of *Wight* for grounds of a lasting Peace. This he alleges, this controverlie about Bishops, *to be the true state of that difference between him and the Parliament.* For he held Episcopacy *both very Sacred and Divine.* With this judgment, and for this cause he withdrew from the Parliament, and confesses that some men knew *he was like to bring again the same judgment which he carried with him.* A fair and unexpected justification from his own mouth afforded to the Parliament, who notwithstanding what they knew of his obstinat mind, omitted not to use all those means, and that patience to have gain'd him.

As for Delinquents; *he allows them to be but the necessary consequences of his and their withdrawing and defending.* A pretty shift to mince the name of a delinquent into a necessary consequent: what is a Traitor, but the necessary consequence of his Treason? what a Rebel, but of his Rebellion? From this conceit he would infer a *pretext* only in the Parliament to *fetch in delinquents*, as if there had indeed bin no such cause, but all the delinquency in *London Tumults.* Which is the overworn theme, and stuffing of all his discourses.

This he thrice repeats to be the true state and reason of all that War and Devastation in the Land; and that of *all the Treaties and Propositions* offerd him, he was resolv'd *never to grant the abolishing of Episcopacy, or the establishment of Presbyterian Government.* I would demand now of the *Scots* and Covenanters (for so I call them as misobservers of the Cov'nant) how they will reconcile the preservation of Religion and their Liberties, and the bringing of delinquents to condign punishment, with the freedom, honour, and safety of this vow'd resolution here, that esteems all the Zeal of thir prostituted Cov'nant no better then a noise and shew of pietie, a heat for reformation, filling them with prejudice, and obstructing all equality and clearness of judgment in them. With these principles who knows but that at length he might have come to take the Cov'nant, as others whom they brotherly admit have don before him? and then all, no doubt, had gon well, and ended in a happy peace.

His prayer is most of it borrow'd out of *David*; but what if it be answerd him as the *Jews*, who trusted in *Moses*, were answer'd by our Saviour; There is one that accuseth yon, ev'n *David*, whom you misapply.

He tells God that his Enemies are many, but tells the people, when it serves his turn, they are but a *faction of some few*, prevailing over the major part of both Houses.

God knows he had no passion, design or preparation to imbroyle his Kingdom in a civil War. True; for he thought his Kingdom to be *Issachar*, a strong Ass that would have couch'd down between two burd'ns, the one of prelatical superstition, the other of civil tyrannie: but what passion and design, what close and op'n preparation he had made to subdue us to both these by terror and preventive force, all the Nation knows.

The confidence of some men had almost perswaded him to suspect his own innocence. As the words of Saint Paul had almost perswaded *Agrippa* to be a Christian. But Almost in the work of repentance is as good as Not at all.

God, saith he, will find out bloody and deceitful men, many of whom have not liv'd out half thir days. It behov'd him to have been more cautious how he tempted Gods finding out of blood and deceit, till his own years had bin surder spent, or that he had enjoy'd longer the fruits of his own violent Counsels.

But instead of wariness he adds another temptation, charging God to know that the chief design of this War was either to destroy his Person, or to force his Judgment. And thus his prayer from the evil practice of unjust accusing men to God, arises to the hideous rashness of accusing God before men, to know that for truth, which all men know to be most fals.

He prays *That God would forgive the People, for they know not what they do.* It is an easie matter to say over what our Saviour said; but how he lov'd the People, other Arguments then affected Sayings must demonstrate. He who so oft hath presum'd rashly to appeal to the knowledg and testimony of God in things so evidently untrue, may be doubted what belief or esteem he had of his forgiveness, either to himself, or those for whom he would so fain that men should hear he pray'd.

X. Upon their seizing the Magazins, Forts, &c.

TO put the matter soonest out of controversy who was the first beginner of this Civil War, since the beginning of all War may be discern'd not only by the first act of Hostilitie, but by the Counsels and Preparations foregoing, it shall evidently appear that the King was still formost in all these. No King had ever at his first coming to the Crown more love and acclamation from a people; never any people found worse requital of thir loyalty and good affection: First by his extraordinary fear and mistrust that thir Liberties and Rights were the impairing and diminishing of his Regal Power, the true Original of Tyranny: next by his hatred to all those who were esteem'd religious; doubting that thir Principles too much asserted Libertie. This was quickly seen by the vehemence, and the causes alleg'd of his persecuting, the other by his frequent and opprobrious dissolution of Parlements; after he had demanded more money of them, and they to obtain thir rights had granted him, then would have bought the *Turk* out of *Morea*, and set free all the Greeks. But when he sought to extort from us, by way of Tribute, that which had bin offer'd him conditionally in Parliament, as by a free People, and that those Extortions were now consum'd and wasted by the luxurie of his Court, he began then (for still the more he did wrong, the more he fear'd) before any Tumult or Insurrection of the People, to take counsel how he might totally subdue them to his own will. Then was the design of German Horse, and Souldiers billeted in all parts; the Pulpits resounded with no other Doctrine then that which gave all Propertie to the King, and Passive Obedience to the Subject. After which innumerable formes and shapes of new Exactions and Exacters overspread the Land: Nor was it enough to be impoverish'd, unless we were disarm'd. Our Train'd-Bands, which are the trustiest and most proper strength of a free Nation, had thir Arms in divers Counties tak'n from them; other Ammunition by design was ingross'd and kept in the Tower, not to be bought without a Licence, and at a high rate.

Thus far, and many other ways were his Counsels and Preparations beforehand with us, either to a Civil War, if it should happ'n, or to subdue us without a War, which is all one, until the raising of his two Armies against the Scots, and the latter of them rais'd to the most perfidious breaking of a solemn Pacification.

After the beginning of this Parliament, whom he saw so resolute and unanimous to releve the Common-wealth, and that the Earl of *Strafford* was condemn'd to die, other of his evil Counsellors impeach'd and imprison'd, to shew there wanted not evil Counsel within himself sufficient to begin a War upon his Subjects, though no way by them provok'd, he sends an Agent with Letters to the King of *Denmark* requiring aid against the Parliament, endeavours to bring up both Armies, first the English, with whom 8000 Irish Papists rais'd by *Strafford*, and a French Army were to join; then the Scots at *Newcastle*, whom he thought to have encourag'd by telling them what mony and horse he was to have from *Denmark*. I mention not the *Irish* Conspiracie till due place. These and many other were his Counsels toward a Civil War. His Preparations, after those two Armies were dismiss'd, could not suddenly be too op'n: Nevertheless there were 8000 *Irish* Papists which he refus'd to disband, though intreated by both Houses, first for reasons best known to himself, next under pretence of lending them to the *Spaniard*; and so kept them undisband-

ed till very near the month wherein that Rebellion broke forth. He was also raising Forces in *London*, pretendedly to serve the *Portugal*, but with intent to seize the Tower. Into which diverse Cannoncers were by him sent; the Court was fortifi'd with Ammunition and Souldiers new list'd, follow'd the King from *London*, and appear'd at *Kingston* some hundreds of horse in a warlike manner, with Waggon's of Ammunition after them; the Queen in *Holland* was buying more; the Inhabitants of *Yorkshire* and other Counties were call'd to Arms, and actual Forces rais'd, while the Parliament were yet petitioning in peace.

As to the Act of Hostilitie, though not much material in whom first it began after such Counsels and Preparations discover'd, and so far advanc'd by the King, yet in that act also he will be found to have had precedency, if not at *London* by the assault of his armed Court upon the naked People, and his attempt upon the House of Commons, yet certainly at *Hull*, first by his close Practices on that Town, next by his Siege. Thus whether Counsels, Preparations, or Acts of Hostilitie be considered, it appears with evidence enough, though much more might be said, that the King is truly charg'd to be the first beginner of these Civil Wars. To which may be added as a close, that in the Isle of *Wight* he charg'd it upon himself at the publick Treaty, and acquitted the Parliament.

But as for the securing of *Hull* and the publick stores therein, and in other places, it was no surprisal of his Strength; the custody whereof by Authority of Parliament was committed into hands most fit and most responsible for such a trust. It were a folly beyond ridiculous, to count our selves a free Nation, if the King, not in Parliament, but in his own Person, and against them, might appropriate to himself the strength of a whole Nation as his proper goods. What the Laws of the Land are, a Parliament should know best, having both the life and death of Laws in thir lawgiving Power: And the Law of *England* is, at best, but the reason of Parliament. The Parliament therefore, taking into thir hands that wherof most properly they ought to have the keeping, committed no surprisal. If they prevented him, that argu'd not at all either *his innocency or unpreparedness*, but thir timely foresight to use prevention.

But what needed that? *They knew his chiefest Arms left him were those only which the antient Christians were wont to use against thir Persecuters, Prayers and Tears.* O sacred reverence of God, respect and shame of men, whither were ye fled when these hypocrisies were utter'd? Was the Kingdom then at all that cost of Blood to remove from him none but Prayers and Tears? What were those thousands of blaspheming Cavaliers about him, whose mouths let fly Oaths and Curses by the volley; were those the Prayers? and those Carouses drunk to the confusion of all things good or holy, did those minister the Tears? Were they Prayers and Tears that were list'd at *York*, muster'd on *Heworth Moore*, and laid Siege to *Hull* for the guard of his Person? Were Prayers and Tears at so high a rate in *Holland*, that nothing could purchase them but the Crown-Jewels? yet they in *Holland* (such word was sent us) sold them for Guns, Carabins, Mortar-peeces, Cannons, and other deadly Instruments of War, which when they came to *York*, were all no doubt by the merit of some great Saint suddenly transform'd into Prayers and Tears; and being divided into Regiments and Brigades, were the only Arms that mischiev'd us in all those Battels and Incounters.

These were his chief Arms, whatever we must call them, and yet such Arms as they who fought for the Commonwealth have by the help of better Prayers vanquish'd and brought to nothing.

He bewails his want of the Militia, *not so much in reference to his own protection as the peoples, whose many and sore oppressions grieve him.* Never considering how ill for seventeen years together he had protected them, and that these miseries of the people are still his own handy work, having smitt'n them like a forked Arrow so sore into the Kingdom's sides, as not to be drawn out and cur'd without the incision of more flesh.

He tells us that *what he wants in the hands of Power he has in the wings of Faith and Prayer.* But they who made no reckning of those Wings while they had that power in thir hands, may easily mistake the Wings of Faith for the Wings of Presumption, and so fall headlong.

We meet next with a comparison, how apt let them judg that have travell'd to *Mecca* That the Parliament have hung the Majestie of Kingship in an airy imagination of Regaluty, between the Privileges of both Houses, like the Tomb of Mahomet. He knew not that he was prophecyng the death and burial of a Turkish Tyranny, that spurn'd down those Laws which gave it life and being, so long as it endur'd to be a regulated Monarchy.

He counts it an injury not to have the sole power in himself to help or hurt any; and that the *Militia* which he holds to be his undoubted Right, should be dispos'd as the Parliament thinks fit: And yet confesses that if he had it in his actual disposing, he would defend those whom he calls his good Subjects from those mens violence and fraud, who would perswade the World that none but Wolves are fit to be trusted with the custody of the Shepherd and his Flock. Surely if we may guess whom he means here, by knowing whom he hath ever most oppos'd in this Controversie, we may then assure our selves that by violence and fraud he means that which the Parliament hath done in settling the Militia, and those the Wolves, into whose hands it was by them intrusted: which draws a clear confession from his own mouth, that if the Parliament had left him sole power of the *Militia*, he would have us'd it to the destruction of them and thir Friends.

As for sole power of the *Militia* which he claims as a Right no less undoubted then the Crown, it hath bin oft enough told him, that he hath no more authority over the Sword then over the Law; over the Law he hath none, either to establish or to abrogate, to interpret, or to execute, but only by his Courts and in his Courts, whereof the Parliament is highest: no more therefore hath he power of the *Militia* which is the Sword, either to use or to dispose, but with consent of Parliament; give him but that, and as good give him all our Laws and Liberties. For if the power of the Sword were any where separate and undepending from the power of Law, which is originally seated in the highest Court, then were that power of the Sword higher then the power of Law, and being at one man's disposal, might when he pleas'd controul the Law, and enslave us. Such power as this did the King in op'n terms challenge to have over us, and brought thousands to help him win it; so much more good at fighting then at understanding, as to perswade themselves that they fought then for the Subjects Libertie.

He is contented, because he knows no other remedy, to resign this power for his own time, but not for his successors: So diligent and careful he is that we should be slaves, if not to him, yet to his Posterity, and fain would leave us the Legacy of another War about it. But the Parliament have done well to remove that question: whom, as his manner is to dignify with some good name or other, he calls now a *many-headed Hydra of Government*, full of *factions distractions*, and not more eyes then mouths. Yet surely not more mouths, or not so wide as the dissolute rabble of all his Courtiers had, both Hees and Shees, if ther were any Males among them.

He would prove that to govern by Parliament hath a *Monstrositie* rather then *Perfection*; and grounds his Argument upon two or three eminent Absurdities: First by placing Council in the Senses, next by turning the Senses out of the head, and in lieu thereof placing Power *supreme* above sense and reason; which be now the greater Monstrosities? Furder to dispute what kind of Government is best, would be a long Theme; it sufficeth that his reasons here for Monarchy are found weak and inconsiderable.

He bodes much horror and bad influence after his eclips. He speaks his wishes; but they who by weighing prudently things past, foresee things to come, the best Divination, may hope rather all good success and happiness, by removing that darkness which the mistie cloud of his Prerogative made between us and a peaceful Reformation, which is our true Sun-light, and not he, though he would be tak'n for our Sun it self. And wherefore should we not hope to be govern'd more happily without a King, when as all our miserie and trouble hath bin either by a King, or by our necessary vindication and defence against him.

He would be thought *inforc'd to Perjurie* by having granted the Militia, by which his Oath bound him to protect the people. If he can be perjur'd in granting that, why doth he refuse for no other cause the abolishing of Episcopacy?

But

But never was any Oath so blind as to swear him to protect Delinquents against Justice, but to protect all the people in that order, and by those hands which the Parliament should advise him to, and the protected confide in; and not under the shew of protection to hold a violent and incommunicable Sword over us as ready to be let fall upon our own necks, as upon our Enemies; nor to make our own Hands and Weapons fight against our own Liberties.

By his parting with the *Militia* he takes to himself much praise of his *assurance in God's protection*; and to the Parliament imputes the fear of *not daring to adventure the injustice of their actions upon any other way of safety*. But whertore came not this assurance of God's protection to him, till the *Militia* was wrung out of his hand? it should seem by his holding it so fast, that his own Actions and Intentions had no less of injustice in them, then what he charges upon others, whom he terms *Chaldeans, Sabeans, and the Devil himself*. But *Job* us'd no such *Militia* against those Enemies, nor such a Magazin as was at *Hull*, which this King so contended for, and made War upon us, that he might have wherewithal to make War against us.

He concludes, that *although they take all from him, yet can they not obstruct his way to Heav'n*. It was no handsome occasion, by faining obstructions where they are not, to tell us whither he was going: he should have shut the door, and pray'd in secret, not here in the High Street. Private Prayers in publick, ask something of whom they ask not, and that shall be thir reward.

XI. Upon the Nineteen Propositions, &c.

OF the nineteen Propositions he names none in particular, neither shall the Answer: But he insists upon the old Plea of *his Conscience, Honour and Reason*; using the plausibility of large and indefinite words, to defend himself at such a distance as may hinder the eye of common Judgment from all distinct view and examination of his reasoning. *He would buy the peace of his People at any rate, save only the parting with his Conscience and Honour*. Yet shews not how it can happ'n that the Peace of a People, if otherwise to be bought at any rate, should be inconsistent or at variance with the Conscience and Honour of a King. Till then we may receive it for a better sentence, that nothing should be more agreeable to the Conscience and Honour of a King, then to preserve his Subjects in peace, especially from Civil War.

And which of the Propositions were *obtruded on him with the point of the Sword*, till he first with the point of the Sword thrust from him both the Propositions and the Propounders? He never reck'ns those violent and merciless Obtrusions, which for almost twenty years he had bin forcing upon tender Consciences by all sorts of Persecution, till through the multitude of them that were to suffer, it could be no more call'd a Persecution, but a plain War. From which when first the Scots, then the English were constrain'd to defend themselves, this thir just defence is that which he calls here, *Thir making War upon his Soul*.

He grudges that *so many things are requir'd of him, and nothing offer'd him in requital of those favours which he had granted*. What could satiate the desires of this Man, who being King of *England*, and Master of almost two Millions yearly, was still in want; and those acts of Justice which he was to do in duty, counts done as favours, and such favours as were not done without the avaritious hope of other rewards besides supreme Honour, and the constant Revenue of his place?

This Honour, he saith, *they did him to put him on the giving part*. And spake truer then he intended, it being meerly for honours sake that they did so; not that it belong'd to him of right: For what can he give to a Parliament, who receaves all he hath from the People, and for the Peoples good? Yet now he brings his own conditional Rights to contest, and be prefer'd before the Peoples good; and yet unless it be in order to thir good, he hath no rights at all; reigning by the Laws of the Land, not by his own; which Laws are in the
hands

hands of Parliament to change or abrogate as they shall see best for the Commonwealth; ev'n to the taking away of Kingship it self, when it grows too masterful and burd'nsome. For every Commonwealth is in general defin'd, a Societie sufficient of it self in all things conducive to well being and commodious life. Any of which requisite things, if it cannot have without the gift or favour of a single Person, or without leave of his private reason or his conscience, it cannot be thought sufficient of it self, and by consequence no Commonwealth, nor free; but a multitude of Vassals in the possession and domain of one absolute Lord, and wholly obnoxious to his will. If the King have power to give or deny any thing to his Parliament, he must do it either as a Person severall from them, or as one greater; neither of which will be allow'd him: not to be consider'd severally from them; for as the King of *England* can do no wrong, so neither can he do right but in his Courts and by his Courts; and what is legally done in them, shall be deem'd the King's Assent, though he as a severall Person shall judg or endeavour the contrary; so that indeed without his Courts, or against them, he is no King. If therefore he obtrude upon us any publick mischief, or withhold from us any general good, which is wrong in the highest degree, he must do it as a Tyrant, not as a King of *England*, by the known Maxims of our Law. Neither can he, as one greater, give aught to the Parliament which is not in thir own power, but he must be greater also then the Kingdom which they represent: so that to honour him with the giving part was a meer civility, and may be well term'd the courtesie of *England*, not the King's due.

But the *incommunicable Jewel of his Conscience* he will not give, *but reserve to himself*. It seems that his Conscience was none of the Crown-Jewels; for those we know were in *Holland*, not incommunicable to buy Arms against Subjects. Being therefore but a private Jewel, he could not have done a greater pleasure to the Kingdom then by reserving it to himself. But he, contrary to what is here profess'd, would have his Conscience not an incommunicable, but a universal Conscience, the whole Kingdom's Conscience. Thus what he seems to fear lest we should ravish from him, is our chief complaint that he obtruded upon us; we never forc'd him to part with his Conscience, but it was he that would have forc'd us to part with ours.

Some things he taxes them to have offer'd him, *which while he had the mastery of his Reason, he would never consent to*. Very likely; but had his reason master'd him as it ought, and not bin master'd long ago by his sense and humour (as the breeding of most Kings hath bin ever sensual and most humour'd) perhaps he would have made no difficulty. Mean while at what a fine pass is the Kingdom, that must depend in greatest Exigencies upon the fantasie of a King's Reason, be he wise or fool, who arrogantly shall answer all the Wisdom of the Land, that what they offer seems to him unreasonable?

He prefers his *love of Truth* before his love of the People. His love of Truth would have led him to the search of Truth, and have taught him not to lean so much upon his own understanding. He met at first with Doctrines of unaccountable Prerogative; in them he rested, because they pleas'd him; they therefore pleas'd him because they gave him all: and this he calls his love of Truth, and prefers it before love of his peoples peace.

Some things they propos'd *which would have wounded the inward peace of his Conscience*. The more our evil hap, that three Kingdoms should be thus pester'd with one Conscience; who chiefly scrupl'd to grant us that which the Parliament advis'd him to, as the chief means of our publick welfare and Reformation. These scruples to many perhaps seem pretended, to others, upon as good grounds, may seem real; and that it was the just judgment of God, that he who was so cruel and so remorseless to other mens Consciences, should have a Conscience within him as cruel to himself; constraining him, as he constrain'd others, and insnaring him such ways and counsels as were certain to be his destruction.

Other things though he could approve, yet in honour and policy he thought fit to deny, lest he should seem to dare deny nothing. By this means he will be sure, what with Reason, Conscience, Honour, Policy, or Puntillios, to be found never unfurnisht of a denial: Whether it were his envy not to be overbounteous, or that the submissness of our asking stirr'd up in him a certain pleasure of denying. Good Princes have thought it thir chief happiness to be always granting; if
good

good things, for the things sake ; if things indifferent for the peoples, sake, while this man sits calculating varietie of excuses how he may grant least, as if his whole strength and royaltie were plac'd in a meer negative.

Of one Proposition especially he laments him much, that they would bind him to a *general and implicit consent for whatever they desir'd*. Which though I find not among the nineteen, yet undoubtedly the Oath of his Coronation binds him to no less ; neither is heat all by his Office to interpose against a Parliament in the making or not making of any Law ; but to take that for just and good legally which is there decreed, and to see it executed accordingly. Nor was he set over us to vie wisdom with his Parliament, but to be guided by them : *any of whom possibly may as far excel him in the gift of wisdom, as he them in place and dignity*. But much neerer is it to impossibilitie that any King alone should be wiser then all his Councel ; sure enough it was not he, though no King ever before him so much contended to have it thought so. And if the Parliament so thought not, but desir'd him to follow their advice and deliberation in things of public concernment, he accounts it the same proposition, as if *Sampson* had bin mov'd to the putting out his eyes, that the *Philistins* might abuse him. And thus out of an unwise or pretended fear lest others should make a scorn of him for yielding to his Parliament, he regards not to give cause of worse suspicion that he made a scorn of his regal Oath.

But to exclude him from all power of denial seems an arrogance ; in the Parliament he means : what in him then to deny against the Parliament ? None at all by what he argues : For, *by petitioning, they confess their inferioritie, and that obliges them to rest, if not satisfi'd, yet quiered with such an Answer as the will and reason of their Superior thinks fit to give*. First petitioning, in better English, is no more then requesting or requiring ; and men require not favours only, but their due, and that not only from Superiors, but from Equals, and Inferiors also. The noblest Romans, when they stood for that which was a kind of regal honour, the Consulship, were wont in a submissive manner to go about, and beg that highest dignity of the meanest *Plebeians*, naming them man by man ; which in their tongue was call'd *Petitiō consulatū*. And the Parliament of England petition'd the King, not because all of them were inferior to him, but because he was superior to any one of them, which they did of civil custom, and for fashions sake more then of duty ; for by plain Law cited before the Parliament is his Superior.

But what Law in any trial or dispute enjoyns a Free-man to rest quieted, though not satisfied with the will and reason of his superior ? It were a mad Law that would subject reason to superioritie of place. And if our highest consultations and purpos'd Laws must be terminated by the Kings will, then is the will of one man our Law, and no subtletie of dispute can redeem the Parliament and Nation from being Slaves : neither can any Tyrant require more then that his will or reason, though not satisfying, should yet be rested in, and determin'd all things. We may conclude therefore that when the Parliament petition'd the King, it was but meerly form, let it be as *foolish and absurd* as he pleases. It cannot certainly be so absurd as what he requires, that the Parliament should confine thir own and all the Kingdoms reason to the will of one man, because it was his hap to succeed his Father. For neither God nor the Laws have subjected us to his will, nor set his reason to be our Sovran above Law (which must needs be, if he can strangle it in the birth) but set his person over us in the sovran execution of such Laws as the Parliament establish. The Parliament therefore without any usurpation hath had it alwaies in thir power to limit and confine the exorbitancie of Kings, whether they call it thir will, thir reason, or thir conscience.

But this above all was never expected, nor is to be endur'd, that a King, who is bound by Law and Oath to follow the advice of his Parliament, should be permitted to except against them as *young Statesmen*, and proudly to suspend his following thir advice, *until his seven years experience had shewn him how well they could govern themselves*. Doubtless the Law never suppos'd so great an arrogance could be in one man ; that he whose seventeen years unexperience had almost ruin'd all, should sit another seven years Schoolmaster, to tutor those who were sent by the whole Realm to be his Counsellors and Teachers. And with what modesty can he pretend to be a Statesman himself, who with his Fa-

thers Kingcraft and his own did never that of his own accord which was not directly opposit to his professed Interest both at home and abroad; discontenting and alienating his Subjects at home, weakning and deserting his Comederats abroad, and with them the common cause of Religion? So that the whole course of his raign, by an example of his own furnishing, hath resembled *Phaeton* more than *Phabus*, and forc'd the Parlament to drive like *Jehu*; which *Omen* tak'n from his own mouth God hath not diverted.

And he on the other side might have remembred that the Parlament sit in that body, not *as his Subjects*, but as his Superiors, call'd, not by him, but by the Law; not only twice every year, but as oft as great affairs require, *to be his Counsellors and Dictators*, tho he stomac it; nor to be dissolv'd at his pleasure, but when all greevances be first remov'd, all Petitions heard and answer'd. This is not only Reason, but the known Law of the Land.

When he heard that Propositions would be sent him, he fate conjecturing what they would propound; and because they propounded what he expected not, he takes that to be a warrant for his denying them. But what did he expect? he expected that the Parlament would reinforce *some old Laws*. But if those Laws were not a sufficient remedy to all greevances, nay were found to be greevances themselves, when did we lose that other part of our freedom to establish new? He thought *some injuries don by himself and others to the Commonwealth were to be repair'd*. But how could that be, while he the chief offender took upon him to be sole Judg both of the injury and the reparation? *He staid till the advantage of his Crown consider'd might induce him to condescend to the Peoples good*. When as the Crown it self with all those advantages were therefore giv'n him, that the peoples good should be first consider'd; not bargain'd for, and bought by inches with the bribe of more *offertures* and advantages to his Crown. He look'd for moderate desires of *due Reformation*; as if any such desires could be immoderate. He look'd for such a Reformation *both in Church and State*, as might preserve the roots of every greivance and abuse in both still growing (which he calls *the foundation and essentials*) and would have only the excrescencies of Evil prun'd away for the present, as was plotted before, that they might grow fast enough between Triennial Parlements to hinder them by work enough besides from ever striking at the root. He alleges, *They should have had regard to the Laws in force, to the wisdom and pietie of former Parlements, to the ancient and universal practise of Christian Churches*. As if they who come with full authority to redress public greevances, which oftimes are Laws themselves, were to have thir hands bound by Laws in force, or the supposition of more pietie and wisdom in thir Ancestors, or the practice of Churches heretofore, whose Fathers, notwithstanding all these pretences, made as vast alterations to free themselves from antient Popery. For all antiquity that adds or varies from the Scripture is no more warranted to our safe imitation, then what was don the Age before at *Trent*. Nor was there need to have despair'd of what could be establish'd in lieu of what was to be annull'd, having before his eyes the Government of so many Churches beyond the Seas; whose pregnant and solid reasons wrought so with the Parlament, as to desire a uniformity rather with all other Protestants, then to be a Schism divided from them under a conclave of thirty Bishops, and a crew of irreligious Priests that gap'd for the same preferment.

And whereas he blames those Propositions for not containing what they ought, what did they mention, but to vindicate and restore the Rights of Parlament invaded by Cabin Councils, the Courts of Justice obstructed, and the Government of Church innovated and corrupted? All these things he might easily have observ'd in them, which he affirms he could not find: but found those demanding in Parlament who were lookt upon before as *factions in the State, and scismatical in the Church*; and demanding not only Tolerations for themselves in thir vanity, novelty, and confusion, but also an extirpation of that Government whose Rights they had a mind to invade. Was this man ever likely to be advis'd, who with such a prejudice and disesteem sets himself against his chos'n and appointed Counselers; likely ever to admit of Reformation, who censures all the Government of other Protestant Churches as bad as any Papist could have censur'd them? And what King had ever his whole Kingdom in such contempt, so to wrong and dishonour the free elections of his people, as to judg them whom the Nation thought worthiest to sit with him in Parlament, few els but such as were punishable by

the Laws : yet knowing that time was, when to be a Protestant, to be a Christian was by Law as punishable as to be a Traitor, and that our Saviour himself coming to reform his Church, was accus'd of an intent to invade *Cæsars* right, as good a right as the prelat Bishops ever had ; the one being got by force, the other by spiritual usurpation, and both by force upheld.

He admires and falls into an extasie that the Parliament should send him such a *horrid Proposition*, as the removal of Episcopacy. But expect from him in an extasie no other reasons of his admiration then the dream and tautology of what he hath so oft repeated, Law, Antiquitie, Ancestors, Prosperity, and the like, which will be therefore not worth a second answer, but may pass with his own comparison, *into the common sewer* of other Popish arguments.

Had the two Houses su'd out their Liverie from the wardship of Tumults, he could sooner have believ'd them. It concern'd them first to sue out thir Liverie from the unjust Wardship of his encroaching Prerogative. And had he also redeem'd his overdated minority from a Pupilage under Bishops, he would much less have mistrusted his Parliament ; and never would have set so base a character upon them, as to count them no better then the Vallals of certain nameless men, whom he charges to be such as *hunt after Faction with their Hounds the Tumults*. And yet the Bishops could have told him, that *Nimrod*, the first that hunted after faction, is reputed by antient Tradition the first that founded Monarchy ; whence it appears that to hunt after Faction is more properly the Kings Game, and those Hounds, which he calls the Vulgar, have bin oft'n hollo'd to from Court, of whom the mungrel sort have bin entic'd ; the rest have not lost their scent, but understood aright that the Parliament had *that part to act* which he had fail'd in ; that *trust to discharge*, which he had brok'n ; that *estate and honour to preserve*, which was far beyond his, the estate and honour of the Commonwealth, which he had imbezl'd.

Yet so far doth self-opinion or fals principles delude and transport him, as to think *the concurrence of his reason* to the Votes of Parliament, not only political, but natural, and *as necessary to the begetting*, or bringing forth of any one compleat *act of public wisdom as the Suns influence is necessary to all natures productions*. So that the Parliament, it seems, is but a Female, and without his procreative Reason can produce no Law : Wisdom, it seems, to a King is natural, to a Parliament not natural, but by conjunction with the King : yet he professes to hold his Kingly right by Law ; and if no Law could be made but by the great Council of a Nation, which we now term a Parliament, then certainly it was a Parliament that first created Kings ; and not only made Laws before a King was in being, but those Laws especially whereby he holds his Crown. He ought then to have so thought of a Parliament, if he count it not Male, as of his Mother, which to civil being created both him and the Royaltie he wore. And if it hath bin antiently interpreted the presaging sign of a future Tyrant, but to dream of copulation with his Mother, what can it be less then actual Tyranny to affirm waking, that the Parliament, which is his Mother, can neither conceive or bring forth *any autoritative Act* without his masculine coition ? Nay that his Reason is as celestial and life-giving to the Parliament, as the Sun's influence is to the Earth : What other notions but these, or such like, could swell up *Caligula* to think himself a God ?

But to be rid of these mortifying Propositions, he leaves tyrannical evasion unallaid ; first *that they are not the joint and free desires of both Houses, or the major part* ; next, *that the chois of many Members was carried on by Faction*. The former of these is already discover'd to be an old device put first in practice by *Charles* the fifth, since Reformation : Who when the Protestants of *Germany* for thir own defence join'd themselves in League, in his Declarations and Remonstrances laid the fault only upon some few (for it was dangerous to take notice of too many Enemies) and accused them that under colour of Religion they had a purpose to invade his and the Churches right ; by which policy he deceav'd many of the German Cities, and kept them divided from that League, until they saw themselves brought into a snare. That other Cavil against the peoples chois puts us in mind rather what the Court was wont to do, and how to tamper with Elections : neither was there at that time any Faction more potent, or more likely to do such a business then they themselves who complain most.

But he must chew such *Morsels*, as *Propositions*, ere he let them down. So let him; but if the Kingdom shall taste nothing but after his chewing, what does he make of the Kingdom but a great Baby? *The straitness of his Conscience will not give him leave to swallow down such Camels of sacrilege and injustice as others do.* This is the Pharisee up and down, *I am not as other men are.* But what Camels of injustice he could devour, all his three Realms were witness, which was the cause that they almost perish'd for want of Parliaments. And he that will be unjust to man, will be sacrilegious to God; and to bereave a Christian Conscience of libertie for no other reason then the narrowness of his own Conscience, is the most unjust measure to man, and the worst sacrilege to God. That other, which he calls *Sacrilege*, of taking from the Clergy that superfluous Wealth, which antiquitie as old a *Constantine*, from the credit of a divine Vision, counted *poysen in the Church*, hath bin ever most oppos'd by men whose righteousness in other matters hath bin least observ'd. He concludes, as his manner is, with high commendation of his own *unbias'd rectitude*, and believes nothing to be in them that dissent from him, but Faction, Innovation, and particular Designs. Of these Repetitions I find no end, no not in his Prayer; which being founded upon deceitful Principles and a fond hope that God will bless him in those *his Errors*, which he calls *honest*, finds a fit answer of *St. James, Ye ask and receive not, because ye ask amiss.* As for the truth and sinceritie which he praises may be always found in those his Declarations to the people, the contrariety of his own actions will bear eternal witness, how little careful or solicitous he was, what he promis'd or what he utter'd there.

XII. Upon the Rebellion in Ireland.

THE Rebellion and horrid Massacre of English Protestants in Ireland, to the number of 154000 by their own computation, although *so sudden and so violent*, as at first to amaze all men that were not accessory; yet from whom, and from what counsels it first sprung, neither was, nor could be possibly so secret, as the Contrivers thereof, blinded with vain hope, or the despair that other Plots would succeed, suppos'd: For it cannot be imaginable that the Irish, guided by so many subtle and *Italian* heads of the *Romish* Party, should so far have lost the use of reason, and indeed of common sense, as not supported with other strength then their own, to begin a War so desperate and irreconcilable against both *England* and *Scotland* at once. All other Nations, from whom they could expect aid, were busied to the utmost of their own most necessary Concernments. It remains then that either some authority, or some great assistance promis'd them from *England*, was that wheron they chiefly trusted. And as it is not difficult to discern from what inducing Cause this Insurrection first arose, so neither was it *hard at first to have apply'd* some effectual Remedy, though not prevention. But the assurance which they had in private, that no remedy should be apply'd, was, it seems, one of the chief reasons that drew on this undertaking.

Seeing then the main incitement and authority for this Rebellion must be needs deriv'd from *England*, it will be next inquir'd who was the prime Author. The King here denounces a Malediction temporal and eternal, not simply to the Author, but to the *malicious Author* of this bloodshed; and by that limitation may exempt, not himself only, but perhaps the Irish Rebels themselves, who never will confess to God or Man that any blood was shed by them maliciously; but either in the Catholick Cause, or common Liberty, or some other specious Plea, which the Conscience from grounds both good and evil usually suggests to it self, thereby thinking to elude the direct force of that imputation which lies upon them.

Yet he acknowledges it fell out as a most unhappy advantage of some mens malice against him: but indeed of most mens just suspicion, by finding in it no such wide departure or disagreement from the scope of his former Counsels and Proceedings. And that he himself was the Author of that Rebellion, he denies both

both here and elsewhere, with many Imprecations, but no solid evidence : What on the other side against his denial hath bin affirm'd in three Kingdoms, being here briefly set in view, the Reader may so judg as he finds cause.

This is most certain, that the King was ever friendly to the Irish Papists, and in his third year, against the plain advice of Parliament, like a kind of Pope, sold them many Indulgencies for money ; and upon all occasions advancing the Popish Party, and negotiating under-hand by Priests, who were made his Agents, engag'd the Irish Papists in a War against the Scotch Protestants. To that end he furnish'd them, and had them train'd in Arms, and kept them up the only Army in his three Kingdoms, till the very burst of that Rebellion. The Summer before that dismal *October*, a Committy of most active Papists, all since in the head of that Rebellion, were in great favour at *White-Hall* ; and admitted to many private Consultations with the King and Queen. And to make it evident that no mean matters were the subject of those Conferences, at their request he gave away his peculiar right to more then five Irish Counties, for the payment of an inconsiderable Rent. They departed not home till within two months before the Rebellion ; and were either from the first breaking out, or soon after, found to be the chief Rebels themselves. But what should move the King, besides his own inclination to Popery, and the prevalence of his Queen over him, to hold such frequent and close meetings with a Committy of Irish Papists in his own House, while the Parliament of *England* sat unadvis'd with, is declar'd by a Scotch Author, and of it self is clear enough. The Parliament at the beginning of that Summer, having put *Strafford* to death, imprison'd others his chief Favourites, and driv'n the rest to fly ; the King, who had in vain tempted both the Scotch and the English Army to come up against the Parliament and City, finding no compliance answerable to his hope from the Protestant Armies, betakes himself last to the Irish, who had in readiness an Army of eight thousand Papists, and a Committy here of the same Religion. And with them who thought the time now come to do eminent service for the Church of *Rome* against a Puritan Parliament, he concludes that so soon as both Armies in *England* should be disbanded, the Irish should appear in Arms, master all the Protestants, and help the King against his Parliament. And we need not doubt that those five Counties were giv'n to the Irish for other reason then the four Northern Counties had bin a little before offer'd to the Scots. The King in *August* takes a journey into *Scotland* ; and overtaking the Scotch Army then on thir way home, attempts the second time to pervert them, but without success. No sooner come into *Scotland*, but he laies a Plot, so saith the Scotch Author, to remove out of the way such of the Nobility there, as were most likely to withstand, or not to further his designs. This being discover'd, he sends from his side one *Dillon* a Papist Lord, soon after a chief Rebel, with Letters into *Ireland* ; and dispatches a Commission under the Great Seal of *Scotland* at that time in his own custody, commanding that they should forthwith, as had bin formerly agreed, cause all the Irish to rise in Arms. Who no sooner had receiv'd such command, but obey'd ; and began in Massacre, for they knew no other way to make sure the Protestants, which was commanded them expressly ; and the way, it seems, left to thir discretion. He who hath a mind to read the Commission it self, and sound reason added why it was not likely to be forg'd, besides the attestation of so many Irish themselves, may have recourse to a Book, Intitl'd, *The Myserie of Iniquity*.

After the Rebellion brok'n out, which in words only he detested, but under-hand favour'd and promoted by all the offices of friendship, correspondence, and what possible aid he could afford them, the particulars whereof are too many to be insert'd here, I suppose no understanding man could longer doubt who was *Author or Instigator* of that Rebellion. If there be who yet doubt, I refer them especially to that Declaration of *July 1643*. concerning this matter. Against which Testimonies, Likelyhoods, Evidences, and apparent Actions of his own, being so abundant, the bare denial of one man, though with imprecation, cannot in any reason countervail.

As for the Commission granted them, he thinks to evade that by retorting, that *some in England fight against him*, and yet pretend *his authority*. But though a Parliament by the known Laws may affirm justly to have the King's Authority inseparable from that Court, though divided from his Person, it is not credible that

that the Irish Rebels who so much tender'd his Person above his Autoritie, and were by him so well receav'd at *Oxford*, would be so far from all humanitie, as to slander him with a particular Commission, sign'd and sent them by his own hand.

And of his good affection to the Rebels, this Chapter it self is not without witness. He holds them less in fault then the *Scots*, as from whom they might alledg to have fetcht *thir imitation*; making no difference between men that rose necessarily to defend themselves, which no Protestant Doctrin ever disallow'd, against them who threat'nd War, and those who began a voluntary and causeless Rebellion with the Massacre of so many thousands who never meant them harm.

He falls next to flashes, and a multitude of words, in all which is contain'd no more, then what might be the Plea of any guiltiest Offender: He was not the Author, because *he hath the greatest share of loss and dishonour by what is committed*. Who is there that offends God, or his Neighbour, on whom the greatest share of loss and dishonour lights not in the end? But in the act of doing evil, men use not to consider the event of thir evil doing; or if they do, have then no power to curb the sway of thir own wickedness: so that the greatest share of loss and dishonour to happ'n upon themselves, is no argument that they were not guilty. This other is as weak, that a *King's Interest* above that of any other man, *lies chiefly in the common Welfare of his Subjects*; therefore no King will do aught against the common welfare. For by this evasion any Tyrant might as well purge himself from the guilt of raising Troubles or Commotions among the people, because undoubtedly his chief Interest lies in thir sitting still.

I said but now that ev'n this Chapter, if nothing els, might suffice to discover his good affection to the Rebels; which in this that follows too notoriously appears; imputing this Insurrection to *the preposterous Rigor, and unreasonable Severitie, the covetous zeal and uncharitable Fury of some men* (these *some men* by his continual paraphrase are meant the Parliament;) and lastly, *to the fear of utter extirpation*. If the whole Irishry of Rebels had see'd some Advocate to speak partially and sophistically in thir defence, he could have hardly dazl'd better: Yet nevertheless would have prov'd himself no other then a plausible Deceiver. And perhaps those fained Terrors and Jealousies were either by the King himself, or the Popish Priests which were sent by him, put into the head of that inquisitive People, on set purpose to engage them. For who had power to oppress them, or to relieve them being oppress'd, but the King or his immediat Deputy? This rather should have made them rise against the King then against the Parliament. Who threat'nd or ever thought of thir extirpation, till they themselves had begun it to the English? As for *preposterous Rigour, covetous Zeal, and uncharitable Fury*; they had more reason to suspect those Evils first from his own commands, whom they saw using daily no greater argument to prove the truth of his Religion then by *enduring no other but his own Prelatical*; and to force it upon others, made Episcopal, Ceremonial, and Common-Prayer-Book Wars. But the Papists understood him better then by the outside; and knew that those Wars were thir Wars. Although if the Common-wealth should be afraid to suppress op'n Idolatry, lest the Papists thereupon should grow desperate, this were to let them grow and become our Persecuters, while we neglected what we might have done Evangelically, to be thir Reformers: Or to do, as his Father *James* did, who instead of taking heart and putting confidence in God by such a deliverance as from the Powder Plot, though it went not off, yet with the meer conceit of it, as some observe, was hit into such a *heltic* trembling between Protestant and Papist all his life after, as that he never durst from that time do otherwise then equivocate or colloque with the Pope and his adherents.

He would be thought to commiserate the sad effects of that Rebellion, and to lament that *the tears and blood spilt there did not quench the sparks of our civil discord* here. But who began these dissensions? and what can be more op'nly known then those retardings and delaies which by himself were continually devis'd, to hinder and put back the relief of those distressed Protestants, whom he seems here to compassionate? The particulars are too well known to be recited, and too many.

But

But he offer'd to go himself in person upon that expedition; and reck'ns up many surmises why he thinks they would not suffer him. But mentions not that by his underdealing to debauch Armies here at home; and by his secret Intercours with the chief Rebels, long e're that time, every where known, he had brought the Parliament into so just a diffidence of him, as that they durst not leave the publick Arms to his disposal, much less an Army to his conduct.

He concludes, *That next the sin of those who began that Rebellion, theirs must needs be who hinder'd the suppressing, or diverted the aids.* But judgment rashly giv'n oftentimes involves the Judg himself. He finds fault with those who threat'nd all extremity to the Rebels, and pleads much that mercy should be shown them. It seems he found himself not so much concern'd as those who had lost Fathers, Brothers, Wives and Children by thir crueltie; whom in justice to retaliate, is not as he supposes *unevangelical*, so long as Magistracy and War is not laid down under the Gospel. If this his Sermon of affected mercy were not too Pharisaical, how could he permit himself to cause the slaughter of so many thousands here in *England* for mere Prerogatives, the Toys and Gewgaws of his Crown, for Copes and Surplices, the Trinkets of his Priests, and not perceive his own zeal, while he taxes others to be most preposterous and *unevangelical*? Neither is there the same cause to destroy a whole City for the ravishing of a Sister, not done out of Villany, and recompence offer'd by Marriage; nor the same case for those Disciples to summon fire from Heav'n upon the whole City where they were deny'd lodging; and for a Nation by just War and execution to slay whole Families of them who so barbarously had slain whole Families before. Did not all *Israel* do as much against the *Benjamits* for one Rape committed by a few, and defended by the whole Tribe? and did they not the same to *Jabesh-Gilead* for not assisting them in that revenge? I speak not this, that such measure should be meted rigorously to all the Irish, or as remembering that the Parliament ever so decreed, but to shew that this his Homily hath more of craft and affectation in it, then of sound Doctrine.

But it was happy that his going into *Ireland* was not consented to; for either he had certainly turn'd his intended Forces against the Parliament it self, or not gon at all; or had he gon, what work he would have made there, his own following words declare.

He would have punisht some, no question; for some perhaps who were of least use, must of necessity have bin sacrific'd to his reputation, and the convenience of his affairs. Others he would have disarm'd, that is to say in his own time: but all of them he would have protected from the fury of those that would have drown'd them, if they had refus'd to swim down the popular stream. These expressions are too oft'n met, and too well understood for any man to doubt his meaning. By the *fury of those*, he means no other then the Justice of Parliament, to whom yet he had committed the whole business. Those who would have refus'd to swim down the popular stream, our constant key tells us to be Papists, Prelates, and thir Faction: these by his own confession here, he would have protected against his Puritan Parliament: And by this who sees not that he and the Irish Rebels had but one aim, one and the same drift, and would have forthwith join'd in one body against us?

He goes on still in his tenderness of the Irish Rebels, fearing lest *our zeal should be more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin then for any harm he hath done.* This either justifies the Rebels to have done no harm at all, or infers his opinion that the Parliament is more bloody and rapacious in the prosecution of thir Justice, then those Rebels were in the execution of thir barbarous Crueltie. Let men doubt now and dispute to whom the King was a Friend most, to his English Parliament, or to his Irish Rebels.

With whom, that we may yet see further how much he was thir Friend, after that the Parliament had brought them every where either to Famine, or a low condition, he to give them all the respite and advantages they could desire, without advice of Parliament, to whom he himself had committed the managing of that War, makes a Cessation; in pretence to relieve the Protestants, *overborn there with numbers*, but as the event prov'd, to support the Papists, by diverting and drawing over the English Army there, to his own service here against the Parliament. For that the Protestants were then on the winning hand, it must needs be plain; who notwithstanding the misf of those Forces, which at thir landing here master'd without difficulty great part of *Wales* and *Cheshire*, yet made

a shift to keep their own in *Ireland*. But the plot of this Irish Truce is in good part discover'd in that Declaration of *September 30th, 1643*. And if the Protestants were but *handfuls* there, as he calls them, why did he stop and waylay both by Land and Sea, to his utmost power, those Provisions and Supplies which were sent by the Parliament? How were so many *handfuls* call'd over, as for a while stood him in no small stead, and against our main Forces here in *England*?

Since therefore all the reasons that can be giv'n of this Cessation appear so false and frivolous, it may be justly fear'd that the design it self was most wicked and pernicious. What remains then? He *appeals to God*, and is cast; lik'n-ing his punishments to *Job's* trials, before he saw them to have *Job's* ending. He cannot stand to *make prolix Apologies*. Then surely those long Pamphlets set out for Declarations and Remonstrances in his name, were none of his; and how they should be his indeed, being so repugnant to the whole course of his Actions, augments the difficulty.

But he usurps a common saying, *That it is Kingly to do well and hear ill*. That may be sometimes true: but far more frequently to do ill and hear well; so great is the multitude of Flatterers, and them that desire the name of King.

Yet not content with these neighbours, we have him still a perpetual Preacher of his own virtues, and of that especially, which who knows not to be *Patience* perforce?

He *believes it will at last appear that they who first began to embroil his other Kingdoms, are also guilty of the blood of Ireland*. And we believe so too; for now the Cessation is become a Peace by publish'd Articles, and Commission to bring them over against *England*, first only ten thousand by the Earl of *Glamorgan*, next all of them, if possible, under *Ormond*, which was the last of all his Transactions done as a publick Person. And no wonder; for he lookt upon the blood spilt, whether of Subjects or of Rebels, with an indifferent eye, *as exhausted out of his own veins*; without distinguishing, as he ought, which was good blood and which corrupt; the not letting out wherof endangers the whole body.

And what the Doctrine is, ye may perceive also by the Prayer, which after a short ejaculation for the *poor Protestants*, prays at large for the Irish Rebels, that God would not give them over, or *thir Children, to the covetousness, cruelty, fierce and cursed anger* of the Parliament.

He finishes with a deliberat and solemn Curse upon *himself and his Father's House*. Which how far God hath already brought to pass, is to the end that men by so eminent an example should learn to tremble at his judgments, and not play with Imprecations.

XIII. Upon the calling in of the Scots, and their coming.

IT must needs seem strange to Men who accustom themselves to ponder and contemplate things in thir first original and institution, that Kings, who as all other Officers of the Publick, were at first chos'n and install'd only by consent and suffrage of the People, to govern them as Freemen by Laws of thir own framing, and to be, in consideration of that dignity and riches bestow'd upon them, the entrusted Servants of the Common-wealth, should notwithstanding grow up to that dishonest encroachment, as to esteem themselves Masters both of that great Trust which they serve, and of the People that betrust them: counting what they ought to do, both in discharge of thir publick duty, and for the great reward of Honour and Revenue which they receive, as done all of meer grace and favour; as if thir power over us were by nature, and from themselves, or that God had sold us into thir hands. This ignorance or wilful mistake of the whole matter, had tak'n so deep root in the imagination of this King, that whether to the English or to the Scot, mentioning what acts of his Regal Office, though God knows how unwillingly he had

had pass'd, he calls them, as in other places, Acts of grace and bounty; hee: *special obligations, favours, to gratifie active spirits, and the desires of that party.* Words not only sounding Pride and Lordly Usurpation, but Injustice, Partiality and Corruption. For to the Irish he so far condescended, as first to tolerat in privat, then to cov'nant op'nly the tolerating of Popery: So far to the Scots, as to remove Bishops, establish Presbytery, and the *Militia* in their own hands; *preferring, as some thought, the desires of Scotland before his own Interest and Honour.* But being once on this side *Tweed*, his reason, his conscience, and his honour became so straitn'd with a kind of false Virginity, that to the English neither one nor other of the same demands could be granted, wherewith the Scots were gratifi'd; as if our air and climat on a sudden had chang'd the property and the nature both of Conscience, Honour, and Reason, or that he found none so fit as English to be the subjects of his arbitrary power. *Ireland* was as *Ephraim*, the strength of his head, *Scotland* as *Judah*, was his Law-giver; but over *England*, as over *Edom*, he meant to cast his Shoo, and yet so many sober English men not sufficiently awake to consider this, like men enchanted with the *Circæan* cup of servitude, will not be held back from running thir own heads into the Yoke of Bondage.

The sum of his discours is against *setting of Religion by violent means*; which whether it were the Scots design upon *England*, they are best able to clear themselves. But this of all may seem strangest, that the King, who, while it was permitted him, never did thing more eagerly then to molest and persecute the consciences of most religious men; he who had made a War, and lost all rather then not uphold a Hierarchie of persecuting Bishops, should have the confidence heer to profess himself so much an Enemy of those that force the conscience. For was it not he, who upon the English obtruded new Ceremonies, upon the Scots a new Liturgie, and with his Sword went about to engrave a bloody *Rubric* on thir backs? Did he not forbid and hinder all effectual search of Truth; nay, like a besieging Enemy, stop all her passages both by word and writing? Yet heer can talk of *fair and equal disputations*: Where notwithstanding, if all submit not to his judgment, as not being *rationally convicted*, they must submit (and he conceals it not) to his *penaltie*, as counted *obstinate*. But what if he himself and those his *learned Churchmen* were the convicted or the obstinat part long ago, should Reformation suffer them to sit lording over the Church in thir fat Bishopricks and Pluralities, like the great Whore that sitteth upon many Waters, till they would voutsafe to be disputed out? Or should we sit disputing, while they sate plotting and persecuting? Those Clergimen were not *to be driv'n into the fold like Sheep*, as his Simily runs, but to be driv'n out of the Fold like Wolves or Theeves, where they sate *fleeceing* those Flocks which they never fed.

He beleeves that *Presbytery, though prov'd to be the only Institution of Jesus Christ, were not by the Sword to be set up without his consent*; which is contrary both to the Doctrin, and the known practice of all Protestant Churches, if his Sword threat'n those who of thir own accord imbrace it.

And although *Christ* and his Apostles being to civil affairs but privat men, contended not with Magistrats, yet when Magistrats themselves, and especially Parlements, who have greatest right to dispose of the civil Sword, com to know Religion, they ought in conscience to defend all those who receive it willingly against the violence of any King or Tyrant whatsoever. Neither is it therefore true, *That Christianity is planted or watered with Christian Blood*; for there is a large difference between forcing men by the Sword to turn *Presbyterians*, and defending those who willingly are so from a furious inroad of bloody Bishops araid with the *Militia* of a King thir Pupil. And if *covetousness and ambition be an argument that Presbytery hath not much of Christ*, it argues more strongly against Episcopacy; which from the time of her first mounting to an order above the Presbyters, had no other Parents then Covetousness and Ambition. And those *Sects, Schisms, and Heresies*, which he speaks of, if they get but strength and numbers, need no other pattern then Episcopacy and himself, to set up their ways by the like method of violence. Nor is there any thing that hath more marks of Schism and Sectarism then English Episcopacy; whether we look at Apostolick times, or at reformed Churches; for the *universal way of Church-government before*, may as soon lead us into gross error, as thir universally corrupted Doctrin. And

Government, by reason of ambition, was likeliest to be corrupted much the sooner of the two. However nothing can be to us catholic or universal in Religion, but what the Scripture teaches; whatsoever without Scripture pleads to be universal in the Church, in being universal is but the more Scismatical. Much less can *particular Laws and Constitutions* impart to the Church of *England* any power of consistory or tribunal above other Churches, to be the sole Judge of what is Sect or Scism, as with much rigour, and without Scripture they took upon them. Yet these the King resolves heer to defend and maintain to his last, pretending, after all those conferences offer'd, or had with him, *not to see more rational and religious motives then Souldiers carry in thir Knapsacks*; with one thus resolv'd it was but folly to stand disputing.

He imagins *his own judicious zeal to be most concern'd in his tuition of the Church*. So thought *Saul* when he presum'd to offer Sacrifice, for which he lost his Kingdom; so thought *Uzziah* when he went into the Temple, but was thrust out with a Leprosie for his opion'd zeal, which he thought *judicious*. It is not the part of a King, because he ought to defend the Church, therefore to set himself supreme head over the Church, or to meddle with Ecclesial Government, or to defend the Church otherwise then the Church would be defended; for such defence is bondage: nor to defend abuses, and stop all Reformation under the name of *New moulds fanci'd and fashion'd to privat designs*. The holy things of Church are in the power of other keys then were deliver'd to his keeping. Christian libertie, purchas'd with the death of our Redeemer, and establish'd by the sending of his free Spirit to inhabit in us, is not now to depend upon the doubtful consent of any earthly Monarch; nor to be again fetter'd with a presumptuous negative voice, tyrannical to the Parliament, but much more tyrannical to the Church of God; which was compell'd to implore the aid of Parliament, to remove his force and heavy hands from off our consciences, who therefore complains now of that most just defensive force, because only it remov'd his violence and persecution. If this be a violation to his conscience, that it was hindred by the Parliament from violating the more tender consciences of so many thousand good Christians, let the usurping conscience of all Tyrants be ever so violated.

He wonders, *Fox* wonder, how we could so much distrust *God's assistance*, as to call in the Protestant aid of our Brethren in *Scotland*: why then did he, if his trust were in God and the justice of his Cause, not scruple to solicit and invite earnestly the assistance both of Papists and of Irish Rebels? If the Scots were by us at length sent home, they were not call'd in to stay heer always; neither was it for the peoples ease to feed so many Legions longer then thir help was needful.

The Government of thir Kirk we despis'd not, but thir imposing of that Government upon us; not Presbytery but Arch-Presbytery, *Classical, Provincial, and Diocesan* Presbytery, claiming to it self a Lordly Power and Superintendency both over Flocks and Pastors, over Persons and Congregations no way thir own. But these debates in his judgment would have bin ended better by the best Divines in *Christ'ndom* in a full and free Synod. A most improbable way, and such as never yet was us'd, at least with good success, by any Protestant Kingdom or State since the Reformation: Every true Church having wherewithal from Heaven, and the assisting Spirit of Christ implor'd to be complete and perfect within it self. And the whole Nation is not easily to be thought so raw, and so perpetually a novice after all this light, as to need the help and direction of other Nations, more then what they write in public of thir opinion, in a matter so familiar as Church-Government.

In fine, he accuses *Pistie* with the want of *Loyalty*, and *Religion* with the breach of *Allegiance*, as if God and he were one Master, whose commands were so oft'n contrary to the commands of God. He would perswade the Scots that thir chief Interest consists in thir fidelity to the Crown. But true policy will teach them to find a safer interest in the common friendship of *England*, then in the ruins of one ejected Family.

XIV. *Upon the Cov'nant.*

UPON this theme his discourse is long, his matter little but repetition, and therefore soon answerd. First after an abusive and strange apprehension of Cov'nants, as if Men pawn'd *thir souls* to them with whom they cov'nant, he digresses to plead for Bishops; first from the antiquitie of thir possession heer, *since the first plantation of Christianity in this Island*, next from a universal prescription since the Apostles till this last Centurie. But what avails the most Primitive Antiquity against the plain sense of Scripture? which if the last Centurie have best follow'd, it ought in our esteem to be the first. And yet it hath bin oft'n prov'd by Learned Men from the Writings and Epistles of most ancient Christians, that Episcopacy crept not up into an order above the Presbyters, till many years after that the Apostles were deceas'd.

He next is *unsatisfi'd with the Cov'nant*, not only for *some passages in it referring to himself*, as he supposes, *with very dubious and dangerous limitations*, but for binding men by Oath and Cov'nant to the Reformation of Church-Discipline. First those limitations were not more dangerous to him then he to our Libertie and Religion; next, that which was there vow'd to cast out of the Church an Antichristian Hierarchy which God had not planted, but ambition and corruption had brought in, and fosterd to the Churches great damage and oppression, was no point of *controversie* to be argu'd without end, but a thing of *clear moral necessity* to be forthwith don. Neither was the Cov'nant *superfluous*, though *former engagements both religious and legal bound us before*: But was the practice of all Churches heertofore intending Reformation. All Israel, though bound anough before by the Law of *Moses to all necessary duties*; yet with *Asa* thir King enter'd into a new Cov'nant at the beginning of a Reformation: And the *Jews* after Captivity, without consent demanded of that King who was thir Master, took solemn Oath to walk in the Commandments of God. All Protestant Churches have don the like, notwithstanding former engagements to thir several Duties. And although, his aim were to sow variance between *the Protestation and the Cov'nant*, to reconcile them is not difficult. The Protestation was but one step, extending only to the Doctrin of the Church of *England*, as it was distinct from Church-Discipline; the Cov'nant went furdur, as it pleas'd God to dispense his light by degrees, and comprehended Church-Government: Former with latter steps in the progress of well-doing need not reconciliation. Nevertheless he breaks through to his conclusion, *That all honest and wise men ever thought themselves sufficiently bound by former ties of Religion*; leaving *Asa*, *Ezra*, and the whole Church of God in sundry Ages to shift for *honestie* and wisdom from som other then his testimonie. And although *after-contracts absolve not* till the former be made void, yet he first having don that, our duty returns back, which to him was neither *moral nor eternal*, but conditional.

Willing to perswade himself that many *good men* took the Cov'nant, either unwarily or out of fear, he seems to have bestow'd som thoughts how these *good men* following his advice may keep the Cov'nant and not keep it. The first evasion is, presuming *that the chief end of cov'nanting in such mens intentions was to preserve Religion in purity, and the Kingdoms peace*. But the Cov'nant will more truly inform them that purity of Religion and the Kingdoms peace was not then in state to be preserv'd, but to be restor'd; and therefore binds them not to a preservation of what was, but to a Reformation of what was evil, what was traditional and dangerous. whether *novelty* or *antiquity*, in Church or State. To do this clashes with *no former Oath* lawfully sworn either to God or the King, and rightly understood.

In general he brands all *such confederations by League and Cov'nant*, as the common rode us'd in all *factious Perturbations of State and Church*. This kind of language reflects with the same ignominy upon all the Protestant Reformations that have bin since *Luther*; and so indeed doth his whole Book, replenish'd throughout with hardly other words or arguments, then Papists, and especially Popish Kings, have us'd heertofore against thir Protestant Subjects; whom he

would persuade to be *every man his own Pope, and to absolve himself of those ties*, by the suggestion of fals or equivocal interpretations too oft repeated to be now answer'd.

The Parliament, he saith, *made thir Cov'nant like Manna, agreeable to every mans Palat.* This is another of his glosses upon the Cov'nant; he is content to let it be *Manna*, but his drift is that men should loath it, or at least expound it by thir own relish, and *latitude of sense*; wherein lest any one of the simpler sort should fail to be his crafts-master, he furnishes him with two or three laxative, he terms them *general clauses, which may serve somewhat to releve them* against the Cov'nant tak'n: intimating, as if *what were lawful and according to the word of God*, were no otherwise so, then as every man fanci'd to himself. From such learned explications and resolutions as these upon the Cov'nant, what marvel if no Royalist or Malignant refuse to take it, as having learnt from these Princely instructions his many *Salvo's, cautions, and reservations*, how to be a Covnanter and Anticovnanter, how at once to be a Scot, and an Irish Rebel.

He returns again to disallow of *that Reformation which the Cov'nant vows, as being the partial advice of a few Divines.* But matters of this moment, as they were not to be decided there by those Divines, so neither are they to be determin'd heer by Essays and curtal Aphorisms, but by solid proofs of Scripture.

The rest of his discourse he spends, highly accusing the Parliament, *that the main Reformation by them intended, was to rob the Church*, and much applauding himself both for his *forwardness* to all due Reformation, and his averiness from all such kind of *Sacrilege*. All which, with his glorious title of the *Churches Defender*, we leave him to make good by *Pharaoh's Divinity*, if he please, for to *Joseph's Pietie* it will be a task unsutable. As for the *parity and poverty of Ministers*, which he takes to be of so sad consequence, the Scripture reck'ns them for two special Legacies left by our Saviour to his Disciples; under which two Primitive Nurses, for such they were indeed, the Church of God more truly flourish'd then ever after, since the time that Imparitie and Church-revenue rushing in, corrupted and beleper'd all the Clergie with a worse infection then *Gehazis*; some one of whose Tribe, rather then a King, I should take to be compiler of that unsalted and Simonical Praier annex'd: Although the Praier it self strongly prays against them. For never such holy things as he means were giv'n to more Swine, nor the Churches bread more to Dogs, then when it fed ambitious, irreligious and dumb Prelats.

XV. Upon the many Jealousies, &c.

TO wipe off jealousies and scandals; the best way had bin by clear Actions, or till Actions could be clear'd, by evident reasons; but meer words we are too well acquainted with. Had his *honour and reputation* bin dearer to him then the lust of raiging, how could the Parliament of either Nation have laid so oft'n at his dore the breach of Words, Promises, Acts, Oaths, and Execrations, as they do avowedly in many of thir Petitions and Addresses to him? thither I remit the Reader. And who can believe, that whole Parliaments, elected by the People from all parts of the Land, should meet in one mind and resolution not to advise him, but to conspire against him in a worse powder plot then *Catesbies*, to blow up, as he terms it, *the peoples affection towards him, and batter down their Loyalty by the Engins of foul aspersions*: Waterworks rather then Engins to batter with; yet those aspersions were rais'd from the foulness of his own actions. Whereof to purge himself, he uses no other argument then a general and so oft'n iterat'd commendation of himself; and thinks that Court holy-water hath the virtue of expiation, at least with the silly people. To whom he familiarly imputes sin where none is, to seem liberal of his *forgiveness* where none is ask'd or needed.

What ways he hath tak'n toward the prosperitie of his people, which he wou'd seem *so earnestly to desire*, if we do but once call to mind, it will be enough to teach us, looking on the smooth insinuations heer, that Tyrants are not more flatter'd

flatter'd by thir Slaves, then forc'd to flatter others whom they fear.

For the peoples *tranquillitie* he would willingly be the *Jona*; but lest he should be tak'n at his word, pretends to foresee within ken two imaginarie winds never heard of in the Compass, which threaten, if he be cast overboard, to increase the Storm; but that Controversy divine lot hath ended.

He had rather not rule, then that his people should be ruin'd; and yet above these twenty years hath bin ruining the people about the niceties of his ruling. He is accurat to put a difference between the plague of malice, and the ague of mistakes, the itch of noveltie, and the leprosie of disloyaltie. But had he as well known how to distinguish between the venerable gray hairs of antient Religion, and the old scurf of Superstition, between the wholesom heat of well governing, and the feverous rage of tyrannizing, his judgment in State-physic had bin of more autoritie.

Much he prophesies, that the credit of those men who have cast black scandals on him shall ere long be quite blasted by the same furnace of popular obloquy, wherein they sought to cast his name and honour. I believe not that a Romish gilded Portrature gives better Oracle then a Babylonish gold'n Image could do, to tell us truly who heated that Furnace of obloquy, or who deserves to be thrown in, *Nebuchadnezzar* or the three Kingdoms. It gave him great cause to suspect his own Innocence, that he was oppos'd by so many who profess singular pietie. But this qualm was soon over, and he concluded rather to suspect their Religion then his own innocence, affirming that many with him were both learned and religious above the ordinary size. But if his great Seal without the Parliament were not sufficient to create Lords, his Parole must needs be far more unable to create learned and religious men; and who shall authorize his unlearned judgment to point them out?

He guesses that many well-minded men were by popular Preachers urg'd to oppose him. But the opposition undoubtedly proceeded and continues from heads far wiser, and spirits of a nobler strain; those Priest-led *Herodians* with thir blind guides are in the Ditch already; travelling, as they thought, to *Sion*, but moor'd in the Ile of *Wight*.

He thanks God for his constancy to the Protestant Religion both abroad and at home. Abroad, his Letter to the Pope; at home, his Innovations in the Church will speak his constancy in Religion what it was, without further credit to this vain boast.

His using the assistance of some Papists, as the cause might be, could not hurt his Religion; but in the setting of Protestantism thir aid was both unseemly and suspicious, and inferr'd that the greatest part of Protestants were against him and his obtruded settlement.

But this is strange indeed, that he should appear now teaching the Parliament what no man, till this was read, thought ever he had learnt, that difference of persuasion in religious matters may fall out where there is the sameness of Allegiance and Subjection. If he thought so from the beginning, wherfore was there such compulsion us'd to the Puritans of England, and the whole Realm of Scotland about conforming to a Liturgie? Wherfore no Bishop no King? Wherfore Episcopacie more agreeable to Monarchie, if different persuasions in Religion may agree in one Duty and Allegiance? Thus do Court-Maxims like Court-Minions rise or fall as the King pleases.

Not to tax him for want of Elegance as a Courtier in writing *Oglia* for *Olla* the Spanish word, it might be well affirm'd that there was a greater Medley and disproportioning of Religions to mix Papists with Protestants in a religious cause, then to entertain all those diversifi'd Sects, who yet were all Protestants, one Religion, though many Opinions.

Neither was it any shame to Protestants, that he a declar'd Papist, if his own Letter to the Pope, not yet renounc'd, bely him not, found so few Protestants of his Religion, as enforc'd him to call in both the counsel and the aid of Papists to help establish Protestancy, who were led on, not by the sense of thir allegiance, but by the hope of his Apostacy to Rome, from disputing to warring, his owe voluntary and first appeal.

His hearkning to evil Counselors, charg'd upon him so oft'n by the Parliament, he puts off as a device of those men who were so eager to give him better counsel. That those men were the Parliament, and that he thought to have us'd the coun-

fel of none but those, as a King, is already known. What their civility laid upon evil Counsellors, he himself most commonly own'd; but the event of those evil Counsels, *the Enormities, the Confusions, the Miseries*, he transfers from the guilt of his own civil broils to the just resistance made by Parliament; and imputes what miscarriages of his they could not yet remove for his opposing, as if they were some new misdemeanors of their bringing in, and not the inveterate diseases of his own bad Government; which with a disease as bad, he falls again to magnific and commend: and may all those who would be govern'd by his *Retractions and Concessions*, rather than by Laws of Parliament, admire his self-*Encomiums*, and be flatter'd with that *Crown of patience* to which he cunningly exhorted them, that his Monarchial foot might have the setting it upon thir heads.

That trust which the Parliament faithfully discharg'd in the asserting of our Liberties, he calls *another artifice to withdraw the people from him to thir designs*. What piece of Justice could they have demanded for the People, which the jealousy of a King might not have miscall'd a design to disparage his Government, and to ingratiate themselves? To be more just, religious, wise, or magnanimous than the common sort, stirs up in a Tyrant both fear and envy; and straight he cries out Populartie, which in his account is little less than Treason. The sum is, they thought to regulate and limit his Negative voice, and share with him in the *Militia*, both or either of which he could not possibly hold without consent of the people, and not be absolutely a Tyrant. He professes *to desire no other liberty than what he envies not his Subjects according to Law*; yet fought with might and main against his Subjects to have a sole power over them in his hand, both against and beyond Law. As for the Philosophical Libertie which in vain he talks of, we may conclude him very ill train'd up in those free notions, who to civil Libertie was so injurious.

He calls the Conscience *God's soveragntie*, why then doth he contest with God about that supreme title? why did he *lay restraint*, and force enlargements upon our Consciences in things for which we were to answer God only and the Church? God bids us *be subject for Conscience sake*, that is as to a Magistrate, and in the Laws; not usurping over spiritual things, as *Lucifer* beyond his sphere.

Finally having laid the fault of these Commotions, not upon his own misgovernment, but upon *the ambition of others, the necessity of some mens fortune, and thirst after noveltie*, he bodes himself *much honour and reputation, that like the Sun shall rise and recover it self to such a splendour, as Owls, Batts, and such fatal Birds shall be unable to bear*. Poets indeed use to vapor much after this manner. But to bad Kings, who without cause expect future glory from thir actions, it happ'ns as to bad Poets, who sit and starve themselves with a delusive hope to win Immortality by thir bad lines. For though men ought not to *speake evil of Dignities* which are just, yet nothing hinders us to speak evil, as oft as it is the truth, of those who in thir Dignities do evil; thus did our Saviour himself, *John the Baptist*, and *Stev'n the Martyr*. And those *black vails* of his own misdeeds he might be sure would ever keep *his face from shining*, till he could *refuse evil speaking with well doing*, which grace he seems here to pray for; and his Prayer doubtless as it was pray'd, so it was heard. But ev'n his Prayer is so ambitious of Prerogative, that it dares ask away the Prerogative of Christ himself, *To become the head stone of the Corner*.

XVI. Upon the Ordinance against the Common-prayer-Book.

WHAT to think of Liturgies, both the sense of Scripture, and Apostolical Practice would have taught him better, then his human reasonings and conjectures: Nevertheless what weight they have, let us consider. If it be *no news to have all Innovations usher'd in with the name of Reformation*, sure it is less news to have all reformation censur'd and oppos'd under the name of innovation; *by those who being exalted in high place above thir merit, fear all change though of things never so ill or so unwisely settl'd. So hardly can the dotage of those that dwell upon Antiquitie allow present times any share of godliness or wisdom.*

The removing of Liturgie he traduces to be done only as a *thing plausible to the People*; whose rejection of it he lik'ns, with small reverence, to the *crucifying of our Saviour*; next that it was done *to please those men who gloried in thir extemporary vein*, meaning the Ministers. For whom it will be best to answer, as was answer'd for the man born blind, *They are of age, let them speak for themselves*; not how they came blind, but whether it were Liturgie that held them tongue-ti'd.

For the matter contain'd in that Book, we need no better witness then King Edward the sixth, who to the Cornish Rebels confesses it was no other then the old Mass-Book done into English, all but some few words that were expung'd. And by this argument which King Edward so promptly had to use against that irreligious Rabble, we may be assur'd it was the carnal fear of those Divines and Politicians that modell'd the Liturgie no furder off from the old Mass, lest by too great an alteration they should incense the People, and be destitute of the same shifts to fly to which they had taught the young King.

For the manner of using set forms, there is no doubt but that *wholesome matter*, and good desires rightly conceav'd in the heart, wholesome words will follow of themselves. Neither can any true Christian find a reason why Liturgie should be at all admitted, a Prescription not impos'd or practis'd by those first Founders of the Church, who alone had that authority: Without whose precept or example, how constantly the Priest puts on his Gown and Surplice, so constantly doth his Prayer put on a servile yolk of Liturgie. This is evident, that they *who use no set forms of Prayer*, have words from thir affections; while others are to seek affections fit and proportionable to a certain dose of prepar'd words; which as they are not rigorously forbid to any man's private infirmity, so to imprison and confine by force, into a Pinfold of set words, those two most unimprisonable things, our Prayers, and that Divine Spirit of utterance that moves them, is a tyranny that would have longer hands then those Giants who threat'nd bondage to Heav'n. What we may do in the same form of words is not so much the question, as whether Liturgie may be forc'd, as he forc'd it. It is true that we *pray to the same God*, must we therefore always use the same words? Let us then use but one word, because we pray to one God. *We profess the same truths*, but the Liturgie comprehends not all truths: *we read the same Scriptures*; but never read that all those sacred expressions, all benefit and use of Scripture, as to publick Prayer, should be deny'd us, except what was barrel'd up in a Common-prayer-Book with many mixtures of thir own, and which is worse, without salt. But suppose them savoury words and unmix'd, suppose them *Manna* it self, yet if they shall be hoarded up and enjoin'd us, while God every morning rains down new expressions into our hearts; instead of being fit to use, they will be found like reserv'd *Manna*, rather to breed Worms and stink. *We have the same duties upon us, and feel the same wants*; yet not always the same, nor at all times alike; but with varietie of Circumstances, which ask varietie of words: Wherof God hath given us plenty; not to use so copiously upon all other occasions, and so niggardly to him alone in our devotions. As if Christians were now in a worse famin of words fit for Prayer, then was of food at the Seige of Jerusalem,

tem, when perhaps the Priests being to remove the shew-bread, as was accustomed, were compell'd every Sabbath day, for want of other Loves, to bring again still the same. If the Lord's Prayer had bin the warrant or the pattern of set Liturgies, as is here affirm'd, why was neither that Prayer, nor any other set form ever after us'd, or so much as mention'd by the Apostles, much less commended to our use? Why was thir care wanting in a thing so useful to the Church? so full of danger and contention to be left undon by them to other mens penning, of whose authority we could not be so certain? Why was this forgott'n by them, who declare that they have reveal'd to us the whole Counsell of God; who as he left our affections to be guided by his sanctifying Spirit, so did he likewise our words to be put into us without our premeditation; not only those cautious words to be us'd before Gentiles and Tyrants, but much more those filial words, of which we have so frequent use in our access with freedom of speech to the Throne of Grace. Which to lay aside for other outward dictates of men, were to injure him and his perfect Gift, who is the Spirit and the giver of our abilitie to pray; as if his ministrat[i]on were incomplete, and that to whom he gave affections, he did not also afford utterance to make his Gift of Prayer a perfect Gift.

And although the Gift were only natural, yet voluntary Prayers are less subject to formal and superficial tempers then set forms: For in those, at least for words and matter, he who prays must consult first with his heart; which in likelihood may stir up his affections; in these having both words and matter ready made to his lips, which is enough to make up the outward act of Prayer, his affections grow lazy, and come not up easily at the call of words not thir own; the Prayer also having less intercourse and sympathy with a heart wherein it was not conceav'd, saves it self the labour of so long a journey downward, and flying up in haste on the specious wings of formalitie, if it fall not back again headlong, instead of a prayer which was expected, presents God with a set of stale and empty words.

No doubt but ostentation and formalitie may taint the best duties; we are not therefore to leave duties for no duties, and to turn Prayer into a kind of hurry. Cannot unpremeditated babbling be rebuk'd, and restrain'd in whom we find they are, but the Spirit of God must be forbid'n in all men? But it is the custom of bad men and Hypocrites to take advantage at the least abuse of good things, that under that covert they may remove the goodness of those things, rather then the abuse. And how unknowingly, how weakly is the using of set forms attributed here to constancy, as if it were constancie in the Cuckoo to be always in the same liturgie.

Much less can it be lawful that an English Mass-Book, compos'd, for ought we know, by men neither learned, nor godly, should juggle out, or at any time deprive us the exercise of that heavenly Gift, which God by special promise pours out dailie upon his Church, that is to say, the spirit of Prayer. Whereof to help those many infirmities, which he reckon's up, Rudeness, Impertinencie, Flatness, and the like, we have a remedy of God's finding out, which is not Liturgie, but his own free Spirit. Though we know not what to pray as we ought, yet he with sighs unutterable by any words, much less by a stinted Liturgie dwelling in us, makes intercession for us according to the mind and will of God both in private, and in the performance of all Ecclesiastical Duties. For it is his promise also, that where two or three gather'd together in his name shall agree to ask him any thing, it shall be granted; for he is there in the midst of them. If then antient Churches to remedy the infirmities of Prayer, or rather the infections of Arian and Pelagian Heresies, neglecting that ordain'd and promis'd help of the Spirit, betook them almost four hundred years after Christ to Liturgie thir own invention, we are not to imitate them; nor to distrust God in the removal of that Truant help to our Devotion, which by him never was appointed. And what is said of Liturgie is said also of Directory, if it be impos'd: although to forbid the Service-Book there be much more reason, as being of it self superstitious, offensive, and indeed, though English, yet still the Mass-Book: and publick places ought to be provided of such as need not the help of Liturgies or Directories continually, but are supported with ministerial Gifts answerable to thir calling.

Lastly, that the Common-prayer-Book was rejected because it pray'd so oft for him, he had no reason to object: for, what large and laborious Prayers were made

made for him in the Pulpits, if he never heard, 'tis doubtful they were never heard in Heav'n. We might now have expected that his own following Prayer should add much credit to set Forms; but on the contrary we find the same imperfections in it, as in most before, which he lays here upon extemporal. Nor doth he ask of God to be directed whether Liturgies be lawful, but presumes, and in a manner would persuade him that they be so; praying *that the Church and he may never want them*. What could be pray'd worse extempore?

XVII. Of the differences in point of Church-Government.

THE Government of Church by Bishops hath bin so fully prov'd from the Scriptures to be vitious and usurp'd, that whether *out of Piety or Policy* maintain'd, it is not much material: For Pietie grounded upon error, can no more justify King *Charles*, then it did Queen *Mary* in the sight of God or Man. This however must not be let pass without a serious Observation; God having so dispos'd the Author in this Chapter as to confess and discover more of Myserie and combination between Tyranny and fals Religion; then from any other hand would have bin credible. Here we may see the very daik roots of them both turn'd up, and how they twine and interweave one another in the Earth, though above ground shooting up in two sever'd Branches. We may have learnt both from sacred Story, and times of Reformation, that the Kings of this World have both ever hated, and instinctively fear'd the Church of God. Whether it be for that thir Doctrin seems much to favour two things to them so dreadful, Liberty and Equality, or because they are the Children of that Kingdom, which, as antient Prophecies have foretold, shall in the end break to pieces and dissolve all thir great Power and Dominion. And those Kings and Potentates who have strove most to rid themselves of this fear, by cutting off or suppressing the true Church, have drawn upon themselves the occasion of thir own ruin, while they thought with most policy to prevent it. Thus *Pharaoh* when once he began to fear and wax jealous of the Israelites, lest they should multiply and fight against him, and that his fear stirr'd him up to afflict and keep them under, as the only remedy of what he fear'd, soon found that the evil which before slept, came suddenly upon him, by the preposterous way he took to prevent it. Passing by examples between, and not shutting wilfully our eyes, we may see the like story brought to pass in our own Land. This King more then any before him, except perhaps his Father, from his first entrance to the Crown, harbouring in his mind a strange fear and suspicion of Men most religious, and thir Doctrin, which in his own language he here acknowledges, terming it *the seditious exorbitancie* of Ministers tongues, and doubting *lest they*, as he not christianly expresses it, *should with the Keys of Heav'n let out Peace and Loyaltie from the peoples hearts*: though they never preacht or attempted aught that might justly raise in him such thoughts, he could not rest or think himself secure, so long as they remain'd in any of his three Kingdoms unrooted out. But outwardly professing the same Religion with them, he could not presently use violence as *Pharaoh* did, and that course had with others before but ill succeeded. He chooses therefore a more mystical way, a newer Method of Antichristian Fraud, to the Church more dangerous: and like to *Balack* the Son of *Zippor*, against a Nation of Prophets thinks it best to hire other esteemed Prophets, and to undermine and wear out the true Church by a fals Ecclesiastical Policy. To this drift he found the Government of Bishops most serviceable; an Order in the Church, as by men first corrupted, so mutually corrupting them who receive it, both in judgment and manners. He by conferring Bishopricks and great Livings on whom he thought most pliant to his will, against the known Canons and universal practice of the antient Church,

whereby those elections were the peoples right, fought, as he confesses, to have *greatest influence upon the Church-men*. They on the other side finding themselves in a high Dignity, neither founded by Scripture, nor allowed by Reformation, nor supported by any spiritual Gift or Grace of thir own, knew it thir best cours to have dependance only upon him: and wrought his fancy by degrees to that degenerate and unkingly perswasion of *no Bishop, no King*. Whereas on the contrary all Prelates in thir own little sense are of another mind; according to that of *Pius* the fourth, remember'd in the *History of Trent*, that Bishops then grow to be most vigorous and potent, when Prince happ'n to be most weak and impotent. Thus when both Interests of Tyranny and Episcopacie were incorporate into each other, the King whose principal safety and establishment consisted in the righteous execution of his civil power, and not in Bishops and thir wicked Counsels, fatally driv'n on, set himself to the removal of those men whose Doctrine and desire of Church-Discipline he so fear'd would be the undoing of his Monarchie. And because no temporal Law could touch the innocence of thir lives, he begins with the persecution of thir Consciences, laying scandals before them; and makes that the argument to inflict his unjust penalties both on their Bodies and Estates. In this War against the Church if he hath sped so, as other haughty Monarchs whom God heretofore hath hard'nd to the like enterprize, we ought to look up with praises and thanksgiving to the Author of our deliverance, to whom Victory and Power, Majestie, Honour and Dominion belongs for ever.

In the mean while from his own words we may perceive easily that the special motives which he had to endear and deprave his judgment to the favouring and utmost defending of Episcopacy, are such as here we represent them: and how unwillingly, and with what mental reservation he condescended against his Interest to remove it out of the Peers house, hath bin shown already. The reasons, which he affirms wrought so much upon his judgment, shall be so far answer'd as they be urg'd.

Scripture he pretends, but produces none, and next the *constant practice of all Christian Churches, till of late years tumult, faction, pride, and covetousness, invented new models under the Title of Christ's Government*. Could any Papist have spoke more scandalously against all Reformation? Well may the Parliament and best affected People now be troubl'd at his calumnies and reproaches, since he binds them in the same bundle with all other the reformed Churches; who also may now further see, besides thir own bitter experience, what a cordial and well-meaning helper they had of him abroad, and how true to the Protestant Cause.

As for *Histories* to prove Bishops, the Bible, if we mean not to run into Errors, Vanities, and Uncertainties, must be our only History. Which informs us that the Apostles were not properly Bishops; next, that Bishops were not successors of Apostles, in the function of Apostleship: And that if they were Apostles, they could not be precisely Bishops; if Bishops, they could not be Apostles; this being universal, extraordinary, and immediate from God; that being an ordinarie, fixt, and particular charge and continual inspection over a certain Flock. And although an *ignorance and deviation* of the antient Churches afterward, may with as much *reason and charitie* be suppos'd as sudden in point of Prelaty, as in other manifest corruptions, yet that *no example since the first age for 1500 years can be produc'd of any settled Church, wherein were many Ministers and Congregations, which had not some Bishops above them*; the Ecclesiastical Story, to which he appeals for want of Scripture, proves clearly to be a false and overconfident assertion. *Sozomenus*, who wrote above twelve hundred years ago, in his seventh Book relates from his own knowledg, that in the Churches of *Cyprus* and *Arabia* (places neer to *Jerusalem*, and with the first frequented by Apostles) they had Bishops in every Village; and what could those be more then Presbyters? The like he tells of other Nations; and that Episcopal Churches in those daies did not condemn them. I add that many Western Churches, eminent for thir Faith and good Works, and settl'd above four hundred years ago in *France*, in *Piemont* and *Bohemia*, have both taught and practis'd the same Doctrine, and not admitted of Episcopacy among them. And if we may believe what the Papists themselves have writt'n of these Churches which they call *Waldenses*, I find it in a Book writt'n almost four hundred years since,

since, and set forth in the *Bohemian History*, that those Churches in *Piemont* have held the same Doctrin and Government, since the time that *Constantine* with his mischievous donations poyson'd *Sylvester* and the whole Church. Others affirm they have so continu'd there since the Apostles : and *Theodorus Belvederensis* in his relation of them, confesseth that those Heresies, as he names them, were from the first times of Christianity in that place. For the rest I refer me to that famous testimony of *Jerom*, who upon that very place which he cites here, the Epistle to *Titus*, declares op'nly that Bishop and Presbyter were one and the same thing, till by the instigation of Satan partialities grew up in the Church, and that Bishops rather by custom then any ordainment of Christ, were exalted above Presbyters : whose interpretation we trust shall be receav'd before this intricate stuff tattl'd heer of *Timothy* and *Titus*, and I know not whom thir Successors, far beyond Court Element, and as far beneath true edification. These are his *fair grounds both from Scripture-canon and Ecclesiastical examples* ; how undivinelike writt'n, and how like a worldly Gospeller that understands nothing of these matters, posterity no doubt will be able to judg, and will but little regard what he calls *Apostolical*, who in his Letter to the Pope calls Apostolical the Roman Religion.

Nor let him think to plead, that therefore *it was not policy of State*, or obstinacy in him which upheld Episcopacy, because the injuries and losses which he sustain'd by so doing were to him *more considerable* then Episcopacy it self ; for all this might *Pharaoh* have had to say in his excuse of detaining the *Israelites*, that his own and his Kingdoms safety, so much endanger'd by his denial, was to him more deer then all their building labours could be worth to *Egypt*. But whom God hard'ns them also he blinds.

He indeavours to make good Episcopacy not only in Religion, but from the nature of all civil Government, where Parity breeds confusion and faction. But of faction and confusion, to take no other then his own testimony, where hath more bin ever bred then under the imparity of his own Monarchial Government ? Of which to make at this time longer dispute, and from civil constitutions and human conceits to debate and question the convenience of Divine Ordinations, is neither wisdom nor sobriety ; and to confound *Mosaic Priesthood* with Evangelic Presbytery against expresse Institution, is as far from warrantable. As little to purpose is it that we should stand polling the reformed Churches, whether they equalize in number those of his three Kingdoms, of whom so lately the far greater part, what they have long desir'd to do, have now quite thrown off Episcopacy.

Neither may we count it the Language or Religion of a Protestant so to vilifie the best reformed Churches (for none of them but Lutherans retain Bishops) as to fear more the scandalizing of Papists, because more numerous, then of our Protestant Brethren, because a handful. It will not be worth the while to say what *Scismatics* or *Heretics* have had no Bishops ; yet lest he should be tak'n for a great Reader, he who prompted him, if he were a Doctor, might have remembered the foremention'd place in *Sozomenus* ; which affirms that besides the *Cyprians* and *Arabians* who were counted Orthodoxal, the *Novatians* also, and *Montanists* in *Phrygia* had no other Bishops then such as were in every Village : and what Presbyter hath a narrower Diocess ? As for the *Aerians* we know of no Heretical opinion justly father'd upon them, but that they held Bishops and Presbyters to be the same. Which he in this place not obscurely seems to hold a Heresie in all the reformed Churches ; with whom why the Church of *England* desir'd conformity, he can find no reason with all his charity, but the coming in of the *Scots Army* ; Such a high esteem he had of the English.

He tempts the Clergie to return back again to Bishops, from the fear of *tenuity and contempt*, and the assurance of better thriving under the favour of Princes ; against which temptations if the Clergie cannot arm themselves with thir own spiritual armour, they are indeed as *poor a Carcase* as he terms them.

Of secular Honours and great Revenues added to the dignity of Prelats, since the subject of that question is now remov'd, we need not spend time : But this perhaps will never be unseasonable to bear in mind out of *Chrysostom*, that when Ministers came to have Lands, Houses, Farms, Coaches, Horses, and the like Lumber, then Religion brought forth riches in the Church, and the Daughter devour'd the Mother.

But if his judgment in Episcopacy may be judg'd by the goodly choise he made of Bishops, we need not much amuse our selves with the consideration of those evils which, by his foretelling, will *necessarily follow* their pulling down, until he prove that the Apostles, having no certain Diocess or appointed place of residence, were properly *Bishops over those Presbyters whom they ordain'd, or Churches they planted*; wherein oftentimes thir labours were both joint and promiscuous: Or that the Apostolic power must *necessarily descend to Bishops, the use and end of either function being so different*. And how the Church hath flourish'd under Episcopacy, let the multitude of thir ancient and gross errors testifie, and the words of some learnedest and most zealous Bishops among them; *Nazianzen* in a devout passion wishing Prelaty had never bin; *Basil* terming them the Slaves of Slaves; *Saint Martin* the Enemies of Saints, and confessing that after he was made a Bishop, he found much of that grace decay in him which he had before.

Concerning his *Coronation Oath*, what it was, and how far it bound him, already hath bin spok'n. This we may take for certain, that he was never sworn to his own particular conscience and reason, but to our conditions as a free people; which requir'd him to give us such Laws as our selves should choose. This the Scots could bring him to, and would not be baffled with the pretence of a Coronation Oath, after that Episcopacy had for many years bin fetl'd there. Which concession of his to them, and not to us, he seeks heer to put off with evasions that are ridiculous. And to omit no shifts, he alleges that the Presbyterian manners gave him no encouragement to like their *modes* of Government. If that were so, yet certainly those men are in most likelihood neerer to Amendment, who seek a stricter Church-Discipline then that of Episcopacy, under which the most of them learnt their manners. If estimation were to be made of God's Law by their manners, who leaving *Egypt*, receav'd it in the Wilderness, it could reap from such an inference as this, nothing but rejection and disesteem.

For the Prayer wherewith he closes, it had bin good some safe Liturgie, which he so commends, had rather bin in his way; it would perhaps in some measure have perform'd the end for which they say Liturgie was first invented, and have hinder'd him both heer, and at other times, from turning his notorious errors into his Prayers.

XVIII. Upon the Uxbridg Treaty, &c.

IF the way of Treaties be look'd upon in general, as a retiring from bestial force to human reason, his first Aphorism heer is in part deceav'd. For men may treat like Beasts as well as fight. If som fighting were not manlike, then either fortitude were no vertue, or no fortitude in fighting: And as Politicians oftentimes through dilatory purposes and emulations handle the matter, there hath bin no where found more bestialitie then in treating; which hath no more commendation in it, then from fighting to come to undermining, from violence to craft, and when they can no longer do as Lions, to do as Foxes.

The sincerest end of treating after War once proclaim'd, is either to part with more, or to demand less than was at first fought for, rather then to hazard more lives, or worse mischiefs. What the Parliament in that point were willing to have don, when first after the War begun, they petition'd him at *Colebrook* to voutsafe a Treaty, is unknown. For after he had tak'n God to witness of his continual readiness to treat, or to offer Treaties to the avoiding of bloodshed, taking the advantage of a Mist, the fittest weather for deceit and treachery, he follows at the heels those Messengers of Peace with a train of covert War; and with a bloody surprize falls on our secure Forces which lay quartering at *Brentford* in the thoughts and expectation of a Treaty. And although in them who make a trade of War, and against a natural Enemy, such an onset might in the rigor of martial Law have bin excus'd, while Arms were not yet by agreement suspended, yet by a King, who seem'd so heartily to accept

cept of treating, and professes heer, *He never wanted either desire or disposition to it, professes to have greater confidence in his Reason than in his Sword, and as a Christian to seek Peace and ensue it,* such bloody and deceitful advantages would have bin forborn one day at least, if not much longer; in whom there had not bin a thirst rather then a detestation of civil War and Blood.

In the midst of a second Treaty not long after, sought by the Parliament, and aiter much ado obtain'd with him at *Oxford*, what suttle and unpeaceable designs he then had in chace, his own Letters discover'd: What attempts of treacherous hostility successful and unsuccessful he made against *Bristow, Scarborough,* and other places, the Proceedings of that Treaty will soon put us in mind; and how he was so far from granting more of reason after so much of blood, that he deny'd then to grant what before he had offer'd; making no other use of Treaties pretending Peace, then to gain advantages that might enable him to continue War. What marvel then if *he thought it no diminution of himself,* as oft as he saw his time, *to be importunate for Treaties,* when he sought them only, as by the upshot appear'd, *to get opportunities?*

But he infers, as if the Parliament would have compell'd him *to part with something of his honour as a King.* What honour could he have, or call his, joyn'd, not only with the offence or disturbance, but with the bondage and destruction of three Nations? wherof though he be careless and improvident, yet the Parliament, by our Laws and Freedom, ought to judg, and use prevention; our Laws els were but Cobweb Laws. And what were all his most rightful honours, but the peoples gift, and the investment of that Lustre, Majesty, and Honour, which for the publick good, and no otherwise, redounds from a whole Nation into one person? So far is any honour from being his to a common mischief and calamity. Yet still he talks on equal terms with the grand Representative of that people, for whose sake he was a King, as if the general welfare and his subservient Rights were of equal moment or consideration. His aim indeed hath ever bin to magnifie and exalt his borrow'd Rights and Prerogatives above the Parliament and Kingdom of whom he holds them. But when a King sets himself to bandy against the highest Court and residence of his Regal Authority, he then, in the single person of a Man, fights against his own Majesty and Kingship, and then indeed sets the first hand to his own deposing.

The Treaty at Uxbridg, he saith, *gave the fairest hopes of a happy composure;* fairest indeed, if his instructions to bribe our Commissioners with the promise of *Security, Rewards, and Places,* were fair: What other hopes it gave no man can tell. There being but three main heads whereon to be treated; *Ireland, Episcopacy, and the Militia;* the first was anticipated and forestall'd by a Peace at any rate to be hast'nd with the Irish Rebels, ere the Treaty could begin, that he might pretend his word and honour p'st against *the specious and popular arguments* (he calls them no better) which the Parliament would urge upon him for the continuance of that just War. Episcopacy he bids the Queen be confident he will never quit; which informs us by what Patronage it stood: And the Sword he resolves to clutch as fast, as if God with his own hand had put it into his. This was the *moderation which he brought;* this was *as far as Reason, Honour, Conscience,* and the Queen, who was his Regent in all these, *would give him leave.* Lastly for *composure,* instead of *happy,* how miserable it was more likely to have bin, wise men could then judg; when the English, during Treaty, were call'd Rebels, the Irish, good and catholic Subjects; and the Parliament before hand, though for fashions call'd a Parliament, yet by a Jesuitical flight not acknowledg'd though call'd so; but privatly in the Council Books inroll'd no Parliament: that if accommodation had succeeded, upon what terms soever, such a devilish fraud was prepar'd, that the King in his own esteem had bin absolv'd from all performance, as having treated with Rebels, and no Parliament; and they on the other side instead of an expected happines, had bin brought under the Hatchet. Then no doubt *War had ended,* that Massacre and Tyranny might begin. These *Jealousies,* however rais'd, let all men see whether they be diminish'd or *allayd,* by the Letters of his own Cabinet op'nd. And yet the breach of this Treaty is laid all upon the Parliament and their Commissioners, with odious Names of *Pertinacy, hatred of Peace, Faction, and Covetousness,* nay his own Brat *Superstition* is laid to their charge; notwithstanding his heer profess'd resolution to continue both *the Order, Maintenance, and Authority* of Prelats, as a Truth of God. And

And who were most to blame in the *unsuccessfulness* of that Treaty, his appeal is to God's decision ; *believing* to be *very excusable* at that Tribunal. But if ever man gloried in an *unflexible stiffness*, he came not behind any : and that *grand Maxim*, always to put something into his Treaties, which might give colour to refuse all that was in other things granted, and to make them *signifie nothing*, was his own principal Maxim and particular instructions to his Commissioners. Yet all, by his own verdict, must be considerd *Reason* in the King, and *depraved temper* in the Parliament.

That the *highest Tide of success*, with these principles and designs, *set him not above a Treaty*, no great wonder. But that his *lowest Ebb* could not be lower than a *Fight*, was a presumption that ruin'd him.

He presag'd the future *unsuccessfulness* of Treaties by the *unwillingness* of *some men to treat* ; and could not see what was present, that thir unwillingness had good cause to proceed from the continual experience of his own obstinacy and breach of word.

His Prayer therefore of *forgiveness* to the guilty of that *Treaties breaking*, he had good reason to say heartily over, as including no man in that guilt sooner than himself.

As for that Protestation following in his Praier, *How oft have I entreated for Peace, but when I speak thereof they make them ready to War* ; unless he thought himself still in that perfidious mist between *Colebrook* and *Houndslow*, and thought that mist could hide him from the eye of Heav'n as well as of Man, after such a bloody recompence giv'n to our first offers of Peace, how could this in the sight of Heav'n without horrors of conscience be utter'd ?

XIX. Upon the various events of the War.

IT is no new or unwonted thing for bad men to claim as much part in God as his best servants, to usurp and imitate thir words, and appropriate to themselves those properties which belong only to the good and righteous. This not only in Scripture is familiarly to be found, but heer also in this Chapter of *Apocrypha*. He tells us much, why it *pleas'd God* to send him Victory or Loss (although what in so doing was the intent of God, he might be much mistak'n as to his own particular) but we are yet to learn what real good use he made thereof in his practice.

Those numbers which he grew to *from small beginnings*, were not such as out of love came to protect him, for none approv'd his actions as a King, except Courtiers and Prelats, but were such as fled to be protected by him from the fear of that Reformation which the pravity of thir lives would not bear. Such a Snowball he might easily gather by rowling through those cold and dark provinces of ignorance and leudness, where on a sudden he became so numerous. He imputes that to God's *protection*, which, to them who persist in a bad cause, is either his long-suffering, or his hard'ning ; and that to wholefom *chastisement*, which were the gradual beginnings of a severe punishment. For if neither God nor nature put civil power in the hands of any whomsoever, but to a lawful end, and commands our obedience to the authority of Law only, not to the tyrannical force of any person ; and if the Laws of our Land have plac'd the Sword in no mans single hand, so much as to unsheath against a foren enemy, much less upon the native people, but have plac'd it in that elective body of the Parliament, to whom the making, repealing, judging, and interpreting of Law it self was also committed, as was fittest, so long as we intended to be a free Nation, and not the Slaves of one mans will, then was the King himself disobedient and rebellious to that Law by which he reign'd ; and by authority of Parliament to raise arms against him in defence of Law and Libertie, we do not only think, but believe and know was justifiable both by the *Word of God, the Laws of the Land, and all lawful Oaths* ; and they who sided with him fought against all these.

The same Allegations which he uses for himself and his Party, may as well fit any Tyrant in the World : for let the Parliament be call'd a Faction when the King pleases, and that no Law must be made or chang'd either civil or religious, because no Law will content *all sides*, then must be made or chang'd no Law at all but what a Tyrant, be he Protestant or Papist, thinks fit. Which tyrannous Assertion forc'd upon us by the Sword, he who fights against, and dies fighting, if his other sins overweigh not, dies a *Martyr* undoubtedly both of the Faith and of the Common-wealth : and I hold it not as the opinion, but as the full belief and perswasion of far holier and wiser Men than *Parasitick Preachers*. Who, without their dinner-Doctrin, know that neither King, Law, Civil Oaths, or Religion, was ever *establish'd* without the Parliament : and thir power is the same to abrogate as to establish : neither is any thing to be thought *establish'd*, which that House declares to be abolisht. Where the Parliament sits, there inseparably sits the King, there the Laws, there our Oaths, and whatsoever can be civil in Religion. They who fought for the Parliament, in the truest sense fought for all these ; who fought for the King divided from his Parliament, fought for the shadow of a King against all these ; and for things that were not, as if they were *establish'd*. It were a thing monstrously absurd and contradictory to give the Parliament a Legislative Power, and then to upbraid them for transgressing old Establishments.

But the King and his Party having lost in this Quarrel thir Heav'n upon Earth, begin to make great reck'ning of *Eternal Life*, and at an easy rate *in forma Pauperis* canonize one another into Heav'n ; he them in his Book, they him in the Portrature before his Book : but as was said before, Stage-work will not do it, much less the *justness of thir Cause*, wherein most frequently they dy'd *in a brutish fierceness*, with Oaths and other damning words in thir mouths ; as if such had bin *all the Oaths* they fought for : which undoubtedly sent them full sail on another Voyage then to Heav'n. In the mean while they to whom God gave victory, never brought to the King at Oxford the state of thir Consciences, that he should presume without confession, more than a Pope presumes, to tell abroad what *conflicts and accusations* men, whom he never spoke with, have in their own thoughts. We never read of any English King but one that was a Confessor, and his name was *Edward* ; yet sure it pass'd his skill to know thoughts, as this King takes upon him. But they who will not stick to slander mens inward Consciences, which they can neither see nor know, much less will care to slander outward Actions, which they pretend to see, though with senses never so vitiated.

To judg of *his condition conquer'd*, and the manner of *dying* on that side, by the *sober men* that chose it, would be his small advantage : it being most notorious, that they who were hottest in his Cause, the most of them were men oftner drunk, then by thir good will sober, and very many of them so fought and so dy'd.

And that the Conscience of any man should grow *suspicious*, or be now *convicted* by any *Pretensions* in the Parliament, which are now prov'd *fals*, and *unintended*, there can be no just cause. For neither did they ever pretend to establish his Throne without our Liberty and Religion, nor Religion without the Word of God, nor to judg of Laws by thir being *establish'd*, but to establish them by thir being good and necessary.

He tells the World he oft'n pray'd that all on his side might be as faithful to God and thir own Souls ; as to him. But Kings above all other men have in thir hands not to pray only, but to do. To make that Prayer effectual, he should have govern'd as well as pray'd. To pray and not to govern is for a Monk and not a King. Till then he might be well assur'd they were more faithful to thir lust and rapine then to him.

In the wonted predication of his own vertues he goes on to tell us, that to conquer he never desir'd, but only to restore the *Laws and Liberties of his People*. It had bin happy then he had known at last, that by force to restore Laws abrogated by the Legislative Parliament, is to conquer absolutely both them and Law it self. And for our Liberties, none ever oppress'd them more, both in Peace and War ; first like a master by his arbitrary power, next as an Enemy by hostile invasion.

And if his best friends fear'd him, and *he himself in the temptation of an absolute Conquest*, it was not only pious but friendly in the Parliament, both to fear him and resist him; since their not yielding, was the only means to keep him out of that *temptation* wherein he doubted his own strength.

He takes himself to be *guilty in this War of nothing else, but of confirming the power of some men*: Thus all along he signifies the Parliament, whom to have settl'd by an act he counts to be his only guiltiness. So well he knew that to continue a Parliament, was to raise a War against himself; what were his Actions then and his Government the while? For never was it heard in all our Story, that Parliaments made War on thir Kings, but on thir Tyrants; whose *modesty and gratitude* was more wanting to the Parliament, then theirs to any of such Kings.

What he *yielded* was his fear; what he *deny'd* was his obstinacy. *Had he yielded more*, fear might perchance have sav'd him; had he granted *less*, his obstinacy had perhaps the sooner deliver'd us.

To review the occasions of this War, will be to them never too late, who would be warn'd by his example from the like evils: but to wish only a happy conclusion, will never expiate the fault of his *unhappy beginnings*. 'Tis true, on our side the sins of our lives not seldom fought against us: but on thir side, besides those, the grand sin of thir Cause.

How can it be otherwise, when *he desires* here most unreasonably, and indeed sacrilegiously, that we should be *subject to him*, though not *further*, yet as far as *all of us may be subject to God*, to whom this expression leaves no precedency? He who *desires* from men as much obedience and subjection, as we may all pay to God, desires not less then to be a God; a Sacrilege far wors then meddling with the Bishops Lands, as he esteems it.

His Prayer is a good Prayer and a glorious; but glorying is not good, if it know not that a little leaven leavens the whole lump. It should have purg'd out the leaven of untruth in telling God that the *blood of his Subjects by him shed was in his just and necessary defence*. Yet this is remarkable; God hath here so order'd his Prayer, that as his own lips acquitted the Parliament, not long before his death, of all the blood spilt in this War, so now his Prayer unwittingly draws it upon himself. For God *imputes* not to any man the blood he spills in a just cause; and no man ever begg'd his *not imputing* of that which he in his justice could not impute: So that now whether purposely, or unawares, he hath confess'd both to God and Man the blood-guiltiness of all this War to lie upon his own head.

XX. Upon the Reformation of the times.

THIS Chapter cannot punctually be answer'd without more repetitions. then now can be excusable: Which perhaps have already bin more humour'd then was needful. As it presents us with nothing new, so with his exceptions against Reformation pitifully old and tatter'd with continual using; not only in his Book, but in the words and writings of every Papist and Popish King. On the Scene he thrusts out first an Antimasque of two bugbears, *Noveltie* and *Perturbation*; that the ill looks and noise of those two may as long as possible drive off all endeavours of a Reformation. Thus sought Pope *Adrian*, by representing the like vain terrors, to divert and dissipate the zeal of those reforming Princes of the age before in *Germany*. And if we credit *Latimer's* Sermons, our Papists here in *England* pleaded the same dangers and inconveniencies against that which was reform'd by *Edward* the sixth. Whereas if those fears had bin available, Christianity it self had never bin re-ceav'd. Which Christ foretold us, would not be admitted without the censure of *Noveltie* and many great Commotions. These therefore are not to deter us.

He grants Reformation to be a good work, and confesses *what the indulgence of times and corruption of manners might have depriv'd*. So did the fore-mention'd Pope, and our Granfire Papiſts in this Realm. Yet all of them agree in one ſong with this here, that *they are ſorry to ſee ſo little regard had to Laws eſtabliſht, and the Religion ſettl'd*.

Popular compliance, diſſolution of all order and government in the Church, Schiſms, Opinions, Undecencies, Confuſions, ſacrilegious Invaſions, contempt of the Clergie and thir Liturgie, diminution of Princes; all theſe complaints are to be read in the Meſſages and Speeches almoſt of every Legat from the Pope to thoſe States and Cities which began Reformation. From whence he either learnt the ſame preſences; or had them naturally in him from the ſame ſpirit. Neither was there ever ſo ſincere a Reformation that hath eſcap'd theſe clamours.

He offer'd a *Synod or Convocation rightly choſen*. So offer'd all thoſe Popiſh Kings heretofore; a cours the moſt unſatisfactory, as matters have bin long carried, and found by experience in the Church liable to the greateſt fraud and packing; no ſolution, or redreſs of evil, but an increaſe rather; deteſted therefore by *Nazianzen*, and ſome other of the Fathers. And let it be produc'd, what good hath bin done by Synods from the firſt times of Reformation.

Not to juſtifie what Enormities the Vulgar may commit in the rudeneſs of thir zeal, we need but only inſtance how he bemoans *the pulling down of Croſſes* and other ſuperſtitious Monuments, as the effect of a *popular and deceitful Reformation*. How little this favours of a Protestant, is too eaſily perceav'd.

What he charges in deſect of *Piety, Charity, and Morality*, hath bin alſo charg'd by Papiſts upon the beſt reformed Churches: not as if they the Accuſers were not tenfold more to be accus'd, but out of thir Malignity to all endeavour of amendment; as we know who accus'd to God the ſincerity of *Job*; an accuſation of all others the moſt eaſie, when as there lives not any mortal man ſo excellent, who in theſe things is not always deficient. But the infirmities of beſt men, and the ſcandals of mixt Hypocrites in all times of reforming, whoſe bold intruſion covets to be ever ſeen in things moſt ſacred as they are moſt ſpecious, can lay no juſt blemiſh upon the integritie of others, much leſs upon the purpoſe of Reformation it ſelf. Neither can the evil doings of ſome be the excuſe of our delaying or deſerting that duty to the Church, which for no reſpect of times or carnal policies can be at any time unſeaſonable.

He tells with great ſhew of piety what kind of *Persons publick Reformers* ought to be, and what they ought to do. 'Tis ſtrange that in above twenty years, the Church growing ſtill worſand worſ under him, he could neither be as he bids others be, nor do as he pretends here ſo well to know; nay, which is worſt of all, after the greateſt part of his Reign ſpent in neither knowing nor doing aught toward a Reformation either in Church or State, ſhould ſpend the reſidue in hindring thoſe by a ſeven years War, whom it concern'd with his conſent or without it to do thir parts in that great performance.

'Tis true that the *method of reforming* may well ſubſiſt without *perturbation of the State*; but that it falls out otherwiſe for the moſt part, is the plain Text of Scripture. And if by his own rule he had allow'd us *to fear God firſt*, and the King in due order, our Allegiance might have ſtill follow'd our Religion in a fit ſubordination. But if *Chriſt's Kingdom* be tak'n for the true Diſcipline of the Church, and by *his Kingdom* be meant the violence he us'd againſt it, and to uphold an Antichriſtian Hierarchie, then ſure enough it is, that Chriſt's Kingdom could *not be ſet up without pulling down his*: And they were beſt Chriſtians who were leaſt ſubject to him. *Chriſt's Government*, out of queſtion meaning it Prelatical, he thought would *confirm his*: and this was that which *overthrew it*.

He profeſſes *to own his Kingdom from Chriſt, and to deſire to rule for his glory, and the Churches good*. The Pope and the King of Spain profeſs every where as much; and both his practice and all his reasonings, all his enmitie againſt the true Church we ſee hath bin the ſame with thirs, ſince the time that in his Letter to the Pope he aſſur'd them both of his full compliance. *But evil beginnings never bring forth good concluſions*: they are his own words, and he ratifi'd them by his own ending. To the Pope he engag'd himſelf to hazard life and eſtate for the Roman Religion, whether in complement he did it, or in earneſt; and God, who

stood neerer then he for complementing minded, writ down those words ; that according to his resolution, so it should come to pass. He prays against *his Hypocrisie and Pharisaical Washings*, a Prayer to him most pertinent, but choaks it straight with other words which pray him deeper into his old Errors and Delusions.

XXI. Upon his Letters tak'n and divulg'd.

THE King's Letters taken at the Battel of *Naseby*, being of greatest importance to let the people see what Faith there was in all his Promises and solemn Protestations, were transmitted to publick view by special Order of Parliament. They discover'd his good affection to the Papists and Irish Rebels, the strict intelligence he held, the pernicious and dishonourable Peace he made with them, not solicited but rather soliciting, which by all invocations that were holy he had in publick abjur'd. They reveal'd his endeavours to bring in forren Forces, Irish, French, Dutch, Lorrainers, and our old Invaders the Danes upon us, besides his fittleties and mysterious arts in treating : to sum up all, they shew'd him govern'd by a Woman. All which, though suspected vehemently before, and from good grounds beleev'd, yet by him and his adherents peremptorily deny'd, were by the op'ning of that Cabinet visible to all men under his own hand.

The Parliament therefore, to clear themselves of aspersing him without cause, and that the people might no longer be abus'd and cajol'd, as they call it, by Fallities and Court-impudence, in matters of so high concernment, to let them know on what terms thir duty stood, and the Kingdom's peace, conceav'd it most expedient and necessary that those Letters should be made publick. This the King affirms was by them done without *honour and civilitie* : words, which if they contain not in them, as in the language of a Courtier most commonly they do not, more of substance and realitie then Complement, Ceremony, Court-faunting and dissembling, enter not I suppose further then the ear into any wise man's consideration. Matters were not then between the Parliament and a King thir enemy in that state of trifling, as to observe those superficial Vanities. But if honour and civilitie mean, as they did of old, discretion, honesty, prudence, and plain truth, it will be then maintain'd against any Sect of those *Cabalists*, that the Parliament in doing what they did with those Letters, could suffer in thir honour and civilitie no diminution. The reasons are already heard.

And that it is with none more familiar then with Kings to transgress the bounds of all honour and civility, there should not want examples good store, if brevity would permit ; in point of Letters this one shall suffice. The *Dutchess* of *Burgundie* and Heir of *Duke Charles*, had promis'd to her Subjects that she intended no otherwise to govern, then by advice of the three Estates ; but to *Lewis* the French King had writt'n Letters, that she had resolv'd to commit wholly the managing of her affairs to four Persons, whom she nam'd. The three Estates not doubting the sincerity of her Princely word, send Embassadors to *Lewis*, who then besieg'd *Arras* belonging to the Dukes of *Burgundy*. The King taking hold of this occasion to set them at division among themselves, question'd thir Credence ; which when they offer'd to produce with thir Instructions, he not only shews them the privat Letter of thir *Dutchess*, but gives it them to carry home, wherewith to affront her ; which they did, she denying it stoutly, till they spreading it before her face in a full Assembly, convicted her of an open lie. Which although *Commynes* the Historian much blames, as a deed too harsh and dishonourable in them who were Subjects, and not at War with thir Princess, yet to his Master *Lewis*, who first divulg'd those Letters, to the op'n shaming of that young Governess, he imputes no incivilitie or dishonour at all, although betraying a certain confidence repos'd by that Letter in his Royal Secrecie.

With much more reason then may Letters not intercepted only, but won in battle from an Enemy, be made public to the best advantages of them that win them, to the discovery of such important truth or falshood. Was it not more dishonourable in himself to fain suspicions and jealousies, which we first found among those Letters, touching the chastitie of his Mother, thereby to gain assistance from the King of *Denmark*, as in vindication of his Sister? The Damsel of *Burgundie* at sight of her own Letter was soon blank, and more ingenuous then to stand outfacing; but this man whom nothing will convince, thinks by talking world without end to make good his integrity and fair dealing, contradicted by his own Hand and Seal. They who can pick nothing out of them but phrases, shall be counted *Bees*: they that discern furdur both there and heer, that *constancy to his Wife* is set in place before Laws and Religion, are in his naturalities no better then *Spiders*.

He would work the people to a perswasion, that *if he be miserable, they cannot be happy*. What should hinder them? Were they all born Twins of *Hippocrates* with him and his fortune, one birth one burial? It were a Nation miserable indeed, not worth the name of a Nation, but a race of Idiots, whose happiness and welfare depended upon one Man. The happiness of a Nation consists in true Religion, Piety, Justice, Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, and the contempt of Avarice and Ambition. They in whomsoever these vertues dwell eminently, need not Kings to make them happy, but are the Architects of thir own happiness; and whether to themselves or others are not less then Kings. But in him which of these vertues were to be found, that might extend to the making happy, or the well-governing of so much as his own household, which was the most licentious and ill-govern'd in the whole Land?

But the op'ning of his Letters was design'd by the Parliament to make *all Reconciliation desperate*. Are the lives of so many good and faithful men that dy'd for the freedom of thir Country, to be so slighted, as to be forgott'n in a stupid-reconcilement without Justice don them? What he fears not by War and Slaughter, should we fear to make desperate by op'ning his Letters? Which fact he would parallel with *Chams* revealing of his Father's nakedness: When he at that time could be no way esteem'd *the Father of his Countrie*, but the Destroyer; nor had he ever before merited that former title.

He thanks God he cannot only bear this with patience, but with charity forgive the doers. Is not this meer mockery, to thank God for what he can do, but will not? For is it patience to impute *Barbarism and Inhumanity* to the op'ning of an Enemies Letter, or is it Charity to clothe them with curses in his Prayer, whom he hath forgiv'n in his Discours? In which Prayer to shew how readily he can return good for evil to the Parliament, and that if they take away his Coat, he can let them have his Cloak also; for the dismantling of his Letters he wishes *they may be cover'd with the Cloak of Confusion*. Which I suppose they do resign with much willingness, both Livery, Badg, and Cognizance, to them who chose rather to be his Servants and Vassals, then to stand against him for the Liberty of thir Country.

XXII. Upon his going to the Scots.

THE Kings coming in, whether to the Scots or English, deserv'd no thanks: For *necessity was his Counsellor*; and that he hated them both alike, his expressions every where manifest. Som say his purpose was to have come to *London*, till hearing how strictly it was proclaim'd that no man should conceal him, he diverted his course. But that had bin a frivolous excuse: and besides, he himself rehearsing the consultations had before he took his journey, shews us cleerly that he was determin'd to adventure upon *thir Loyalty who first began his troubles*. And that the Scots had notice of it before, hath bin long since brought to light. What prudence there could be in it, no man can imagin; Malice there might be by raising new jealousies to divide Friends. For besides his diffidence of the English, it was no small dishonour that he put upon them, when rather than yield himself to the Parliament of *England*, he yielded to a hireling Army of Scots in *England*, paid for their service heer, not in Scotch coyn, but in English Silver; nay who from the first beginning of these troubles, what with brotherly assistance, and what with monthly pay, have defended thir own Liberty and Consciences at our charge. However it was a hazardous and rash journey taken to resolve riddles in *mens Loyalty*, who had more reason to mistrust the riddle of such a disguised yeelding; and to put himself in thir hands whose Loyalty was a Riddle to him, was not the cours to be resolv'd of it, but to tempt it. *What Providence deni'd to Force*, he thought it might grant to Fraud, which he stiles *Prudence*: But Providence was not cozen'd with disguises, neither outward nor inward.

To have known *his greatest danger in his supposed safety, and his greatest safety in his supposed danger*, was to him a fatal riddle never yet resolv'd; wherein rather to have imploy'd his main skill had been much more to his preservation.

Had he known when the Game was lost, it might have sav'd much contest; but the way to give over fairly was not to slip out of op'n War into a new disguise. He lays down his Arms, but not his Wiles; nor all his Arms; for in obstinacy he comes no less arm'd then ever, *Cap a pè*. And what were they but wiles, continually to move for Treaties, and yet to persist the same man, and to fortifie his mind before hand, still purposing to grant no more then what seem'd good to that violent and lawless Triumvirate within him, under the falsifi'd names of his Reason, Honour, and Conscience, the old circulating dance of his shifts and evasions?

The words of a King, as they are full of power, in the authority and strength of Law, so like *Sampson* without the strength of that *Nazarites* lock, they have no more power in them then the words of another Man.

He adores Reason as *Domitian* did *Minerva*, and calls her the *Divinest power*, thereby to intimate as if at reasoning, as at his own weapon, no man were so able as himself. Might we be so happy as to know where these monuments of his Reason may be seen; for in his actions and his writing they appear as thinly as could be expected from the meanest parts, bred up in the midst of so many ways extraordinary to know somthing. He who reads his talk, would think he had left *Oxford* not without mature deliberation: Yet his Prayer confesses that *he knew not what to do*. Thus is verifi'd that Psalm; *he pouresth contempt upon Princes, and causeth them to wander in the Wildernes where there is no way*, Psal. 107.

XXIII. Upon

XXIII. Upon the Scots delivering the King to the English.

THAT the Scots in *England* should sell thir King, as he himself here affirms, and for a price so much above that, which the covetousness of *Judas* was contented with to sell our Saviour, is so foul an infamy and dishonour cast upon them, as besits none to vindicate but themselves. And it were but friendly Counsel to wish them beware the Son, who comes among them with a firm belief that they sold his Father. The rest of this Chapter he sacrifices to the echo of his Conscience, out-babbling Creeds and Ave's, glorying in his resolute obstinacy, and as it were triumphing how evident it is now that not evil Counsellors, but he himself hath been the Author of all our Troubles. Herein only we shall disagree to the Worlds end, while he who sought so manifestly to have annihilated all our Laws and Liberties, hath the confidence to persuade us that he hath fought and suffer'd all this while in thir defence.

But he who neither by his own Letters and Commissions under Hand and Seal, nor by his own actions held as in a Mirror before his face, will be convinc'd to see his faults, can much less be won upon by any force of words, neither he, nor any that take after him; who in that respect are no more to be disputed with then they who deny principles. No question then, but the Parliament did wisely in thir decree at last, to make no more Addresses. For how unalterable his will was, that would have bin our Lord, how utterly averse from the Parliament and Reformation during his confinement, we may behold in this Chapter. But to be ever answering fruitless Repetitions, I should become liable to answer for the same my self. He borrows *Dauids* Psalms, as he charges the Assembly of Divines in his twentieth Discourse, To have set forth old Catechisms and Confessions of Faith new dress'd. Had he borrow'd *Dauids* heart, it had bin much the holier theft. For such kind of borrowing as this, if it be not better'd by the borrower, among good Authors is accounted *Plagiarie*. However, this was more tolerable then *Pamela's* Prayer stol'n out of *Sir Philip*.

XXIV. Upon the denying him the attendance of his Chaplains.

A CHAPLAIN is a thing so diminutive and inconsiderable, that how he should come heer among matters of so great concernment to take such room up in the Discourses of a Prince, if it be not wonder'd, is to be smil'd at. Certainly by me so mean an Argument shall not be writt'n; but I shall huddle him, as he does Prayers. The Scripture owns no such order, no such function in the Church; and the Church not owning them, they are left, for ought I know, to such a furder examining as the Sons of *Sceva* the Jew met with; Bishops or Presbyters we know, and Deacons we know, but what are Chaplains? In State perhaps they may be list'd among the upper serving-men of some great household, and be admitted to som such place, as may stile them the Sewers, or the Yeomen Ushers of Devotion, where the Master is too restie, or too rich to say his own Prayers, or to bless his own Table. Wherefore should the Parliament then take such implements of the Court Cupbord into thir consideration? They knew them to have been the main corrupters at the Kings elbow; they knew the King to have bin always thir most attentive Scholar and Imitator, and of a Child to have suckt from them and thir Closet-work all his impotent Principles of Tyrannie and Superstition. While therfore they had any hope left of his reclaiming, these sowers of Malignant Tares they kept asunder from him, and sent to him such of the Ministers and other zealous Persons as they

thought

thought were best able to instruct him, and to convert him. What could Religion her self have don more to the saving of a Soul? But when they found him past Cure, and that he to himself was grown the most evil Counseler of all, they deny'd him not his Chaplains, as many as were fitting, and som of them attended him, or els were at his call to the very last. Yet heer he makes more Lamentation for the want of his Chaplains, then superstitious *Micah* did to the *Danites*, who had tak'n away his household Priest: *Ye have tak'n away my Gods which I made, and the Priest, and what have I more?* And perhaps the whole Story of *Micah* might square not unfitly to this Argument: *Now know I*, saith he, *that the Lord will do me good, seeing I have a Levite to my Priest.* *Micah* had as great a care that his Priest should be Mosaical, as the King had that his should be Apostolical; yet both in errour touching thir Priests. Household and privat Orisons were not to be officiated by Priests; for neither did public Prayer appertain only to thir office. Kings heertofore, *David*, *Salomon*, and *Jehosaphat*, who might not touch the Priesthood, yet might pray in public, yea in the Temple, while the Priests themselves stood and heard. What aild this King then, that he could not chew his own Mattins without the Priests *Ore tenuis*? Yet it is like he could not pray at home, who can heer publish a whole Prayer-book of his own, and signifies in some part of this Chapter almost as good a mind to be a Priest himself, as *Micah* had to let his Son be. There was doubtless therefore some other matter in it which made him so desirous to have his Chaplains about him, who were not only the contrivers, but very oft the instruments also of his designs.

The Ministers which were sent him no marvel he indur'd not; for they preacht repentance to him: the others gave him easie confession, easie absolution, nay strength'n'd his hands, and hard'nd his heart, by applauding him in his wilful ways. To them he was an *Ahab*, to these a *Constantine*; it must follow then that they to him were as unwelcome as *Elijah* was to *Ahab*, these as deer and pleasing as *Amaziah* the Priest of *Bethel* was to *Jeroboam*. These had learnt well the lesson that would please; *Prophecie not against Bethel for it is the Kings Chappel, the Kings Court*; and had taught the King to say of those Ministers which the Parliament had sent, *Amos hath conspir'd against me, the Land is not able to bear all his words.*

Returning to our first Parallel, this King lookt upon his Prelats, as *Orphans under the sacrilegious eyes of many rapacious Reformers*: and there was as great fear of Sacrilege between *Micah* and his Mother, till with thir holy treasure, about the loss whereof there was such a cursing, they made a grav'n and a molt'n Image, and got a Priest of thir own. To let go his criticizing about the sound of Prayers, imperious, rude, or passionat modes of his own devising, we are in danger to fall again upon the flats and shallows of Liturgie. Which if I should repeat again, would turn my answers into *Responsories*, and beget another Liturgie, having too much of one already.

This only I shall add, that if the heart, as he alleges, cannot safely join with another mans extemporal sufficiency, because we know not so exactly what they mean to say, then those public Prayers made in the Temple by those forenamed Kings, and by the Apostles in the Congregation, and by the ancient Christians for above three hundred years before Liturgies came in, were with the people made in vain.

After he hath acknowledg'd that Kings heertofore pray'd without Chaplains, ev'n publicly in the Temple it self, and that every privat Beleever is invested with a royal Priesthood; yet like one that relisht not what he tasted of the heav'nly gift, and the good word of God, whose name he so confidently takes into his mouth, he frames to himself impertinent and vain reasons why he should rather pray by the officiating mouth of a Closet-Chaplain. *Thir Prayers*, saith he, *are more prevalent, they flow from minds more enligh'n'd, from affections less distracted.* Admit this true, which is not, this might be something said as to thir prayers for him, but what avails it to thir praying with him? If his own mind be incumbered with secular affairs, what helps it his particular prayer, tho the mind of his Chaplain be not wandring, either after new preferment, or his dinner? The fervencie of one man in prayer cannot supererogate for the coldness of another; neither can his spiritual defects in that duty be made out in the acceptance of God by another mans abilities. Let him endeavour to have more light in himself, and not to walk by another mans Lamp, but to get Oyle into his own. Let him

him cast from him, as in a Christian warfare, that secular incumbrance which either distracts or overloads him ; his load els will never be the less heavie, because another mans is light. Thus these pious flourishes and colours examin'd thoroughly, are like the Apples of *Asphaltis*, appearing goodly to the sudden eye, but look well upon them, or at least but touch them, and they turn into Cinders.

In his Prayer he remembers what *voices of joy and gladness* there were in his Chappel, *God's House*, in his opinion, between the Singing-men and the Organs ; and this was *unity of spirit in the bond of peace* ; the vanity, superstition, and misdevotion of which place, was a scandal far and near : Wherin so many things were sung, and pray'd in those Songs which were not understood : and yet he who makes a difficulty how the people can join thir hearts to extemporal Prayers, though distinctly heard and understood, makes no question how they should join thir hearts in unitie to songs not understood.

I beleve that God is no more mov'd with a prayer elaborately pen'd, then men truly charitable, are mov'd with the pen'd speech of a Beggar.

Finally, O ye Ministers, read here what work he makes among your Gally-pots, your *Balms* and *Cordials* ; and not only your *sweet Sippets* in Widows Houses, but the huge gobbets wherewith he charges you, to have devour'd houses and all ; the *houses of your Brethren, your King, and your God*. Cry him up for a Saint in your Pulpits, while he cries you down for Atheists into Hell.

XXV. Upon his penitential Meditations and Vows at Holmby.

IT is not hard for any man who hath a Bible in his hands, to borrow good words and holy sayings in abundance ; but to make them his own, is a work of grace only from above. He borrows here many penitential Verses out of *David's Psalms*. So did many among those Israelites, who had revolted from the true Worship of God, *invent to themselves instruments of musick like David*, and probably Psalms also like his, and yet the Prophet *Amos* complains heavily against them. But to prove how short this is of true repentance, I will recite the penitence of others, who have repented, in words not borrow'd, but thir own, and yet by the doom of Scripture it self are judg'd reprobates.

Cain said unto the Lord, My Iniquity is greater then I can bear : behold thou hast driv'n me this day from the face of the earth, and from thy face shall I be hid.

And when Esau heard the words of his Father, he cry'd with an exceeding bitter cry, and said, Bless me, ev'n me also O my Father ; yet found no place of repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears, Heb. 12.

And Pharaoh said to Moses, The Lord is righteous, I and my people are wicked ; I have sin'd against the Lord your God, and against you.

And Balaam said, Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his.

And Saul said to Samuel, I have sin'd, for I have transgress'd the commandment of the Lord ; yet honour me now I pray thee before the Elders of my People.

And when Ahab heard the words of Eliah, he rent his cloaths, and put sackcloth upon his flesh, and fasted, and lay in sackcloth, and went softly.

Jehoram also rent his cloaths, and the people look'd, and behold he had sackcloth upon his flesh ; yet in the very act of his humiliation he could say, God do so, and more also to me, if the head of Elishah shall stand on him this day.

Therefore saith the Lord, They have not cry'd unto me with thir heart, when they bow'd upon thir beds. They return, but not to the Most High. Hosea 7.

And Judas said, I have sin'd in that I have betray'd innocent blood.

And Simon Magus said, Pray ye to the Lord for me that none of these things come upon me.

All these took the pains both to confess and to repent in thir own words, and many of them in thir own tears, not in *David's*. But transported with the
vain

vain ostentation of imitating *David's* language, not his life, observe how he brings a curse upon himself and his Father's house (God so disposing it) by his usurp'd and ill-imitated Prayer, *Let thy anger I beseech thee be against me and my Father's house ; as for these Sheep what have they done.* For if *David* indeed sin'd in numbring the people, of which fault he in earnest made that confession, and acquitted the whole people from the guilt of that sin ; then doth this King, using the same words, bear witness against himself to be the guilty Person, and either in his Soul and Conscience here acquits the Parliament and the People, or els abuses the words of *David*, and dissembles grossly ev'n to the face of God ; which is apparent in the very next line ; wherein he accuses ev'n the Church it self to God, as if she were *the Churches Enemy*, for having overcome his Tyranny by the powerful and miraculous might of God's manifest arm : For to other strength in the midst of our divisions and disorders, who can attribute our Victories ? Thus had this miserable man no worse enemies to solicit and mature his own destruction, from the hastn'd sentence of divine Justice, then the obdurate curses which proceeded against himself out of his own mouth.

Hitherto his Meditations, now his Vows, which as the Vows of Hypocrites use to be, are most commonly absurd, and some wicked. *Jacob* vow'd that God should be his God, if he granted him but what was necessary to perform that Vow, life and subsistence : but the obedience profer'd here is nothing so cheap. He who took so hainously to be offer'd nineteen Propositions from the Parliament, capitulates here with God almost in as many Articles.

If he will continue that light, or rather that darkness, of the Gospel, which is among his Prelates, settle thir Luxuries, and make them gorgeous Bishops ;

If he will restore the grievances and mischiefs of those obsolet and Popish Laws, which the Parliament without his consent hath abrogated, and will suffer Justice to be executed according to his sense ;

If he will suppress the many Schisms in Church, to contradict himself in that which he hath foretold must and shall come to pass, and will remove Reformation as the greatest Schism of all, and Façtions in the State, by which he means in every leaf the Parliament ;

If he will restore him to his Negative voice and the Militia, as much as to say, to arbitrary Power, which he wrongfully avers to be the *right of his Predecessors* ;

If he will turn the hearts of his people to thir old Cathedral and Parochial service in the Liturgie, and thir Passive Obedience to the King ;

If he will quench the Army, and withdraw our Forces from withstanding the Piracy of *Rupert*, and the plotted Irish Invasion ;

If he will bless him with the freedom of Bishops again in the House of Peers, and of fugitive Delinquents in the House of Commons, and deliver the honour of Parliament into his hands, from the most natural and due protection of the people, that entrusted them with the dangerous enterprize of being faithful to thir Country against the rage and malice of his tyrannous opposition ;

If he will keep him from that great offence of following the counsel of his Parliament, and enacting what they advise him to, which in all reason, and by the known Law and Oath of his Coronation he ought to do, and not to call that Sacrilege which Necessity through the continuance of his own Civil War hath compell'd them to ; Necessity, which made *David* eat the Shew-bread, made *Ezekiah* take all the Silver which was found in God's House, and cut off the Gold which overlaid those dores and pillars, and give it to *Senacherib* ; Necessitie, which oftentimes made the Primitive Church to sell her sacred Utenils, ev'n to the Communion-Chalice ;

If he will restore him to a capacity of glorifying him by doing that both in Church and State, which must needs dishonour and pollute his Name ;

If he will bring him again with peace, honour and safety to his chief City, without repenting, without satisfying for the blood spilt, only for a few politick Concessions which are as good as nothing ;

If he will put again the Sword into his hand, to punish those that have deliver'd us, and to protect Delinquents against the Justice of Parliament ;

Then, if it be possible to reconcile Contradictions, he will praise him by displeasing him, and serve him by diserving him.

His glory, in the gaudy Copes and painted Windows, Miters, Rochets, Altars, and the chanted Service-Book, shall be dearer to him than the establishing his Crown in righteousness, and the spiritual power of Religion.

He will pardon those that have offended him in particular, but there shall want no subtle ways to be ev'n with them upon another score of thir suppos'd Offences against the Common-wealth; whereby he may at once affect the glory of a seeming justice, and destroy them pleasantly, while he fains to forgive them as to his own particular, and outwardly bewails them.

These are the conditions of his treating with God, to whom he bates nothing of what he stood upon with the Parliament: as if Commissions of Array could deal with him also. But of all these conditions, as it is now evident in our eyes, God accepted none, but that final Petition which he so oft, no doubt but by the secret judgment of God, importunes against his own head; praying God, *That his mercies might be so toward him, as his resolutions of truth and peace were toward his people.* It follows then, God having cut him off without granting any of these mercies, that his resolutions were as fained, as his Vows are frustrate.

XXVI. Upon the Armies surprisal of the King at Holmby.

TO give account to Royalists what was done with thir vanquisht King, yielded up into our hands, is not to be expected from them whom God hath made his Conquerors. And for Brethren to debate and rip up thir falling out in the ear of a common enemy, thereby making him the Judg, or at least the well-pleas'd auditor of thir disagreement, is neither wise nor comely. To the King therefore, were he living, or to his Party yet remaining, as to this action, there belongs no answer. Emulations, all men know are incident among military men, and are, if they exceed not, pardonable. But some of the former Army, eminent enough for thir own martial deeds, and prevalent in the House of Commons, touch'd with envy to be so far outdone by a new model which they contemn'd, took advantage of Presbyterian and Independent Names, and the virulence of some Ministers, to raise disturbance. And the War being then ended, thought slightly to have discarded them, who had faithfully done the work, without thir due pay, and the reward of thir invincible valour. But they who had the Sword yet in thir hands, disdaining to be made the first objects of ingratitude and oppression, after all that expence of thir blood for Justice and the common Liberty, seiz'd upon the King thir Prisoner, whom nothing but thir matchless deeds had brought so low as to surrender up his Person: though he, to stir up new discord, chose rather to give up himself a captive to his own Country-men who less had won him. This in likelihood might have grown to some height of mischief; partly through the strife which was kindling between our elder and our younger Warriors, but chiefly through the seditious tongues of some false Ministers, more zealous against Scisms, then against thir own Simony and Pluralities, or watchful of the common Enemy, whose subtle insinuations had got so far in among them, as with all diligence to blow the coles. But it pleas'd God not to embroil and put to confusion his whole people for the perverseness of a few. The growth of our dissention was either prevented, or soon quieted; the Enemy soon deceav'd of his rejoicing, and the King especially disappointed of not the meanest morsel that his hope presented him, to ruin us by our division. And being now so nigh the end, we may the better be at leasure to stay a while, and hear him commenting upon his own Captivity.

He saith of his surprisal, that it was a *motion eccentrick and irregular.* What then? his own allusion, from the Celestial bodies, puts us in mind that irregular motions may be necessary on earth sometimes as well as constantly in Heaven. That is not always best which is most regular to writt'n Law. Great Worthies heretofore by disobeying Law, oftentimes have sav'd the Common-wealth: and the Law afterward by firm Decree hath approv'd that planetary motion, that unblamable exorbitancy in them.

He means no good to either Independent or Presbyterian, and yet his parable, like that of *Balaam*, is overrul'd to portend them good, far beside his intention. *Those twins that strove enclos'd in the womb of Rebecca*, were the seed of *Abraham*; the younger undoubtedly gain'd the heavenly Birthright; the elder though supplanted in his Similie, shall yet no question find a better portion then *Esau* found, and far above his uncircumcis'd Prelates.

He censures, and in censuring seems to hope *it will be an ill Omen* that they *who build Jerusalem divide their tongues and hands*. But his hope fail'd him with his example; for that there were divisions both of tongues and hands at the building of *Jerusalem*, the Story would have certifi'd him; and yet the work prosper'd: and if God will, so may this, notwithstanding all the craft and malignant wiles of *Sanballat* and *Tobiah*, adding what fuel they can to our dissensions; or the indignity of his comparison, that lik'ns us to those seditious *Zelots* whose intestine fury brought destruction to the last *Jerusalem*.

It being now no more in his hand to be reveng'd on his opposers, he seeks to satiate his fanſie with the imagination of some revenge upon them from above; and like one who in a drowth observes the Skie, sits and watches when any thing will drop, that might solace him with the likeness of a Punishment from Heav'n upon us: which he strait expounds how he pleases. No evil can befall the Parliament or City, but he positively interprets it a judgment upon them for his sake; as if the very manuscript of God's Judgments had bin deliver'd to his custody and exposition. But his reading declares it well to be a fals copy which he uses; dispensing oft'n to his own bad deeds and successles testimony of Divine Favour, and to the good deeds and successles of other men, Divine Wrath and Vengeance. But to counterfet the hand of God is the bold-est of all Forgery: And he who without warrant, but his own fantastick surmise, takes upon him perpetually to unfold the secret and unsearchable Myſteries of high Providence, is likely for the most part to mistake and slander them; and approaches to the madness of those reprobate thoughts, that would wrest the Sword of Justice out of God's own hand, and imploy it more justly in his own conceit. It was a small thing to contend with the Parliament about the sole power of the Militia, when we see him doing little less then laying hands on the weapons of God himself, which are his judgments, to weild and manage them by the sway and bent of his own frail Cogitations. Therefore *they that by Tumults first occasion'd the raising of Armies*, in his doom must needs be chast'n'd by their own Army for new Tumults.

First note here his confession, that those Tumults were the first occasion of raising Armies, and by consequence that he himself rais'd them first against those supposed Tumults. But who occasion'd those Tumults, or who made them so, being at first nothing more then the unarmed and peaceable concourse of people, hath bin discusst already. And that those pretended Tumults were chastiz'd by thir own Army for new Tumults, is not prov'd by a Game at tic-tack with words; *Tumults and Armies*, *Armies and Tumults*, but seems more like the method of a Justice irrational then divine.

If the City were chast'nd by the Army for new Tumults, the reason is by himself set down evident and immediate, *thir new Tumults*. With what sense can it be referr'd then to another far-fetch'd and imaginary cause that happn'd so many years before, and in his supposition only as a cause? *Manlius* defended the Capitol and the Romans from thir enemies the *Gauls*: *Manlius* for sedition afterward was by the Romans thrown headlong from the Capitol, therefore *Manlius* was punish'd by divine Justice for defending the Capitol, because in that place punish'd for sedition, and by those whom he defended. This is his Logick upon Divine Justice; and was the same before upon the death of Sir *John Hotbham*. And here again, *such as were content to see him driv'n away by unsuppressed Tumults, are now forc'd to fly to an Army*. Was this a judgment? was it not a mercy rather that they had a noble and victorious Army so near at hand to fly to?

From God's Justice he comes down to *Man's Justice*. Those few of both Houses who at first withdrew with him from the vain pretence of Tumults, were counted Desertors; therefore those many must be also Desertors who withdrew afterwards from real Tumults: as if it were the place that made a Parliament, and not the end and cause. Because it is deny'd those were Tumults from which the King made shew of being driv'n, is it therefore of necessity impli'd, that there could be never any Tumults for the future? If some men fly in craft,
may

may not other men have cause to fly in earnest? But mark the difference between thir flight and his; they soon return'd in safety to thir places, he not till after many years, and then a Captive to receive his punishment. So that thir flying, whether the cause be consider'd or the event, or both, neither justify'd him, nor condemn'd themselves.

But he will needs have *vengeance to pursue and overtake them*; though to bring it in, it cost him an inconvenient and obnoxious comparison, *As the Mice and Rats overtook a German Bishop*. I would our Mice and Rats had bin as orthodoxal here, and had so pursu'd all his Bishops out of *England*; then vermin had rid away vermin, which now ~~both~~ lost the lives of too many thousand honest men to do.

He cannot but observe this Divine Justice yet with sorrow and pity. But sorrow and pity in a weak and overmaster'd Enemy, is lookt upon no otherwise then as the Ashes of his revenge burnt out upon it self; or as the damp of a cool'd fury when we say it gives. But in this manner to sit spelling and observing Divine Justice upon every accident and slight disturbance that may happ'n humanly to the affairs of Men, is but another fragment of his brok'n revenge; and yet the shrewdest and the cunningest Obloquie that can be thrown upon thir Actions. For if he can perswade men that the Parliament and thir cause is pursu'd with Divine Vengeance, he hath attain'd his end, to make all men forsake them, and think the worst that can be thought of them.

Nor is he only content to suborn Divine Justice in his censure of what is past, but he assumes the person of Christ himself to prognosticate over us what he wishes would come. So little is any thing or person sacred from him, no not in Heav'n, which he will not use, and put on, if it may serve him plausibly to wreck his spleen, or ease his mind upon the Parliament. Although if ever *fatal blindness* did both attend and punish wilfulness, if ever any *enjoy'd not comforts for neglecting counsel belonging to thir peace*, it was in none more evidently brought to pass then in himself: and his Predictions against the Parliament and thir Adherents have for the most part bin verifi'd upon his own head, and upon his chief Counsellors.

He concludes with high praises of the Army. But praises in an Enemy are superfluous, or smell of craft; and the Army shall not need his praises, nor the Parliament fare worse for his accusing prayers that follow. Wherin as his Charity can be no way comparable to that of Christ, so neither can his assurance that they whom he seems to pray for, in doing what they did against him, *knew not what they did*. It was but arrogance therefore, and not charity, to lay such ignorance to others in the sight of God, till he himself had bin infallible, like him whose peculiar words he overweeningly assumes.

XXVII. *Intitl'd to the Prince of Wales.*

WHAT the King wrote to his Son, as a Father, concerns not us; what he wrote to him as a King of *England*, concerns not him; God and the Parliament having now otherwise dispos'd of *England*. But because I see it done with some artifice and labour, to possess the people that they might amend thir present condition, by his or by his Son's restorement, I shall shew point by point, that although the King had bin reinstall'd to his desire, or that his Son admitted, should observe exactly all his Father's Precepts, yet that this would be so far from conducing to our happiness, either as a *remedy to the present distempers, or a prevention of the like to come*, that it would inevitably throw us back again into all our past and fulfill'd miseries; would force us to fight over again all our tedious Wars, and put us to another fatal struggling for Libertie and Life, more dubious then the former. In which as our success hath bin no other then our cause; so it will be evident to all posteritie, that his *misfortunes* were the meer consequence of his perverse Judgment.

First he argues from the *experience of those troubles* which both he and his Son have had, to the improvement of thir *piety and patience*: and by the way bears witness in his own words, that the corrupt education of his youth, which was but glanc'd at only in some former passages of this Answer, was a thing neither of mean consideration, nor untruly charg'd upon him or his Son: himself confessing here that *Court-delights are prone either to root up all true vertue and honour, or to be contented only with some leavys and withering formalities of them, without any real fruits tending to the publick good*: Which presents him still in his own words another *Rehoboam*, soft'n'd by a far worse Court then *Salomon's*, and so corrupted by flatteries, which he affirms to be *unseparable*, to the overturning of all peace, and the loss of his own Honour and Kingdoms. That he came therefore thus bred up and nurtur'd to the Throne, far worse then *Rehoboam*, unless he be of those who equaliz'd his Father to King *Salomon*, we have here his own confession. And how voluptuously, how idely reigning in the hands of other men, he either tyranniz'd or trill'd away those seventeen years of peace, without care or thought, as if to be a King had bin nothing else in his apprehension, but to eat and drink, and have his will, and take his pleasure; though there be who can relate his domestick life to the exactness of a diary, there shall be here no mention made. This yet we might have then foreseen, that he who spent his leisure so remissly and so corruptly to his own pleasing, would one day or other be worse busied and imploy'd to our sorrow. And that he acted in good earnest what *Rehoboam* did but threat'n, to make his little finger heavier than his Father's loins, and to whip us with his two-twisted Scorpions, both temporal and spiritual Tyranny, all his Kingdoms have felt. What good use he made afterward of his adversitie, both his impenitence and obstinacy to the end (for he was no *Manasseh*) and the sequel of these his meditated resolutions, abundantly expresse; retaining, commending, teaching to his Son all those putrid and pernicious documents both of State and of Religion, instill'd by wicked Doctors, and receiv'd by him as in a Vessel nothing better season'd, which were the first occasion both of his own and all our miseries. And if he in the best maturity of his years and understanding made no better use to himself or others of his so long and manifold afflictions, either looking up to God, or looking down upon the reason of his own affairs, there can be no probability that his Son, bred up, not in the soft effeminacies of Court only, but in the rugged and more boistrous licence of undisciplin'd Camps and Garisons, for years unable to reflect with judgment upon his own condition, and thus ill instructed by his Father, should give his mind to walk by any other rules then these bequeath'd him as on the death-bed of his Father, and as the choicest of all that experience, which his most serious observation and retirement in good or evil days, had taught him. *David* indeed by suffering without just cause, learnt that meekness and that wisdom by adversity, which made him much the fitter man to reign. But they who suffer as Oppressors, Tyrants, violaters of Law, and persecuters of Reformation, without appearance of repenting, if they

they once get hold again of that dignity and power which they had lost, are but whetted and inrag'd by what they suffer'd, against those whom they look upon as them that caus'd thir sufferings.

How he hath bin *subject to the scepter of God's Word and Spirit*, though acknowledg'd to be the *best Government*, and what his *dispensation of civil power* hath bin, with what *Justice*, and what *honour to the public Peace*, it is but looking back upon the whole catalogue of his deeds, and that will be sufficient to remember us. *The Cup of Gods Physic*, as he calls it, what alteration it wrought in him to a firm *healthfulness* from any surfet or excess whereof the people generally thought him sick, if any man would go about to prove, we have his own testimony following heer, that it wrought none at all.

First, he hath the same fix'd opinion and esteem of his old *Ephesian* Goddes, call'd the *Church of England*, as he had ever, and charges strictly his Son after him to persevere in that Anti-Papal Scism (for it is not much better) as that *which will be necessary both for his Soul's and the Kingdoms peace*. But if this can be any foundation of the Kingdoms peace, which was the first cause of our distractions, let common sense be Judge. It is a rule and principle worthy to be known by Christians, that no Scripture, no nor so much as any ancient Creed, binds our Faith, or our obedience to any Church whatsoever, denominated by a particular name; far less, if it be distinguish'd by a several Government from that which is indeed catholic. No man was ever bid be subject to the Church of *Corinth*, *Rome*, or *Asia*, but to the Church without addition, as it held faithful to the rules of Scripture, and the Government establish'd in all places by the Apostles; which at first was universally the same in all Churches and Congregations; not differing or distinguish'd by the diversity of Countries, Territories, or civil bounds. That Church that from the name of a distinct place takes authority to set up a distinct Faith or Government, is a Schism and Faction, not a Church. It were an injury to condemn the Papist of absurdity and contradiction for adhering to his Catholic Romish Religion, if we, for the pleasure of a King and his politic considerations, shall adhere to a Catholic English.

But suppose the Church of *England* were as it ought to be, how is it to us the safer by being so nam'd and establish'd, whenas that very name and establishment, by his contriving or approbation, serv'd for nothing els but to delude us and amuse us, while the Church of *England* was almost chang'd into the Church of *Rome*? Which as every man knows in general to be true, so the particular Treaties and Transactions tending to that conclusion are at large discover'd in a Book intitl'd the *English Pope*. But when the people, discerning these abuses, began to call for Reformation, in order to which the Parliament demanded of the King to unestablish that Prelatical Government, which without Scripture had usurpt over us, strait, as *Pharaoh* accus'd of Idleness the *Israelites* that sought leave to go and sacrifice to God, he lays faction to thir charge. And that we may not hope to have ever any thing reform'd in the Church either by him or his Son, he forewarns him, *That the Devil of Rebellion doth most commonly turn himself into an Angel of Reformation*; and says enough to make him hate it, as the worst of evils, and the bane of his Crown; nay he counsels him to *let nothing seem little or despicable to him, so as not speedily and effectually to suppress Errors and Scisms*. Whereby we may perceave plainly that our consciences were destin'd to the same servitude and persecution, if not wors then before, whether under him, or if it should so happ'n, under his Son; who count all Protestant Churches erroneous and scismatical, which are not Episcopal. His next precept is concerning our civil Liberties, which by his sole voice and predominant will must be circumscrib'd, and not permitted to extend a hands breadth further then his interpretation of *the Laws already sett'd*. And although all human Laws are but the offspring of that frailty, that fallibility and imperfection which was in thir Authors, whereby many Laws in the change of ignorant and obscure Ages, may be found both scandalous and full of greivance to thir Posterity that made them, and no Law is further good then mutable upon just occasion; yet if the removing of an old Law, or the making of a new would save the Kingdom, we shall not have it unless his arbitrary voice will so far slack'n the stiff curb of his Prerogative, as to grant it us; who are as free born to make our own Laws, as our Fathers were who made these we have. Where are then the English Liberties which we boast to have bin left us by our

Progenitors? To that he answers, that *Our Liberties consist in the enjoyment of the fruits of our Industry, and the benefit of those Laws to which we our selves have consented.* First, for the injoyment of those fruits which our industry and labours have made our own upon our own, what privilege is that above what the *Turks, Jews, and Moors* enjoy under the Turkish Monarchy? For without that kind of Justice, which is also in *Argiers*, among Theeves and Pirats between themselves, no kind of Government, no Societie, just or unjust, could stand; no combination or conspiracy could stick together. Which he also acknowledges in these words: *That if the Crown upon his head be so heavy as to oppress the whole body, the weakness of inferiour members cannot return any thing of strength, honour, or safety to the head; but that a necessary debilitation must follow.* So that this Liberty of the Subject concerns himself and the subsistence of his own regal power in the first place, and before the consideration of any right belonging to the Subject. We expect therefore something more that must distinguish free Government from slavish. But instead of that, this King, though ever talking and protesting as smooth as now, suffer'd it in his own hearing to be preach't and pleaded without controul or check, by them whom he most favour'd and upheld, that the Subject had no property of his own Goods, but that all was the Kings right.

Next, for the *benefit of those Laws to which we our selves have consented*, we never had it under him; for not to speak of Laws ill executed, when the Parliament, and in them the People, have consented to divers Laws, and according to our ancient Rights, demanded them, he took upon him to have a Negative will, as the transcendent and ultimate Law above all our Laws; and to rule us forcibly by Laws to which we our selves did not consent, but complain'd of. Thus these two heads, wherein the utmost of his allowance heer will give our Liberties leave to consist, the one of them shall be so far only made good to us, as may support his own Interest and Crown from ruin or debilitation; and so far Turkish Vassals enjoy as much liberty under *Mahomet* and the Grand Signior: the other we neither yet have enjoy'd under him, nor were ever like to do under the Tyranny of a Negative voice, which he claims above the unanimous consent and power of a whole Nation virtually in the Parliament.

In which Negative voice to have bin cast by the doom of War, and put to death by those who vanquish't him in thir own defence, he reck'ns to himself more then a Negative *Martyrdom*. But Martyrs bear witness to the truth, not to themselves. If I bear witness of my self, saith *Christ*, my witness is not true. He who writes himself *Martyr* by his own inscription, is like an ill Painter, who by writing on the shapeless Picture which he hath drawn, is fain to tell passengers what shape it is; which els no man could imagin: no more then how a Martyrdom can belong to him, who therefore dies for his Religion because it is *establish't*. Certainly if *Agrippa* had turn'd Christian, as he was once turning, and had put to death Scribes and Pharisees for observing the Law of *Moses*, and refusing Christianitie, they had di'd a truer Martyrdom. For those Laws were establish't by God and *Moses*, these by no warrantable authors of Religion, whose Laws in all other best reformed Churches are reject'd. And if to die for an establishment of Religion be Martyrdom, then Romish Priests executed for that which had so many hundred years bin establish't in this Land, are no wors Martyrs then he. Lastly, if to die for *the testimony of his own conscience* be enough to make him Martyr, what Heretic dying for direct Blasphemie, as some have don constantly, may not boast a Martyrdom? As for the constitution or repeal of civil Laws, that power lying only in the Parliament, which he by the very Law of his Coronation was to grant them, not to debar them, nor to preserve a lesser Law with the contempt and violation of a greater, it will conclude him not so much as in a civil and metaphorical sense to have di'd a Martyr of our Laws, but a plain Transgressor of them. And should the Parliament, endu'd with Legislative power, make our Laws, and be after to dispute them piece-meal with the reason, conscience, humour, passion, fanisie, folly, obstinacy, or other ends of one man, whose sole word and will shall baffle and unmake what all the wisdom of a Parliament hath been deliberately framing, what a ridiculous and contemptible thing a Parliament would soon be, and what a base unworthy Nation we, who boast our freedom, and send them with the manifest peril of thir lives to preserve it, they who are not mark'd by destiny for

for Slaves, may apprehend. In this servile condition to have kept us still under hatches, he both resolves heer to the last, and so instructs his Son.

As to those offer'd condescensions of *charitable connivence or toleration*, if we consider what went before, and what follows, they moulder into nothing. For what with not suffering *ever so little to seem a despicable scism*, without effectual suppression, as he warn'd him before, and what with *no opposition of Law, Government, or establish'd Religion* to be permitted, which is his following proviso, and wholly within his own construction, what a miserable and suspected toleration, under Spies and haunting Promooters we should enjoy, is apparent. Besides, that it is so far beneath the honour of a Parliament and free Nation to beg and supplicate the Godship of one frail man, for the bare and simple toleration of what they all consent to be most just, pious, and best pleasing to God, while that which is erroneous, unjust and mischeivous in the Church or State, shall by him alone against them all be kept up and establish'd, and they censur'd the while for a *covetous, ambitious, and sacrilegious Faction*.

Another bait to allure the people, is the charge he laies upon his Son to be tender of them. Which if we should beleve in part, because they are his Herd, his Cattel, the Stock upon his ground, as he accounts them, whom to wast and destroy would undo himself, yet the inducement which he brings to move him renders the motion it self something suspicious. For if Princes *need no Palliations*, as he tells his Son, wherefore is it that he himself hath so oft'n us'd them? Princes, of all other men, have not more change of Rayment in thir Wardrobes, then variety of Shifts and *Palliations* in thir solemn actings and pretences to the People.

To try next if he can insnare the prime men of those who have oppos'd him, whom, more truly then his meaning was, he calls the *Patrons and Vindicators of the People*, he gives out *Indemnity*, and offers *Acts of oblivion*. But they who with a good conscience and upright heart did thir civil duties in the sight of God, and in thir several places, to resist Tyranny and the violence of Superstition band'd both against them he may be sure will never seek to be forgiv'n that, which may be justly attributed to thir immortal praise; nor will assent ever to the guilty blotting out of those actions before men, by which thir Faith assures them they chiefly stand approv'd, and are had in remembrance before the throne of God.

He exhorts his Son *not to study revenge*. But how far he, or at least they about him intend to follow that exhortation, was seen lately at the *Hague*, and by what attempts were likewise made in other places. How implacable they would be, it will be wisdom and our safety to beleve rather, and prevent, then to make trial. And it will concern the multitude, tho' courted heer, to take heed how they seek to hide or colour thir own sickleness and instability with a bad repentance of thir well-doing, and thir fidelity to the better cause, to which at first so cheerfully and conscientiously they joyn'd themselves.

He returns again to extol the *Church of England*, and again requires his Son by the joint authority of a *Father and a King*, *not to let his heart receive the least check or disaffection against it*. And not without cause, for by that means having sole influence upon the Clergy, and they upon the people, *after long search and many disputes*, he could not possibly find a more compendious and politic way to uphold and settle Tyranny, then by subduing first the Consciences of vulgar men with the insensible poyson of thir slavish Doctrin: for then the body and besotted mind without much reluctancy was likeliest to admit the Yoke.

He commends also *Parlaments held with freedom and with honour*. But I would ask how that can be, while he only must be the sole free Person in that number? and would have the power with his unaccountable denial to dishonour them by rejecting all thir counsels, to confine thir Law-giving power, which is the Foundation of our freedom, and to change at his pleasure the very name of a Parliament into the name of a Faction.

The conclusion therfore must needs be quite contrary to what he concludes; that nothing can be more *unhappy*, more dishonourable, more unsafe for all, then when a wise, *grave, and honourable Parliament* shall have labour'd, debated, argu'd, consulted, and as he himself speaks, *contributed* for the public good all thir *Counsels in common*, to be then frustrated, disappointed, deny'd and repuls'd by the single whiff of a Negative, from the mouth of one wilful man;

man ; nay to be blasted, to be struck as mute and motionless as a Parliament of Tapestry in the Hangings ; or els after all thir pains and trouble to be dissolv'd, and cast away like so many Naughts in Arithmetick, unless it be to turn the O of thir insignificance into a lamentation with the people who had so vainly sent them. For this is not to enact all things by public consent, as he would have us be perswaded, this is to enact nothing but by the privat consent and leave of one not negative Tyrant ; this is mischief without remedy, a stifling and obstructing evil that hath no vent, no outlet, no passage through : Grant him this, and the Parliament hath no more freedom, then if it fate in his Noose, which when he pleases to draw together with one twitch of his Negative, shall throttle a whole Nation, to the wish of *Caligula*, in one neck. This with the power of Militia in his own hands over our bodies and estates, and the Prelats to enthrall our consciences either by fraud or force, is the sum of that happiness and liberty we were to look for, whether in his own restitution, or in these precepts giv'n to his Son. Which unavoidably would have set us in the same state of misery wherein we were before ; and have either compell'd us to submit like bond-slaves, or put us back to a second wandering over that horrid Wilderness of distraction and civil slaughter, which, not without the strong and miraculous hand of God assisting us, we have measur'd out, and surviv'd. And who knows, if we make so slight of this incomparable deliverance which God hath bestow'd upon us, but that we shall like those foolish *Israelites*, who depos'd God and *Samuel* to set up a King, cry out one day because of our King, which we have bin mad upon, and then God, as he foretold them, will no more deliver us ?

There remains now but little more of his discours, wherof yet to take a short view will not be amiss. His words make semblance as if he were magnanimously exercising himself, and so teaching his Son to want as well as to wear a Crown ; and would seem to account it not worth taking up or enjoying upon sordid, dishonourable, and irreligious terms ; and yet to his very last did nothing more industriously then strive to take up and enjoy again his sequesterd Crown upon the most fordid, disloyal, dishonourable, and irreligious terms, not of making peace only, but of joining and incorporating with the murderous Irish, formerly by himself declar'd against, for wicked and detestable Rebels, odious to God and all good Men. And who but those Rebels now are the chief strength and confidence of his Son ; while the Presbyter Scot that woes and sollicitis him, is neglected and put off, as if no terms were to him him fordid, irreligious and dishonourable, but the Scottish and Presbyterian.

He bids his Son keep to the true principles of piety, vertue, and honour, and he shall never want a Kingdom. And I say, People of England, keep ye to those principles, ye shall never want a King. Nay after such a fair deliverance as this, with so much fortitude and valour shewn against a Tyrant, that people that should seek a King, claiming what this Man claims, would shew themselves to be by nature Slaves and arrant Beasts, not fit for that Liberty which they cri'd out and bellow'd for, but fitter to be led back again into thir old bondage, like a sort of clamouring and fighting brutes broke loose, that know not how to use or possess the liberty which they fought for.

The last sentence whereon he seems to venture the whole waight of all his former reasons and argumentations, That Religion to thir God, and loyalty to thir King cannot be parted, without the sin and infelicity of a People, is contrary to the plain teaching of Christ, that no man can serve two Masters, but if he hold to the one, he must reject and forsake the other. If God then, and earthly Kings be for the most part not severall only, but opposite Masters, it will as oft happ'n, that they who will serve thir King must forsake thir God, and they who will serve God must forsake thir King ; which then will neither be thir sin nor thir infelicity, but thir wisdom, thir piety, and thir true happiness, as to be deluded by these unsound and suttile ostentations here, would be thir misery.

XXVIII. *Intitl'd Meditations upon Death.*

IT might be well thought by him who reads no further then the Title of this last Essay, that it requir'd no answer. For all other human things are disputed, and will be variously thought of to the World's end. But this business of Death is a plain case, and admits no controversy: In that center all Opinions meet. Nevertheless, since out of those few mortifying hours that should have bin intirest to themselves, and most at peace from all passion and disquiet, he can afford spare time to inveigh bitterly against that Justice which was don upon him, it will be needful to say something in defence of those Proceedings, tho' briefly, in regard so much on this Subject hath been writt'n lately.

It happn'd once, as we find in *Esdra*s and *Josephus*, Authors not less believ'd then any under sacred, to be a great and solemn debate in the Court of *Darius*, what thing was to be counted strongest of all other. He that could resolve this in reward of his excelling wisdom, should be clad in Purple, drink in Gold, sleep on a Bed of Gold, and sit next to *Darius*. None but they doubtless who were reputed wise, had the Question propounded to them: Who after some respite giv'n them by the King to consider, in full Assembly of all his Lords and gravest Counsellors, return'd severally what they thought. The first held that Wine was strongest; another that the King was strongest. But *Zorobabel* Prince of the Captive Jews, and Heir to the Crown of *Judah*, being one of them, prov'd Women to be stronger then the King, for that he himself had seen a Concubin take his Crown from off his head to set it upon her own: And others besides him have lately seen the like Feat done, and not in jest. Yet he prov'd on, and it was so yeilded by the King himself, and all his Sages, that neither Wine, nor Women, nor the King, but Truth, of all other things was the strongest. For me, though neither ask'd, nor in a Nation that gives such rewards to wisdom, I shall pronounce my sentence somewhat different from *Zorobabel*; and shall defend, that either Truth and Justice are all one, for Truth is but Justice in our knowledg, and Justice is but Truth in our practise; and he indeed so explains himself in saying that with Truth is no accepting of Persons, which is the property of Justice: or els, if there be any odds, that Justice, though not stronger then Truth, yet by her office is to put forth and exhibit more strength in the affairs of mankind. For Truth is properly no more then Contemplation; and her utmost efficiency is but teaching: but Justice in her very essence is all strength and activity; and hath a Sword put into her hand, to use against all violence and oppression on the earth. She it is most truly, who accepts no Person, and exempts none from the severity of her stroke. She never suffers injury to prevail, but when falshood first prevails over Truth; and that also is a kind of Justice done on them who are so deluded. Though wicked Kings and Tyrants counterfet her Sword, as some did that Buckler, fabl'd to fall from Heav'n into the Capitol, yet she communicates her power to none but such as like her self are just, or at least will do justice. For it were extream partialitie and injustice, the flat denial and overthrow of her self, to put her own authentick Sword into the hand of an unjust and wicked Man, or so far to accept and exalt one mortal Person above his equals, that he alone shall have the punishing of all other men transgressing, and not receive like punishment from men, when he himself shall be found the highest Transgressor.

We may conclude therefore, that Justice, above all other things, is and ought to be the strongest: She is the Strength, the Kingdom, the Power, and Majestie of all Ages. Truth her self would subscribe to this, though *Darius* and all the Monarchs of the World should deny. And if by sentence thus writt'n, it were my happiness to set free the minds of English men from longing to return poorly under that Captivity of Kings, from which the strength and supream Sword of Justice hath deliver'd them, I shall have done a work not much inferior to that of *Zorobabel*: who by well praising and extolling the force of Truth, in that contemplative strength conquer'd *Darius*; and freed his Country and the people of God from the Captivity of *Babylon*. Which I shall yet not despair to do, if they in this Land whose minds are yet Captive,

be but as ingenuous to acknowledg the strength and Supremacie of Justice, as that Heathen King was to confess the strength of Truth : or let them but as he did, grant that, and they will soon perceave that Truth resigns all her outward strength to Justice : Justice therefore must needs be strongest, both in her own and in the strength of Truth. But if a King may do among men whatsoever is his will and pleasure, and notwithstanding be unaccountable to men, then contrary to this magnifi'd wisdom of *Zorobabel*, neither Truth nor Justice, but the King is strongest of all other things : which that Persian Monarch himself in the midst of all his pride and glory durst not assume.

Let us see therefore what this King hath to affirm, why the sentence of Justice and the weight of that Sword which she delivers into the hands of men, should be more partial to him offending, then to all others of human race. First he pleads that *no Law of God or Man gives to Subjects any power of judicature without or against him*. Which assertion shall be prov'd in every part to be most untrue. The first express Law of God giv'n to mankind, was that to *Noah*, as a Law in general to all the sons of men. And by that most antient and universal Law, *Whosoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed* ; we find here no exception. If a King therefore do this, to a King, and that by men also, the same shall be done. This in the Law of *Moses*, which came next, several times is repeated, and in one place remarkably, *Numb. 35. Ye shall take no satisfaction for the life of a murderer, but he shall surely be put to death : the Land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it*. This is so spok'n as that which concern'd all *Israel*, not one man alone, to see perform'd ; and if no satisfaction were to be tak'n, then certainly no exception. Nay the King, when they should set up any, was to observe the whole Law, and not only to see it don, but to do it ; that his heart might not be lifted up above his Brethren, to dream of vain and reasonless Prerogatives or Exemptions, wherby the Law it self must needs be founded in unrighteousness.

And were that true, which is most false, that all Kings are the Lords Anointed, it were yet absurd to think that the Anointment of God should be as it were a charm against Law ; and give them privilege who punish others, to sin themselves unpunishably. The high Priest was the Lord's Anointed as well as any King, and with the same consecrated oil : yet *Salomon* had put to death *Abiathar*, had it not bin for other respects then that anointment. If God himself say to Kings, *Touch not mine anointed*, meaning his chos'n people, as is evident in that Psalm, yet no man will argue thence, that he protects them from Civil Laws if they offend ; then certainly, though *David* as a private Man, and in his own cause, fear'd to lift his hand against the Lord's Anointed, much less can this forbid the Law, or disarm Justice from having legal power against any King. No other supream Magistrate, in what kind of Government soever, laies claim to any such enormous Privilege ; wherfore then should any King who is but one kind of Magistrate, and set over the People for no other end then they ?

Next in order of time to the Laws of *Moses*, are those of Christ, who declares professedly his Judicature to be spiritual, abstract from civil managements, and therefore leaves all Nations to thir own particular Laws, and way of Government. Yet because the Church hath a kind of Jurisdiction within her own bounds, and that also, though in process of time much corrupted and plainly turn'd into a corporal Judicature, yet much approv'd by this King, it will be firm enough and valid against him, if Subjects, by the Laws of Church also, be invested with a power of judicature both without and against thir King, though pretending, and by them acknowledg'd next and immediately under Christ supream Head and Governour. *Theodosius* the Emperor having made a slaughter of the *Thessalonians* for sedition, but too cruelly, was excommunicated to his face by Saint *Ambrose*, who was his subject ; and Excommunication is the utmost of Ecclesiastical Judicature, a spiritual putting to death. But this, ye will say, was only an example. Read then the Story, and it will appear, both that *Ambrose* avouch'd it for the Law of God, and *Theodosius* confess'd it of his own accord to be so ; and that the Law of God was not to be made void in him, for any reverence to his Imperial Power. From hence, not to be tedious, I shall pass into our own Land of *Brittain* ; and show that Subjects here have exercis'd the

utmost

utmost of spiritual Judicature, and more then spiritual against thir Kings, his Predecessours. *Vortiger* for committing incest with his Daughter, was by Saint *German*, at that time his Subject, curs'd and condemn'd in a British Council about the year 448; and thereupon soon after was depos'd. *Mauricus* a King in *Wales* for breach of Oath, and the murder of *Cynetus*, was excommunicated and curst, with all his Offspring, by *Oudocens* Bishop of *Landaff* in full Synod, about the year 560; and not restor'd till he had repented. *Morcant* another King in *Wales* having slain *Frioc* his Unkle, was fain to come in Person, and receive judgment from the same Bishop and his Clergie; who upon his penitence acquitted him, for no other cause then lest the Kingdom should be destitute of a Successor in the Royal Line. These Examples are of the Primitive, British, and Episcopal Church; long e're they had any Commerce or Communion with the Church of *Rome*. What power afterward of deposing Kings, and so consequently of putting them to death, was assum'd and practis'd by the Canon Law, I omit as a thing generally known. Certainly if whole Councils of the Romish Church have in the midst of thir dimness discern'd so much of truth, as to decree at *Constance*, and at *Basil*, and many of them to avouch at *Trent* also, that a Council is above the Pope, and may judg him, though by them not deny'd to be the Vicar of Christ, we in our clearer light may be asham'd not to discern furdur, that a Parliament is by all equity and right above a King, and may judg him, whose reasons and pretensions to hold of God only, as his immediate Vicegerent, we know how far fetch'd they are, and insufficient.

As for the Laws of man, it would ask a volume to repeat all that might be in this point against him from all Antiquity. In *Greece*, *Orestes* the Son of *Agamemnon*, and by succession King of *Argos*, was in that Country judg'd and condemn'd to death for killing his Mother: whence escaping, he was judg'd again, though a stranger, before the great Council of *Arcopagus* in *Athens*. And this memorab'le act of Judicature, was the first that brought the Justice of that grave Senate into fame and high estimation over all *Greece* for many ages after. And in the same City Tyrants were to undergo legal sentence by the Laws of *Solon*. The Kings of *Sparta*, though descended lineally from *Hercules* esteem'd a God among them, were oft'n judg'd, and sometimes put to death by the most just and renowned Laws of *Lycurgus*; who, though a King, thought it most unequal to bind his Subjects by any Law, to which he bound not himself. In *Rome* the Laws made by *Valerius Publicola*, and what the Senate decreed against *Nero*, that he should be judg'd and punish'd according to the Laws of thir Ancestors, and what in like manner was decreed against other Emperors, is vulgarly known. And that the Civil Law warrants like power of Judicature to Subjects against Tyrants, is writt'n clearly by the best and famousst Civilians. For if it was decreed by *Theodosius*, and stands yet firm in the Code of *Justinian*, that the Law is above the Emperor, then certainly the Emperor being under Law, the Law may judg him, and if judg him, may punish him proving tyrannous: how els is the Law above him, or to what purpose? These are necessary deductions; and thereafter hath bin don in all Ages and Kingdoms, oftner then to be here recited.

But what need we any furdur search after the Laws of other Lands, for that which is so fully and so plainly set down lawful in our own? Where antient Books tell us, *Bracton*, *Fleta*, and others, that the King is under Law, and inferiour to his Court of Parliament; that although his place *to do Justice* be highest, yet that he stands as liable *to receive Justice*, as the meanest of his Kingdom. Nay *Alfred* the most worthy King, and by some accounted first absolute Monarch of the Saxons here, so ordain'd; as is cited out of an antient Law-book call'd the *Mirror*; in *Rights of the Kingdom*, p. 31. where it is complain'd on, *as the soueran abuse of all, that the King should be deem'd above the Law, whereas he ought be subject to it by his Oath*. Of which Oath antiently it was the last cause, that the King *should be as liable, and obedient to suffer right, as others of his people*. And indeed it were but fond and senseless, that the King should be accountable to every petty Suit in lesser Courts, as we all know he was, and not be subject to the Judicature of Parliament in the main matters of our common safety or destruction; that he should be answerable in the ordinary cours of Law for any wrong done to a private Person, and not answerable in Court of Parliament for destroying the

whole Kingdom. By all this, and much more that might be added as in an argument overcopious rather than barren, we see it manifest that all Laws both of God and Man are made without exemption of any person whomsoever; and that if Kings presume to overtop the Law by which they reign for the publick good, they are by Law to be reduc'd into order; and that can no way be more justly, then by those who exalted them to that high place. For who should better understand thir own Laws, and when they are transgress, then they who are govern'd by them, and whose consent first made them? And who can have more right to take knowledg of things done within a free Nation then they within themselves?

Those objected Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy we swore, not to his Person, but as it was invested with his Authority; and his Authority was by the People first giv'n him conditionally, in Law, and under Law, and under Oath also for the Kingdom's good, and not otherwise: the Oaths then were interchang'd, and mutual; stood and fell together; he swore fidelity to his trust; not as a deluding Ceremony, but as a real condition of their admitting him for King; and the Conqueror himself swore it after then at his Crowning: they swore Homage and Fealty to his Person in that trust. There was no reason why the Kingdom should be furder bound by Oaths to him, then he by his Coronation Oath to us, which he hath every way brok'n: and having brok'n, the antient Crown Oath of *Alfred* above-mention'd, conceals not his Penalty.

As for the Cov'nant, if that be meant, certainly no discreet Person can imagine it should bind us to him in any stricter sense then those Oaths formerly. The acts of Hostility which we receiv'd from him, were no such dear obligations that we should owe him more fealty and defence for being our Enemy, then we could before when we took him only for a King. They were accus'd by him and his Party to pretend Liberty and Reformation, but to have no other end then to make themselves great, and to destroy the King's Person and Authority. For which reason they added that third Article, testifying to the World, that as they were resolv'd to endeavour first a Reformation in the Church, to extirpate Prelacy, to preserve the Rights of Parliament, and the Liberties of the Kingdom, so they intended, so far as it might consist with the preservation and defence of these, to preserve the King's Person and Authority; but not otherwise. As far as this comes to, they covenant and swear in the sixth Article to preserve and defend the Persons and Authority of one another, and all those that enter into that League; so that this Covenant gives no unlimitable exemption to the King's Person, but gives to all as much defence and preservation as to him, and to him as much as to thir own Persons, and no more; that is to say, in order and subordination to those main ends for which we live and are a Nation of Men join'd in society either christian, or at least humane. But if the Covenant were made absolute, to preserve and defend any one whomsoever, without respect had, either to the true Religion, or those other superiour things to be defended and preserv'd however, it cannot then be doubted, but that the Covenant was rather a most foolish, hasty, and unlawful Vow, then a deliberate and well-weigh'd Covenant; swearing us into labyrinths and repugnances, no way to be solv'd or reconcil'd, and therefore no way to be kept: as first offending against the Law of God, to vow the absolute preservation, defence, and maintaining of one Man, though in his sins and offences never so great and hainous against God or his Neighbour; and to except a Person from Justice, whereas his Law excepts none. Secondly, it offends against the Law of this Nation, wherein, as hath bin prov'd, Kings in receiving Justice, and undergoing due trial, are not differenc'd from the meanest Subject. Lastly, it contradicts and offends against the Covenant it self, which vows in the fourth Article to bring to op'n trial and condign punishment all those that shall be found guilty of such Crimes and Delinquencies, wherof the King by his own Letters and other undeniable Testimonies not brought to light till afterward, was found and convicted to be the chief actor in what they thought him at the time of taking that Covenant, to be overrul'd only by evil Counsellors; and those, or whomsoever they should discover to be principal, they vow'd to try, *either by thir own supream Judicatories, for so ev'n then they call'd them, or by others having power from them to that effect.* So that to have brought the King to condign Punishment hath not broke the Covenant, but it would have broke the
Covenant

Covenant to have sav'd him from those Judicatories, which both Nations declar'd in that Covenant to be *supreme* against any person whatsoever. And if the Covenant swore otherwise to preserve him then in the preservation of true Religion and our Liberties, against which he fought, if not in Arms, yet in Resolution to his dying day, and now after death still fights against in this his Book, the Covenant was better brok'n, then he sav'd. And God hath testifi'd by all popitious and evident signs, wherby in these latter times he is wont to testify what pleases him, that such a solemn and for many ages unexempl'd act of due punishment, was no *mockery of Justice*, but a most grateful and well-pleasing Sacrifice. Neither was it to *cover thir perjury* as he accuses, but to uncover his perjury to the Oath of his Coronation.

The rest of his discourse quite forgets the Title; and turns his Meditations upon death into obloquie and bitter vehemence against his *Judges and Accusers*; imitating therein, not our Saviour, but his Grandmother *Mary* Queen of Scots, as also in the most of his other scruples, exceptions and evasions; and from whom he seems to have learnt, as it were by heart, or els by kind, that which is thought by his admirers to be the most vertuous, most manly, most christian, and most martyr-like both of his words and speeches here, and of his answers and behaviour at his Trial.

It is a sad fate, he saith, *to have his Enemies both Accusers, Parties, and Judges*. Sad indeed, but no sufficient Plea to acquit him from being so judg'd. For what Malefactor might not sometimes plead the like? If his own crimes have made all men his Enemies, who els can judg him? They of the Powder-plot against his Father might as well have pleaded the same. Nay at the Resurrection it may as well be pleaded, that the Saints who then shall judg the Word, are *both Enemies, Judges, Parties, and Accusers*.

So much he thinks to abound in his own defence, that he undertakes an unmeasurable task; to bespeak *the singular care and protection of God over all Kings*, as being *the greatest Patrons of Law, Justice, Order, and Religion on earth*. But what Patrons they be, God in the Scripture oft enough hath exprest; and the earth it self hath too long groan'd under the burd'n of thir injustice, disorder, and irreligion. Therefore *to bind thir Kings in chains, and thir Nobles with links of Iron*, is an honour belonging to his Saints; not to build *Babel*, which was *Nimrod's work*, the first King, and the beginning of his Kingdom was *Babel*, but to destroy it, especially that spiritual *Babel*: and first to overcome those European Kings, which receive thir power, not from God, but from the beast; and are counted no better then his ten horns. *These shall hate the great Whore*, and yet *shall give thir Kingdoms to the Beast that carries her*; they shall commit *Fornication with her*, and yet *shall burn her with fire*, and yet *shall lament the fall of Babylon*, where they fornicated with her.

Thus shall they be to and fro, doubtful and ambiguous in all thir doings, until at last, *joining thir Armies with the Beast*, whose power first rais'd them, they shall perish with him by the *King of Kings* against whom they have rebell'd; and *the Fowls shall eat thir Flesh*. This is thir doom writt'n, and the utmost that we find concerning them in these latter days; which we have much more cause to beleieve, then his unwarranted Revelation here, prophesying what shall follow after his death, with the spirit of Enmity, not of Saint *John*.

He would fain bring us out of conceit with the good *success* which God hath voutsaf'd us. We measure not our cause by our success, but our success by our cause. Yet certainly in a good Cause success is a good confirmation; for God hath promis'd it to good men almost in every leaf of Scripture. If it argue not for us, we are sure it argues not against us; but as much or more for us, then ill success argues for them; for to the wicked God hath denounc'd ill success in all that they take in hand.

He hopes much of those *softer tempers*, as he calls them, and *less advantag'd by his ruin*, that *thir Consciences do already gripe them*. 'Tis true, there be a sort of moodie, hot-brain'd, and always unedify'd Consciences; apt to engage thir Leaders into great and dangerous affairs past retirement, and then upon a sudden qualm and swimming of thir Conscience, to betray them basely in the midst of what was chiefly undertak'n for thir sakes. Let such men never meet with any faithful Parliament to hazard for them; never with any noble Spirit to conduct and lead them out, but let them live and die in servile Condition and
thir

thir scrupulous queasiness, if no instruction will confirm them. Others there be in whose Consciences the loss of gain, and those advantages they hop'd for, hath sprung a sudden leak. These are they that cry out the Covenant brok'n, and to keep it better slide back into neutrality, or join actually with Incendiaries and Malignants. But God hath eminently begun to punish those, first in *Scotland*, then in *Ulster*, who have provok'd him with the most hateful kind of mockerie, to break his Covenant under pretence of strictest keeping it; and hath subjected them to those Malignants, with whom they scrupl'd not to be associates. In God therefore we shall not fear what thir fals fraternity can do against us.

He seeks again with cunning words to turn our success into our sin. But might call to mind that the Scripture speaks of those also, who *when God slew them, then sought him*; yet did but *flatter him with thir mouth, and ly'd to him with thir tongues*; for *thir heart was not right with him*. And there was one who in the time of his affliction trespass'd more against God; *This was that King Ahaz*.

He glories much in the forgiveness of his Enemies; so did his Grandmother at her death. Wise men would sooner have believ'd him had he not so oft'n told us so. But he hopes to erect *the Trophies of his Charity over us*. And Trophies of Charity no doubt will be as *glorious* as Trumpets before the Arms of Hypocrites; and more especially the Trophies of such an aspiring Charitie as offers in his Prayer to share victory with God's *compassion*, which is over all his Works. Such Prayers as these may perhaps catch the people, as was intended: but how they please God, is to be much doubted, though pray'd in secret, much less writt'n to be divulg'd. Which perhaps may gain him after death a short, contemptible, and soon fading reward; not what he aims at, to stir the constancy and solid firmness of any wise Man, or to unsettle the conscience of any knowing Christian, if he could ever aim at a thing so hopeless, and above the genius of his *Cleric* Elocution, but to catch the worthless approbation of an instant, irrational, and Image-doting rabble. The rest whom perhaps ignorance without malice, or some error, less then fatal, hath for the time misled on this side Sorcery or Obduration, may find the grace and good guidance to bethink themselves and recover.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Whereas in page 450. preceding, the Author mentions a Prayer commonly believ'd to be pen'd by K. Charles I. which as such was deliver'd by himself to Dr. Juxon then Bishop of London, and as well twice printed among his Works in Folio, as in the second Edition of *Eikon Basilike* by Mr. Royston; but plainly appears to have been stoln, without any considerable variation, from the mouth of *Pamela*, an imaginary Lady, to a Heathen Deity, in Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*: it is judg'd not improper, for the satisfaction of the Curious, to add here both the said Prayers set parallel to one another, that this piece of Royal Plagiarism, or (to be more charitable) of his Chaplain's Priestcraft may evidently appear to all the World.

The Prayer of K. Charles, stil'd *A Prayer in time of Captivity*. K. Charles's Works, pag. 93. Edit. 1687.

The Prayer of Pamela, being under Imprisonment, to a Heathen Deity. *Arcadia*, pag. 248. Edit. 1674.

O Powerful, O Eternal God, to whom nothing is so great that it may resist, or so small that it is contemned; look upon my misery with thine eye of Mercy, and let thine infinite Power vouchsafe to limit out some proportion of Deliverance unto me, as to thee shall seem most convenient: Let not Injury, O Lord, triumph over me, and let my Fault by thy Hand be corrected; and make not my unjust Enemies the Ministers of thy Justice. But yet, my God, if in thy Wisdom this be the aptest Chastisement for my unexcusable Transgressions; if this ungrateful Bondage be fittest for my over-high Desires; if the Pride of my (not enough humble) Heart be thus to be broken, O Lord, I yield unto thy Will, and cheerfully embrace what Sorrow thou wilt have me suffer; only thus much let me crave of thee (let my craving, O Lord, be accepted of, since it even proceeds from Thee) that by thy Goodness which is thy self, thou wilt suffer some Beam of thy Majesty so to shine in my Mind, that I, who in my greatest Afflictions acknowledg it my noblest Title to be thy Creature, may still depend confidently on Thee. Let Calamity be the Exercise, but not the Overthrow of my Vertue; O let not their prevailing Power be to my Destruction; and if it be thy Will that they more and more vex me with Punishment, yet, O Lord, never let their Wickedness have such a hand but that I may still carry a pure Mind and stedfast Resolution ever to serve thee without Fear or Presumption, yet with that humble confidence, which may best please thee; so that at the last I may come to thy eternal Kingdom, through the Merits of thy Son our alone Saviour, Jesus Christ. Amen.

O All-seeing Light, and eternal Life of all things, to whom nothing is either so great that it may resist, or so small that it is contemned; look upon my Misery with thine eye of Mercy, and let thine infinite Power vouchsafe to limit out some proportion of deliverance unto me, as to thee shall seem most convenient: Let not Injury, O Lord, triumph over me, and let my Faults by thy hand be corrected; and make not mine unjust Enemy the Minister of thy Justice. But yet, my God, if in thy Wisdom this be the aptest Chastisement for my unexcusable Folly; if this low Bondage be fittest for my over-high Desires; if the Pride of my not-enough humble Heart be thus to be broken, O Lord, I yield unto thy Will, and joyfully embrace what sorrow thou wilt have me suffer; only thus much let me crave of thee (let my craving, O Lord, be accepted of thee, since even that proceeds from thee) let me crave even by the noblest Title which in my greatest Affliction I may give my self, that I am thy Creature, and by thy Goodness, which is thy self, that thou wilt suffer some Beam of thy Majesty to shine into my Mind, that it may still depend confidently on thee. Let Calamity be the Exercise, but not the overthrow of my Vertue; let their power prevail, but prevail not to Destruction; let my greatness be their Prey: Let my Pain be the sweetness of their Revenge; Let them (if so it seem good unto thee) vex me with more and more Punishment; but, O Lord, let never their Wickedness have such a hand, but that I may carry a pure Mind in a pure Body. And pausing a while; And O most

gracious Lord, said she, whatever becomes of me, preserve the vertuous Musidorus.

IN pag. 485. beforegoing, our Author charges K. Charles I. with a Commission under the Great Seal of *Scotland*, impowering the *Popish Irish*, as was before agreed between them, to rise in arms, and to seize not only all defensible Places, but likewise the Estates and Persons of all the *English Protestants* in *Ireland*. Those Barbarians (the method being left to their Discretion) thought they could not better secure the *English* than by cutting their throats, which they inhumanly perform'd in cold blood, to almost the number of two hundred thousand Souls. Whoever would, besides the Confession of the Rebels themselves, see further Reasons to believe the said Commission Genuin (for in this Affair we determin nothing) may peruse the *Irish Remonstrance*, and Dr. Jones's Book, both publish'd by Authority of Parliament; and also a Piece entitl'd, *The Mytery of Iniquity*, p. 35, 36. printed in 1643. likewise *Viccar's Chronicle*, Part 3. p. 70. wherein this Commission is inserted at large, as it is here subjoin'd.

CHARLES by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our Catholique Subjects within our Kingdom of Ireland, Greeting: Know ye that We for the safeguard and preservation of our Person, have been enforced to make our abode and residence in our Kingdom of Scotland for a long season, occasioned by reason of the obstinat and disobedient carriage of our Parliament in England against Us; who have not only presumed to take upon them the Government and disposing of those Princely Rights and Prerogatives that have justly descended upon Us from our Predecessors both Kings and Queens of the said Kingdom, for many hundred years past, but also have possessed themselves of the whole Strength of the said Kingdom, in appointing Governours, Commanders, and Officers in all parts and places therein, at their own wills and pleasures, without Our consent, whereby we are deprived of Our Sovereignty, and left naked without defence. And for as much as we are (in our self) very sensible that these storms blow aloft, and are very likely to be carried by the vehemencie of the * Protestant Partie into our Kingdom of Ireland, and endanger our Regal Power and Authoritie there also: Know ye therefore that We reposing much care and trust in your duties and obedience, which we have for many years past found; Do hereby give unto you full power and autoritie to assemble and meet together with all the speed and diligence that a business of so great consequence doth require, and to advise and consult together by sufficient and discreet numbers at all times, days, and places which you shall in your judgments hold most convenient and material, for the ordering, settling, and effecting of this great work (mentioned and directed unto you in Our Letters) And to use all politick ways and means possible to possess your selves (for Our use and safety) of all the Forts, Castles, and places of strength and defence within the said Kingdom (except the Places, Persons, and Estates of our loyal and loving Subjects the Scots:) And also to arrest and seize the Goods, Estates, and Persons of all the English Protestants within the said Kingdom to Our use. And in your care and speedy performance of this Our will and pleasure, We shall perceive your wonted Duty and Allegiance unto us, which We shall accept and reward in due time.

* Puritan in another Copy.

Witness Our self at Edenbrough the first day of October in the seventeenth year of our Raign.

For

FOR a clearer ground, That the Commission to the Irish Papists is genuine (which here we take not upon us to prove) it is further confirmed by King Charles the Second's Letter to the Irish Council, 1663, in favour of the Marquess of Antrim, in which he declares in expresse terms that the Marquess was innocent from any malice or rebellious purpose against the Crown, and that his Transactions with the Irish Rebels was by the Instructions of his Royal Father, and for his Service; and that his said Father was well pleas'd with what the Marquess did after he had done it, and approv'd the same. Notwithstanding this surprising Letter eight Articles were undeniably prov'd against the Marquess; and we prefix them here to the Letter, for the more easy determining which of the three is most Innocent or Guilty, King Charles I. his Son, or the Marquess.

1. That the Marquess of Antrim was to have a hand in surprizing the Castle of Dublin, in the year 1641.

2. That he was of the Rebels party before the 15th of September, 1643. which was made appear by his hourly and frequent intercourse with Renny O Moore, and many others; being himself the most notorious of the said Rebels.

3. That he entred into the Roman-Catholick Confederacy before the Peace in 1643.

4. That he constantly adhered to the Nuntio's Party, in opposition to his Majesties Authority.

5. That he sate from time to time in the Supream Council of Kilkenny.

6. That he signed that execrable Oath of Association.

7. That he was Commissionated, and acted as Lieutenant General, from the said Assembly at Kilkenny.

8. That he declared, by several Letters of his own penning, himself in Conjunction with Owen Ro Oneale, and a constant Opposer to the several Peaces made by the Lord Lieutenant with the Irish.

King Charles the Second's Letter.

CHARLES R.

“ Right trusty and well-beloved Cousins and Counsellors, &c. We greet
 “ you well. How far we have been from interposing on the behalf of
 “ any of our Irish Subjects, who by their miscarriages in the late Rebellion in
 “ that Kingdom of Ireland had made themselves unworthy of Our Grace and
 “ Protection, is notorious to all men; and We were so jealous in that particu-
 “ lar, that shortly after our return into this Our Kingdom, when the Marquess
 “ of Antrim came hither to present his duty to Us, upon the information We
 “ received from those Persons who then attended Us, by a Deputation from
 “ Our Kingdom of Ireland, or from those who at that time owned our
 “ Authority there, that the Marquess of Antrim had so mis-behaved himself to-
 “ wards Us, and Our late Royal Father of blessed memory, that he was in no
 “ degree worthy of the least Countenance from Us, and that they had mani-
 “ fest and unquestionable Evidence of such his guilt. Whereupon We refused
 “ to admit the said Marquess so much as into Our Presence, but on the con-
 “ trary committed him Prisoner to Our Tower of London; where after he had
 “ continued several Months under a strict restraint, upon the continued Infor-
 “ mation of the said Persons, We sent him into Ireland, without interposing
 “ the least on his behalf, but left him to undergo such a Tryal and Punishment,
 “ as by the Justice of that Our Kingdom should be found due to his Crime, ex-
 “ pecting still that some heinous Matter would be objected and proved against
 “ him,

[X x x]

him, to make him incapable, and to deprive him of that Favour and Protection from Us, which we knew his former Actions and Services had merited. After many months attendance there, and (We presume) after such Examinations as were requisite, he was at last dismissed without any Censure, and without any transgression of Charge against him to Us, and with a Licence to transport himself into this Kingdom. We concluded that it was then time to give him some instance of Our Favour, and to remember the many Services he had done, and the Sufferings he had undergone, for his Affections and Fidelity to Our Royal Father and Our Self, and that it was time to redeem him from those Calamities, which yet do lie as heavy upon him since, as before our happy Return: And thereupon We recommend him to you Our Lieutenant, that you should move Our Council there, for preparing a Bill to be transmitted to Us, for the re-investing him the said Marquess into the Possession of his Estate in that Our Kingdom, as had been done in some other Cases. To which *Letter*, you Our said Lieutenant returned us answer, That you had informed Our Council of that Our *Letter*, and that you were upon consideration thereof, unanimously of Opinion, that such a Bill ought not to be transmitted to Us, the Reason whereof would forthwith be presented to Us from Our Council. After which time We received the inclosed *Petition* from the said Marquess, which We referred to the considerations and examinations of the Lords of Our Privy Council, whose Names are mentioned in that Our *Reference*, which is annexed to the said *Petition*, who thereupon met together, and after having heard the Marquess of *Antrim*, did not think fit to make any Report to Us, till they might see and understand the Reasons which induced you not to transmit the Bill We had proposed, which *Letter* was not then come to Our Hands: After which time We have received your *Letter* of the 18th of *March*, together with several *Petitions* which had been presented to you, as well from the Old *Souldiers* and *Adventurers*, as from the Lady *Marchioness* of *Antrim*, all which we likewise transmitted to the Lords *Referees*: Upon a second *Petition* presented to Us by the Lord Marquess, which is here likewise enclosed, commanding Our said *Referees* to take the same into their serious consideration, and to hear what the Petitioner had to offer in his own Vindication, and to report the whole matter to Us, which upon a third *Petition* herein likewise inclosed, We required them to expedite with what speed they could. By which deliberate Proceedings of ours you cannot but observe, that no importunity, how just soever, could prevail with Us to bring Our Self to a Judgment in this Affair, without very ample Information. Our said *Referees*, after several Meetings, and perusal of what hath been offered to them by the said Marquess, have reported unto Us, That they have seen several *Letters*, all of them the hand-writing of Our Royal Father to the said Marquess, and several *Instructions* concerning his treating and joining with the *Irish*, in order to the King's Service, by reducing to their Obedience, and by drawing some Forces from them for the Service of *Scotland*. That besides the *Letters* and *Orders* under his Majesties Hand, they have received sufficient Evidence and Testimony of several private Messages and Directions sent from Our Royal Father, and from Our Royal Mother, with the privacy and with the Directions of the King Our Father; by which they are perswaded that whatever Intelligence, Correspondence or Actings, the said Marquess had with the Confederate *Irish Catholics*, was directed or allowed by the said *Letters*, *Instructions* and *Directions*; and that it manifestly appears to them, that the King our Father was well pleased with what the Marquess did, after he had done it, and approved the same.

This being the true state of the Marquess his Case, and there being nothing proved upon the first Information against him, nor any thing contained against him in your *Letter* of *March* 18. but that you were informed, he had put in his Claim before the Commissioners appointed for executing the *Act of Settlement*; and that if his innocency be such as is alledged, there is no need of transmitting such a Bill to Us as is desired; and that if he be *Nocent*, it conflicts not with the Duty which you owe to Us, to transmit such a Bill, as if it should pass into a Law, must needs draw a great Prejudice upon so many *Adventurers* and *Souldiers*, which are, as is alledged, to be therein concerned. We have considered of the *Petition* of the *Adventurers* and *Souldiers*, which was trans-

mitted

"mitted to Us by you, the Equity of which consists in nothing, but that they
 "have been peaceably in Possession for the space of seven or eight years, of
 "those Lands which were formerly the Estate of the *Marquess of Antrim*, and
 "others, who were all engaged in the late *Irish Rebellion*; and that they shall
 "suffer very much, and be ruined, if those Lands should be taken from them.
 "And We have likewise considered another *Petition* from several Citizens of
 "London, near sixty in number, directed to Our Self, wherein they desire, That
 "the *Marquess* his Estate may be made liable to the payment of his just Debts,
 "that so they may not be ruined in the favour of the present Possessors, who
 "(they say) are but a few Citizens and Souldiers, who have disbursed very
 "small sums thereon. Upon the whole matter no man can think We are less
 "engaged by Our Declaration, and by the Act of Settlement, to protect those
 "who are *innocent*, and who have faithfully endeavoured to serve the *Crown*,
 "how unfortunate soever, than to expose to Justice those who have been really
 "and maliciously *guilty*. And therefore we cannot in Justice, but upon the
 "*Petition* of the *Marquess of Antrim*, and after the serious and strict Inquisition
 "into his Actions, declare unto you, That We do find him *innocent* from
 "any malice or rebellious purpose against the *Crown*; and that what he did
 "by way of Correspondence or Compliance with the *Irish Rebels*, was in order
 "to the Service of Our Royal Father, and warranted by his Instructions,
 "and the Trust reposed in him; and that the benefit thereof accrued to the Service
 "of the *Crown*, and not to the particular advantage and benefit of the
 "*Marquess*. And as We cannot in justice deny him *this Testimony*, so We require
 "you to transmit Our *Letter* to Our Commissioners, that they may know
 "Our Judgments in this Case of the Lord of *Antrim*, and proceed accordingly.
 "And so We bid you heartily farewell.

Given at Our Court at White-Hall, July 10, in the 15th Year of Our
 Reign, 1663.

By his Majesty's Command,

To Our Right Trusty and Right
 entirely Well-beloved Cousin and
 Counsellor, James Duke of Or-
 mond, Our Lieutenant General,
 and General Governour of Our
 Kingdom of Ireland; and to the
 Lords of Our Council of that Our
 Kingdom.

HENRY BENNET.

Entred at the Signet-Office,
 July 13. 1663.

WHAT our Author had ingeniously render'd suspicious (not to say very probable) by reasonable Consequences or Presumptions, and by Arguments drawn from the Book it self, has been since his Death most clearly prov'd from several undeniable Matters of Fact by the late Reverend Dr. *Walker* of *Essex*, viz. That K. *Charles* the First was not the real Author of *Eikon Basilike*, but Dr. *Gauden*, then Bishop of *Exeter*. We therefore refer the inquisitive Reader to the said Dr. *Walker*'s Account of the true Author of *Eikon Basilike*, and to the other Papers publish'd on this occasion; but we cannot forbear inserting in this place the following *Memorandum* of the late Noble *Arthur* Earl of *Anglesey* under his own Hand, which was found in his Library prefixt to a printed Copy of one of these Books. Now if the Declaration of two Kings, and those his own Sons, deserve any regard or credit, it plainly appears how much Dr. *Gauden* impos'd upon the World, and abus'd the Memory of that unfortunate Prince.

The Memorandum.

KING *Charles* the Second and the Duke of York, did both (in the last Sessions of Parliament 1675. when I shew'd them in the Lords House the written Copy of this Book, wherein are some Corrections and Alterations written with the late King *Charles* the First's own hand) assure me that this was none of the said King's compiling, but made by Dr. *Gauden* Bishop of *Exeter*: which I here insert for the undeceiving of others in this Point, by attesting so much under my own Hand.

Anglesey.

The Tenure

THE TENURE OF Kings and Magistrates:

PROVING,

That it is Lawfull, and hath been held so through all Ages, for any, who have the Power, to call to account a TYRANT, or wicked KING, and after due Conviction, to depose, and put him to Death; if the ordinary MAGISTRATE have neglected, or deny'd to doe it.

And that they, who of late so much blame Depositing, are the Men that did it themselves.

IF Men within themselves would be govern'd by reason, and not generally give up their understanding to a double tyrannie, of custome from without, and blind affections within, they would discern better what it is to favour and uphold the Tyrant of a Nation. But being slaves within doores, no wonder that they strive so much to have the public State conformably govern'd to the inward vitious rule, by which they govern themselves. For indeed none can love freedom heartilie, but good men; the rest love not freedom, but licence; which never hath more scope or more indulgence then under Tyrants. Hence is it that Tyrants are not oft offended, nor stand much in doubt of bad men, as being all naturally servile; but in whom vertue and true worth most is eminent, them they feare in earnest, as by right their Masters, against them lies all their hatred and suspicion. Consequentlie neither doe bad men hate Tyrants, but have been alwaies readiest with the falsifi'd names of *Loyalty* and *Obedience*, to colour over their base compliances. And although sometimes for shame, and when it comes to their owne grievances, of Purse especially, they would seeme good Patriots, and side with the better cause, yet when others for the deliverance of their Countrie, endu'd with fortitude and heroicke vertue, to feare nothing but the curse written against those *that doe the worke* Jer. 48. 11 *of the Lord negligently*, would goe on to remove, not onely the calamities and thralldomes of a people, but the roots and causes whence they spring; streight these men, and sure helpers at need, as if they hated onely the miseries but not the mischiefs, after they have juggl'd and palter'd with the World, banded and borne arms against their King, dested him, disanointed him, nay curs'd him all over in thir Pulpits, and their Pamphlets, to the ingaging of sincere and reall men, beyond what is possible or honest to retreat from, not onely turne revoltors from those Principles, which onely could at first move them, but lay the staine of disloyaltie, and worse, on those proceedings, which are the necessarie consequences of their owne former actions; nor dislik'd by themselves, were they manag'd to the intire advantages of their owne Faction; not considering the while that he toward whom they boasted thir new fidelitie, counted them accessory, and by those Statutes and Laws which they so impotently brandish against others, would have doom'd them to a trayors death for what they have done already. 'Tis true, that most men are apt enough to civill Wars and Commotions as a noveltie, and for a flash, hot and active; but through sloth or inconstancie, and weakness of spirit, either fainting ere there owne pretences, though never so just, be half attain'd, or through an inbred falshood and wickednesse, betray oft times to destruction with themselves, men of noblest temper join'd with them for causes which they in their rash undertakings were not capable of. If God and a good Cause give them Victory, the prosecution whereof for the most part, inevitably draws after it the alteration of

Lawes, change of Government, downfall of Princes with their Families; then comes the task to those Worthies which are the soule of that Enterprize, to bee swett and labour'd out amidst the throng and noises of vulgar and irrationall men. Some contending for Privileges, Customes, Formes, and that old intanglement of iniquitie, their gibrish Lawes, though the badge of their ancient slavery. Others who have been fiercest against their Prince, under the notion of a Tyrant, and no meane incendiaries of the Warre against him, when God out of his providence and high disposall hath deliver'd him into the hand of their Brethren, on a suddaine and in a new garbe of Allegiance, which their doings have long since cancell'd; they plead for him, pity him, extoll him, protest against those that talke of bringing him to the tryall of Justice, which is the Sword of God, superiour to all mortall things, in whose hand forever by apparent signes his testified will is to put it. But certainly, if we consider who and what they are, on a suddaine growne so pitifull, wee may conclude, their pity can be no true and Christian commiseration, but either levitie and shallownesse of minde, or else a carnall admiring of that worldly pompe and greatnesse, from whence they see him fall'n; or rather lastly, a dissembl'd and seditious pity, fain'd of industry to beget new commotions. As for mercy, if it bee to a Tyrant, under which name they themselves have cited him so oft in the hearing of God, of Angels, and the holy Church assembl'd, and there charg'd him with the spilling of more innocent blood by farre, then ever *Nero* did, undoubtedly the mercy which they pretend, is the mercy of wicked men; and their mercies, wee read, are cruelties; hazarding the welfare of a whole Nation, to have sav'd one whom so oft they have tearm'd *Agag*, and villifying the blood of many *Jonathans* that have sav'd *Israel*; inslitting with much nicenesse on the unnecessariest clause of their Covenant, wherein the feare of change, and the absurd contradiction of a flitting hostilitie had hampered them, but not scrupling to give away for complements, to an implacable revenge, the heads of many thousand Christians more.

Prov. 12.10.

Another sort there is, who coming in the course of these affairs, to have thir share in great actions above the forme of Law or Custome, at least to give thir voice and approbation, begin to swerve and almost shiver at the majesty and grandeur of som noble deed, as if they were newly enter'd into a great sin; disputing presidents, formes, and circumstances, when the Commonwealth nigh perishes for want of deeds in substance, don with just and faithfull expedition. To these I wish better instruction and vertue equall to their calling; the former of which, that is to say Instruction, I shall indeavour, as my dutie is, to bestow on them; and exhort them not to startle from the just and pious resolution of adhering with all thir assistance to the present Parliament and Army, in the glorious way wherein Justice and Victorie hath set them; the onely warrants through all ages, next under immediate Revelation, to exercise supream power; in those proceedings which hitherto appear equall to what hath been don in any age or Nation heretofore, justly or magnanimously. Nor let them be discourag'd or deterr'd by any new Apostate Scar-crowes, who under show of giving counsell, send out their barking Monitories and *Memento's*, emptie of ought else but the spleene of a frustrated Faction. For how can that pretended counsell, bee either sound or faithfull, when they that give it, see not for madnesse and vexation of thir ends lost, that those Statutes and Scriptures which both falsly and scandalously they wrest against their Friends and Associates, would by sentence of the common adversarie, fall first and heaviest upon their owne heads? Neither let milde and tender dispositions be foolishly softn'd from their dutie and perseverance with the unmasculine Rhetorick of any puling Priest or Chaplain, sent as a friendly Letter of advice, for fashion-sake in private, and forthwith publish't by the Sender himselve, that wee may know how much of Friend there was in it, to cast an odious envie upon them to whom it was pretended to be sent in charitie. Nor let any man bee deluded by either the ignorance or the notorious hypocrisie and self-repugnance of our dancing Divines, who have the conscience and the boldnesse, to come with Scripture in their mouthes, gloss'd and fitted for thir turnes with a double contradictory sense, transforming the sacred veritie of God, to an Idol with two faces, looking at once two severall ways, and with the same quotations to charge others, which in the same case they made serve to justify themselves. For while the hope

to bee made Claffe and Provinciaall Lords led them on, while pluralities greas'd them thick and deepe, to the shame and scandall of Religion, more then all the Sects and Heresies they exclaim'd ag'inst, then to fight against the Kings person, and no lesse a party of his Lords and Commons, or to put force upon both the Houses was good, was lawfull, was no resisting of Superiour powers; they onely were powers not to be resisted, who countenanc'd the good and punish't the evill. But now that thir censorious domineering is not suffer'd to be universall, truth and conscience to be freed, Tithes and Pluralities to be no more, though competent allowance provided, and the warme experience of large gifts, and they so good at taking them; yet now to exclude and seize on impeach't Members, to bring Delinquents without exemption to a faire Tribunall by the common Nationall Law against murder, is now to be no lesse then *Corah, Dathan, and Abiram*. He who but erewhile in the Pulpits was a cursed Tyrant, an enemy to God and Saints, laden with all the innocent blood spilt in three Kingdoms, and so to bee fought against, is now though nothing penitent or alter'd from his first principles, a lawfull Magistrate, a Sovrane Lord, the Lords Anointed, not to bee touch'd, though by themselves imprison'd. As if this onely were obedience, to preserve the meere uselesse bulke of his person, and that onely in prison, not in the field, and to disobey his commands, denie him his dignitie and office, every where to resist his power but where they thinke it onely surviving in thir owne faction.

But who in particular is a Tyrant cannot be determin'd in a generall discourse otherwise then by supposition; his particular charge, and the sufficient prooffe of it must determine that: which I leave to Magistrates, at least to the uprightest sort of them, and of the people, though in number lesse by many, in whom Faction least hath prevaild above the Law of nature and right reason, to judge as they finde cause. But this I dare owne as part of my faith, that if such a one there be, by whose Commission, whole massacres have been committed on his faithfull Subjects, his Provinces offered to pawne or alienation, as the hire of those whom he had sollicit'd to come in and destroy whole Cities and Countries; be hee King or Tyrant, or Emperour, the Sword of Justice is above him; in whose hand soever is found sufficient power to avenge the effusion, and so great a deluge of innocent blood. For if all human power to execute, not accidentally but intendedly, the wrath of God upon evil doers without exception, be of God; then that power, whether ordinary, or if that faile, extraordinary so executing that intent of God, is lawfull, and not to be resisted. But to unfold more at large this whole Question, though with all expedient brevity, I shall here set downe, from first beginning, the originall of Kings; how and wherefore exalted, to that dignitie above thir Brethren; and from thence shall prove, that turning to tyranny they may bee as lawfully depos'd and punish'd, as they were at first elected: This I shall doe by authorities and reasons, not learnt in corners among Schismes and Heresies, as our doubling Divines are ready to calumniate, but fetch't out of the midst of choicest and most authentic learning, and no prohibited Authors, nor many Heathen, but Mosical, Christian, Orthodoxal, and which must needs be more convincing to our Adversaries, Presbyterial.

No man who knows ought, can be so stupid to deny that all men naturally were born free, being the image and resemblance of God himselfe, and were by privilege above all the creatures, borne to command and not to obey: and that they liv'd so, till from the root of *Adams* transgression, falling among themselves to doe wrong and violence, and foreseeing that such courses must needs tend to the destruction of them all, they agreed by common league to bind each other from mutual injury, and joyntly to defend themselves against any that gave disturbance or opposition to such agreement. Hence came Cities, Towns and Common-wealths. And because no faith in all was found sufficiently binding, they saw it needfull to ordaine some Autoritie, that might restraine by force and punishment what was violated against peace and common right: This autoritie and power of self-defence and preservation being originally and naturally in every one of them, and unitedly in them all, for ease, for order; and least each man should be his owne partial judge, they communicated and deriv'd either to one, whom for the eminence of his wisdom and integritie they chose above the rest, or to more then one whom they thought of equal deserving: the first was called a King; the other Magistrates. Not to be their Lords

and Maisters (though afterward those names in some places were given voluntarily to such as had bin authors of inestimable good to the people) but to be their Deputies and Commissioners, to execute, by vertue of their intrusted power, that justice which else every man by the bond of Nature and of Cov'nant must have executed for himselfe, and for one another. And to him that shall consider well why among free persons, one man by civill right should beare authority and jurisdiction over another, no other end or reason can be imaginable. These for a while governd well, and with much equitie decided all things at their owne arbitrement : till the temptation of such a power left absolute in their hands, perverted them at length to injustice and partialitie. Then did they who now by tryall had found the danger and inconveniences of committing arbitrary power to any, invent Lawes either fram'd or consented to by all, that should confine and limit the authority of whom they chose to govern them: that no Man of whose failing they had proof, might no more rule over them, but Law and Reason abstracted as much as might be from personal errors and frailties. When this would not serve, but that the Law was either not executed, or misapply'd, they were constrained from that time, the onely remedy left them, to put conditions and take Oaths from all Kings and Magistrates at their first instalment to doe impartial justice by Law : who upon those termes and no other, receav'd Allegiance from the people, that is to say, Bond or Covnant to obey them in execution of those Lawes which they the people had themselves made or assented to. And this oft times with expresse warning, that if the King or Magistrate prov'd unfaithfull to his trust, the people would be disingag'd. They added also Counselors and Parliaments, not to be onely at his beck, but with him or without him, at set times, or at all times, when any danger threatn'd, to have care of the public safety. Therefore saith *Claudius Sefell* a French Statesman, *The Parliament was set as a bridle to the King* ; which I instance rather, because that Monarchy is granted by all to be a farre more absolute then ours. That this and the rest of what hath hitherto been spok'n is most true, might be copiously made appeare throughout all Stories Heathen and Christian ; ev'n of those Nations where Kings and Emperours have sought meanes to abolish all ancient memory of the peoples right by their encroachments and usurpations. But I spare long insertions, appealing to the German, French, Italian, Arragonian, English, and not least the Scottish Histories : not forgetting this onely by the way, that *William* the Norman though a Conqueror, and not unsworne at his Coronation, was compell'd a second time to take Oath at *S. Albans*, ere the people would be brought to yeild obedience.

It being thus manifest that the power of Kings and Magistrates is nothing else, but what is onely derivative, transferr'd and committed to them in trust from the People to the Common good of them all, in whom the power yet remaines fundamentally, and cannot be tak'n from them, without a violation of their natural Birthright ; and seeing that from hence *Aristotle*, and the best of Political Writers have defin'd a King, him who governs to the good and profit of his People, and not for his owne ends ; it follows from necessary causes that that the Titles of Sovran Lord, Natural Lord, and the like, are either arrogancies, or flatteries, not admitted by Emperors and Kings of best note, and dislik't by the Church both of Jews, *Isai.* 26. 13. and ancient Christians, as appears by *Tertullian* and others. Although generally the People of *Asia*, and with them the Jews also, especially since the time they chose a King, against the advice and counsel of God, are noted by wise Authors much inclinable to Slavery.

Secondly, that to say, as is usual, the King hath as good right to his Crown and Dignitie, as any Man to his Inheritance, is to make the Subject no better then the Kings Slave, his Chattell, or his Possession that may be bought and sold : And doubtless, if hereditary Title were sufficiently inquir'd, the best foundation of it would be found but either in courtesie or convenience. But suppose it to be of right hereditarie, what can be more just and legal, if a Subject for certaine crimes be to forfeit by Law from himselfe and Posterity, all his Inheritance to the King, then that a King for crimes proportionall, should forfeit all his title and inheritance to the people ? unless the people must be thought created all for him, he not for them, and they all in one body inferior to him single ; which were a kind of treason against the dignity of mankind to affirm.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, it followes, that to say Kings are accountable to none but God, is the overturning of all Law and Government. For if they may refuse to give account, then all Covenants made with them at Coronation, all Oathes are in vaine, and meer mockeries; all Lawes which they sweare to keep, made to no purpose; for if the King feare not God, as how many of them doe not? we hold then our lives and estates: by the tenure of his meer grace and mercy, as from a God, not a mortal Magistrate; a Position that none but Court-parasites or Men belotted would maintain. And no Christian Prince, not drunk with high Mind, and prouder then those Pagan *Cæsars* that deifi'd themselves, would arrogate so unreasonably above human condition, or derogate so basely from a whole Nation of men his brethren, as if for him onely subsisting, and to serve his glory, valuing them in comparison of his owne brute will and pleasure no more then so many beasts, or vermine under his feet, not to be reason'd with, but to be injurd; among whom there might be found so many thousand men for wisdom, vertue, nobleness of mind, and all other respects but the fortune of his dignity, far above him. Yet some would perswade us that this absurd opinion was King *David's*, because in the 51 *Psalm* he cries out to God, *Against thee only have I sinn'd*; as if *David* had imagin'd that to murder *Uriah* and adulterate his Wife had bin no sinne against his Neighbour, when as that law of *Moses* was to the King expressely, *Deut. 17.* not to think so highly of himself above his Brethren. *David* therefore by those words could mean no other, then either that the depth of his guiltiness was known to God onely, or to so few as had not the will or power to question him, or that the Sin against God was greater beyond compare then against *Uriah*. What ever his meaning were, any wise man will see that the patheticall words of a *Psalm* can be no certaine decision to a point that hath abundantly more certaine rules to goe by. How much more rationally spake the Heathen King *Demophoon* in a Tragedy of *Euripides* then these interpreters would put upon King *David*, *I rule not my People by Tyranny as if they were Barbarians, but am my self liable, if I doe unjustly, to suffer justly.* Not unlike was the speech of *Traian* the worthy Emperor, to one whom he made General of his *Prætorian Forces*: Take this drawne sword, saith he, to use for me, if I reigne well; if not, to use against me. Thus *Dion* relates. And not *Traian* onely, but *Theodosius* the younger a Christian Emperor and one of the best, caus'd it to be enacted as a rule undenyable and fit to be acknowledgd by all Kings and Emperors, that a Prince is bound to the Laws; that on the authority of Law the authority of a Prince depends, and to the Laws ought submit. Which Edict of his remaines yet unrepeald in the *Code of Justinian*, l. 1. tit. 24. as a sacred constitution to all the succeeding Emperors. How then can any King in *Europe* maintaine and write himsele accountable to none but God, when Emperors in their owne imperiall Statutes have writt'n and decreed themselves accountable to Law? And indeed where such account is not fear'd, he that bids a man reigne over him above Law, may bid as well a savage beast.

It follows lastly, that since the King or Magistrate holds his autoritic of the people, both originally and naturally for their good in the first place, and not his owne, then may the people as oft as they shall judge it for the best, either choose him or reject him, retaine him or depose him though no Tyrant, meerly by the libertie and right of free born men to be govern'd as seems to them best. This, though it cannot but stand with plain reason, shall be made good also by Scripture, *Deut. 17. 24.* *When thou art come into the Land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and shall say I will set a King over mee, like as all the Nations about mee.* These words confirme us that the right of choosing, yea of changing thir owne Government; is by the grant of God himself in the people. And therefore when they desir'd a King, though then under another forme of Government, and though thir changing displeas'd him, yet he that was himself thir King, and rejected by them, would not be a hindrance to what they intended, further then by perswasion, but that they might doe therein as they saw good, 1 *Sam. 8.* onely he reserv'd to himself the nomination of who should reign over them. Neither did that exempt the King as if hee were to God onely accountable, though by his especiall command anointed. Therefore *David* first made a Covenant with the Elders of *Israel*, and so was by them anointed King, 1 *Chron. 11.* And *Jehoiada* the Priest making *Jehoash* King, made a Cov'nant between him and the people, 2 *Kings 11. 17.* Therefore when *Roboam* at his comming to the
Crowne,

Crowne, rejected those conditions which the Israelites brought him, heare what they answer him, *what portion have we in David, or inheritance in the Son of Jesse? See to thine owne House David.* And for the like conditions not perform'd, all *Israel* before that time depos'd *Samuell*; not for his own default, but for the misgovernment of his Sons. But som will say to both these examples, it was evilly don. I answer, that not the latter, because it was expressly allow'd them in the Law to set up a King if they pleas'd; and God himself joynd with them in the work; though in some sort it was at that time displeasing to him, in respect of old *Samuell* who had govern'd them uprightly. As *Livy* praises the Romans who took occasion from *Tarquinius* a wicked Prince to gaine their libertie, which to have extorted, saith hee, from *Numa* or any of the good Kings before had not bin seasonable. Nor was it in the former example don unlawfully; for when *Reboam* had prepar'd a huge Army to reduce the *Israelites*, he was forbid'n by the Prophet, *1 Kings 12. 24. Thus saith the Lord, yee shall not goe up, nor fight against your brethren, for this thing is from me.* He calls them thir Brethren, not Rebels, and forbids to be proceeded against them, owning the thing himselfe, not by single providence, but by approbation, and that not onely of the act, as in the former example, but of the fitt season also; he had not otherwise forbid to molest them. And those grave and wise Counsellors whom *Rehoboam* first advis'd with, spake no such thing, as our old gray headed Flatterers now are wont, stand upon your birth-right, scorne to capitulate, you hold of God, and not of them; for they knew no such matter, unless conditionally, but gave him politic counsel, as in a civil transaction. Therefore Kingdom and Magistracy, whether supreme or subordinat, is call'd a *human Ordinance*, *1 Pet. 2. 13, &c.* which we are there taught is the will of God wee should submit to, so farr as for the punishment of evil doers, and the encouragement of them that doe well, *Submit*, saith he, *as free men.* And *there is no power but of God*, saith *Paul*, *Rom. 13.* as much as to say, God put it into mans heart to find out that way at first for common peace and preservation, approving the exercise thereof; els it contradicts *Peter*, who calls the same authority an Ordinance of man. It must be also understood of lawfull and just power, els we read of great power in the Affaires and Kingdomes of the World permitted to the Devill: for saith he to Christ, *Luke 4. 6. all this power will I give thee and the glory of them, for it is deliverd to me, and to whomsoever I will, I give it:* neither did heely, or Christ gainsay what he affirm'd; for in the thirteenth of the *Revelation* wee read how the Dragon gave to the Beast his power, his seat, and great authority: which Beast so autoriz'd most expound to be the tyrannical Powers and Kingdomes of the Earth. Therefore Saint *Paul* in the forecited Chapter tells us. that such Magistrates he meanes, as are not a terror to the good but to the evill, such as beare not the sword in vaine, but to punish offenders, and to encourage the good: If such onely be mentiond here as powers to be obeyd, and our submission to them onely requird, then doubtless those powers that doe the contrary, are no powers ordaind of God; and by consequence no obligation laid upon us to obey or not to resist them. And it may be well observd that both these Apostles, whenever they give this Precept, expresse it in termes not *concret*. but *abstract*, as Logicians are wont to speake; that is they mention the ordinance, the power, the autoritie before the persons that execute it; and what that power is, lest we should be deceavd, they describe exactly. So that if the power be not such, or the person execute not such power, neither the one nor the other is of God, but of the Devill, and by consequence to bee resisted. From this exposition *Chrysostome* also on the same place dissents not; explaining that these words were not writt'n in behalf of a Tyrant. And this is verifi'd by *David*, himself a King, and likeliest to be Author of the *Psalme 94. 20.* which saith, *Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with thee?* And it were worth the knowing, since Kings, and that by Scripture, boast the justnes of thir Title, by holding it immediately of God, yet cannot show the time when God ever set on the Throne them or thir forefathers, but onely when the people chose them; why by the same reason, since God ascribes as oft to himself the casting down of Princes from the Throne, it should not be thought as lawful, and as much from God when none are seen to do it but the people, and that for just causes. For if it needs must be a sin in them to depose, it may as likely be a sin to have elected. And contrary if the peoples act in election

election be pleaded by a King, as the act of God, and the most just title to enthrone him, why may not the peoples act of rejection, be as well pleaded by the people as the act of God, and the most just reason to depose him? So that we see the title and just right of reigning or deposing in reference to God, is found in Scripture to be all one; visible onely in the people, and depending meerly upon justice and demerit. Thus farr hath bin considerd briefly the power of Kings and Magistrates; how it was, and is originally the peoples, and by them conferrd in trust onely to bee imployd to the common peace and benefit; with libertie therefore and right remaining in them to reassume it to themselves, if by Kings or Magistrates it be abus'd; or to dispose of it by any alteration, as they shall judge most conducing to the public good.

Wee may from hence with more ease, and force of argument determin what a Tyrant is, and what the people may doe against him. A Tyrant whether by wrong or by right comming to the Crowne, is he who regarding neither Law nor the common good, reigns onely for himself and his Faction: Thus *St. Basil* among others defines him. And because his power is great, his will boundless and exorbitant, the fulfilling whereof is for the most part accompanied with innumerable wrongs and oppressions of the people, Murders, Massacres, Rapes, Adulteries, Desolation, and Subversion of Cities and whole Provinces; look how great a good and happiness a just King is, so great a mischefe is a Tyrant; as hee the public Father of his Countrey, so this the common Enemy. Against whom what the people lawfully may doe, as against a common pest, and destroyer of mankind, I suppose no man of cleare judgement need goe further to be guided then by the very principles of nature in him. But because it is the vulgar folly of men to desert thir owne reason, and shutting thir eyes to think they see best with other mens, I shall shew by such examples as ought to have most waight with us, what hath bin don in this case heretofore. The *Greeks* and *Romans*, as thir prime Authors witness, held it not onely lawfull, but a glorious and heroic Deed, rewarded publicly with Statues and Garlands, to kill an infamous Tyrant at any time without tryal; and but reason, that he who trod down all Law, should not be voutsaf'd the benefit of Law. Infomuch that *Seneca* the Tragedian brings in *Hercules* the grand suppressor of Tyrants thus speaking,

————— *Victima haud ulla amplior*
Potest, magisque opima mactari Jovi
Quam Rex iniquus —————

————— *There can be slaine*
No sacrifice to God more acceptable
Then an unjust and wicked King —————

But of these I name no more, lest it be objected they were Heathen; and come to produce another sort of men that had the knowledge of true Religion. Among the Jews this custome of Tyrant-killing was not unusual. First *Ehud*, a man whom God had rayd to deliver *Israel* from *Eglon* King of *Moab*, who had conquer'd and rul'd over them eighteen Years, being sent to him as an Ambassador with a present, slew him in his owne House. But he was a forren Prince, an Enemy, and *Ehud* besides had special warrant from God. To the first I answer, it imports not whether forren or native: For no Prince so native but professes to hold by Law; which when he himselfe overturnes, breaking all the Covenants and Oaths that gave him title to his dignity, and were the bond and alliance between him and his people, what differs he from an Outlandish King or from an Enemy? For looke how much right the King of *Spain* hath to govern us at all, so much right hath the King of *England* to govern us tyrannically. If he, though not bound to us by any league, comming from *Spain* in person to subdue us, or to destroy us, might lawfully by the people of *England* either bee slaine in Fight, or put to death in Captivity, what hath a native King to plead, bound by so many Covenants, Benefits and Honours to the welfare of his people? why he through the contempt of all Laws and Parlements, the onely tie of our obedience to him, for his owne wills sake, and a boasted Prærogative unaccountable, after sev'n Years warring and destroying of his best Subjects, overcom, and yei'ded prisoner, should think to scape unquestionable,

tionable, as a thing divine, in respect of whom so many thousand Christians destroy'd should lye unaccounted for, polluting with thir slaughterd Carcasses all the Land over, and crying for vengeance against the living that should have righted them? Who knows not that there is a mutual bond of amity and brotherhood between man and man over all the World, neither is it the English Sea that can sever us from that duty and relation: a straiter bond yet there is between fellow-subjects, neighbours, and friends; But when any of these do one to another so as hostility could do no worse, what doth the Law decree les against them, then open enemies and invaders? or if the Law be not present, or too weake, what doth it warrant us to les then single defence or civil Warr? and from that time forward the Law of civill defensive Warr differs nothing from the Law of forren hostility. Nor is it distance of place that makes enmitie, but enmity that makes distance. He therefore that keeps peace with me neer or remote, of whatsoever Nation, is to me as far as all civil and human Offices an Englishman and a Neighbour, but if an Englishman forgetting all Laws, human, civil and religious, offend against life and libertie, to him offended and to the Law in his behalf, though born in the same Womb, he is no better then a Turk, a Sarasin, a Heathen. This is Gospel, and this was ever Law among equals; how much rather then in force against any King whatsoever, who in respect of the people is confesd inferiour and not equal: to distinguish therefore of a Tyrant by Outlandish, or Domestic is a weak evasion. To the second that he was an Enemy, I answer, what Tyrant is not? yet *Eglon* by the Jews had bin acknowledged as thir Sovran, they had servd him eighteen years, as long almost as we our *William* the Conqueror, in all which time he could not be so unwise a Statesman but to have tak'n of them Oaths of Fealty and Allegiance, by which they made themselves his proper subjects, as thir homage and present sent by *Ehud* testifyd. To the third, that he had special warrant to kill *Eglon* in that manner, it cannot be granted, because not expresd; tis plain that he was rayfd by God to be a Deliverer, and went on just principles, such as were then and ever held allowable, to deale so by a Tyrant that could no otherwise be dealt with. Neither did *Samuell* though a Profet, with his own hand abstain from *Agag*; a forren enemy no doubt; but mark the reason, *As thy Sword hath made women childless*; a cause that by the sentence of Law it self nullifies all relations. And as the Law is between Brother and Brother, Father and Son, Maister and Servant, wherefore not between King or rather Tyrant and People? And whereas *Jehu* had special command to slay *Jehoram* a successive and hereditarie Tyrant, it seems not the les imitable for that; for where a thing grounded so much on naturall reason hath the addition of a command from God, what does it but establish the lawfulness of such an act? Nor is it likely that God, who had so many ways of punishing the house of *Ahab*, would have sent a Subject against his Prince, if the fact in it self as don to a Tyrant had bin of bad example. And if *David* refusd to lift his hand against the Lords anointed, the matter between them was not tyranny, but private enmity, and *David* as a private person had bin his owne revenger, not so much the peoples; but when any Tyrant at this day can shew to be the Lords anointed, the only mention'd reason why *David* withheld his hand, he may then, but not till then, presume on the same privilege.

We may pass therefore hence to Christian Times. And first our Saviour himself, how much he favourd Tyrants, and how much intended they should be found or honourd among Christians, declares his mind not obscurely; accounting thir absolute autoritie no better then Gentilisme, yea though they flourishd it over with the splendid name of Benefactors; charging those that would be his Disciples to usurp no such dominion; but that they who were to be of most autoritie among them, should esteem themselves Ministers and Servants to the public. *Mat. 20. 25. The Princes of the Gentiles exercise Lordship over them*; and *Mark 10. 42. They that seem to rule*, saith he, either slighting or accounting them no lawful rulers; *but ye shall not be so, but the greatest among you shall be your Servant*. And although he himself were the meekest, and came on Earth to be so, yet to a Tyrant we hear him not voutsafe an humble word: but *Tell that Fox*, *Luk. 13*. And wherefore did his Mother the Virgin *Mary* give such praise to God in her profetic Song, that he had now by the comming of Christ, *Cut down Dynasties, or proud Monarchs from the Throne*, if the Church, when God mani-

fests his power in them to do so, should rather choose all miserie and vassal-
 age to serve them, and let them still sit on thir potent seats to be ador'd for do-
 ing mischief. Surely it is not for nothing that Tyrants by a kind of natural in-
 stinct both hate and feare none more then the true Church and Saints of God,
 as the most dangerous enemies and subverters of Monarchy, though indeed of
 Tyranny; hath not this bin the perpetual cry of Courtiers, and Court-Pre-
 lates? whereof no likelier cause can be alleg'd, but that they well discern'd the
 mind and principles of most devout and zealous men, and indeed the very disci-
 pline of Church, tending to the dissolution of all Tyranny. No marvel then
 if since the Faith of Christ receav'd, in purer or impurer times, to depose a
 King and put him to death for Tyranny hath bin accounted so just and requisit,
 that neighbour Kings have both upheld and tak'n part with Subjects in the ac-
 tion. And *Ludovicus Pius*, himself an Emperor, and Son of *Charles* the Great,
 being made Judge, *Du Haillan* is my author, between *Milegast* King of the
Vultzes and his Subjects who had depos'd him, gave his verdict for the Subjects,
 and for him whom they had chos'n in his room. Note here that the right of
 electing whom they please, is by the impartial testimony of an Emperor in the
 people. For, said he, *A just Prince ought to be preferr'd before an unjust, and the*
end of Government before the prerogative. And *Constantinus Leo*, another Emperor
 in the *Byzantine* Laws saith, *That the end of a King is for the general good, which*
he not performing, is but the counterfet of a King. And to prove that some of our
 own Monarchs have acknowledg'd that thir high office exempted them not from
 punishment, they had the Sword of *St. Edward* born before them by an Officer
 who was call'd Earl of the Palace ev'n at the times of thir highest pomp and so-
 lemnity, to mind them, saith *Mathew Paris*, the best of our Historians, that if
 they err'd, the Sword had power to restrain them. And what restraint the
 Sword comes to at length, having both edg and point, if any *Sceptic* will needs
 doubt, let him feel. It is also affirm'd from diligent search made in our ancient
 books of Law, that the Peers and Barons of *England* had a legall right to judge
 the King: which was the cause most likely, for it could be no slight cause. that
 they were call'd his Peers, or Equals. This however may stand immovable,
 so long as man hath to deale with no better then man; that if our Law judge
 all men to the lowest by thir Peers, it should in all equity ascend also, and judge
 the highest. And so much I find both in our own and forren Story, that Dukes,
 Earls, and Marquesses were at first not hereditary, not empty and vain titles,
 but names of trust and office, and with the office ceasing; as induces me to be
 of opinion, that every worthy man in Parliament, for the word Baron imports
 no more, might for the public good be thought a fit Peer and Judge of the
 King; without regard had to petty Caveats, and Circumstances, the chief im-
 pediment in high affairs, and ever stood upon most by circumstantial men.
 Whence doubtless our Ancestors, who were not ignorant with what rights either
 Nature or ancient constitution had endow'd them, when Oaths both at Coro-
 nation, and renew'd in Parliament would not serve, thought it no way illegal
 to depose and put to death thir Tyrannous Kings. Insomuch that the Parla-
 ment drew up a charge against *Richard the Second*, and the Commons requested
 to have judgement decreed against him, that the Realm might not be endan-
 ger'd. And *Peter Martyr* a Divine of formost rank, on the third of *Judges* ap-
 proves thir doings. *Sir Thomas Smith* also, a Protestant and a Statesman, in his
Commonwealth of England putting the Question, whether it be lawful to rise
 against a Tyrant? answers, that the vulgar judge of it according to the event,
 and the learned according to the purpose of them that do it. But far before
 those days *Gildas* the most ancient of all our Historians, speaking of those times
 wherein the Roman Empire decaying, quitted and relinquish'd what right they
 had by Conquest to this Iland, and resign'd it all into the peoples hands, testi-
 fies that the people thus re-invested with thir own original right, about the year
 446, both elected them Kings, who they thought best (the first Christian Brit-
 tish Kings that ever reign'd here since the Romans) and by the same right, when
 they apprehended cause, usually depos'd and put them to death. This is the
 most fundamental and ancient tenure that any King of *England* can produce or
 pretend to; in comparison of which, all other titles and pleas are but of ye-
 sterday. If any object that *Gildas* condemns the Britanes for so doing, the
 answer is as ready; that he condemns them no more for so doing, then he did

before for choosing such, for saith he, *They anointed them Kings, not of God, but such as were more bloody then the rest.* Next he condemns them not at all for deposing or putting them to death, but for doing it over hastily, without tryal or well examining the cause, and for electing others worse in thir room. Thus we have here both domestic and most ancient Examples that the people of Britain have depos'd and put to death thir Kings in those primitive Christian times. And to couple reason with example, if the Church in all Ages, Primitive, Romish, or Protestant, held it ever no less thir duty then the power of thir Keys, though without exprefs warrant of Scripture, to bring indifferently both King and Peasant under the utmost rigor of thir Canons and Censures Ecclesiastical, ev'n to the limiting him with a final Excommunication, if he persist impenitent, what hinders but that the temporal Law both may and ought, though without a special Text or President, extend with like indifference the civil Sword, to the cutting off, without exemption, him that capitally offends? Seeing that Justice and Religion are from the same God, and works of Justice oftentimes more acceptable. Yet because that some lately with the Tongues and Arguments of Malignant Backsliders have writt'n that the proceedings now in Parliament against the King, are without President from any Protestant State or Kingdom, the Examples which follow shall be all Protestant, and chiefly Presbyterian.

In the Year 1546. The *Duke of Saxonie, Lantgrave of Hessen*, and the whole Protestant League rais'd open War against *Charles the Fifth* thir Emperor, sent him a Defiance, renounc'd all Faith and Allegiance toward him, and debated long in Counsell whether they should give him so much as the title of *Cesar*. *Sleidan. l. 17.* Let all men judge what this wanted of deposing or of killing, but the power to do it.

In the Year 1559. The Scotch Protestants claiming promise of thir Queen-Regent for liberty of Conscience, she answering that promises were not to be claim'd of Princes beyond what was commodious for them to grant, told her to her face in the Parliament then at *Sterling*, that if it were so, they renounc'd thir obedience; and soon after betook them to Arms. *Buchanan Hist. l. 16.* Certainly when Allegiance is renounc'd, that very hour the King or Queen is in effect depos'd.

In the Year 1564. *John Knox* a most famous Divine, and the Reformer of *Scotland* to the Presbyterian Discipline, at a General Assembly maintain'd op'nly in a dispute against *Leithington* the Secretary of State, that Subjects might and ought execute Gods Judgements upon thir King; that the Fact of *Jehu* and others against thir King, having the ground of Gods ordinary Command to put such and such offenders to death, was not extraordinary, but to be imitated of all that prefer'd the honour of God to the affection of Flesh and wicked Princes; that Kings, if they offend, have no privilege to be exempted from the punishments of Law more than any other subject: so that if the King be a Murderer, Adulterer, or Idolater, he should suffer not as a King, but as an offender; and this Position he repeates again and again before them. Answerable was the opinion of *John Craig* another learned Divine, and that Laws made by the tyranny of Princes, or the negligence of People, thir Posterity might abrogate, and reform all things according to the original institution of Commonwealths. And *Knox* being commanded by the Nobility to write to *Calvin* and other learned men for thir judgements in that Question, refus'd; alleging that both himself was fully resolv'd in Conscience, and had heard thir Judgements, and had the same opinion under hand-writing of many the most godly and most learned that he knew in *Europe*; that if he should move the Question to them again, what should he do but shew his own forgetfulness or inconstancy. All this is far more largely in the Ecclesiastic History of *Scotland l. 4.* with many other passages to this effect all the Book over, set out with diligence by Scotchmen of best repute among them at the beginning of these Troubles; as if they labour'd to inform us what we were to do, and what they intended upon the like occasion.

And to let the world know that the whole Church and Protestant State of *Scotland* in those purest times of Reformation were of the same beleif, three years after, they met in the feild *Mary* thir lawful and hereditary Queen, took her Prisoner, yeilding before Fight, kept her in Prison, and the same year depos'd her. *Buchan. Hist. l. 18.*

And four years after that, the Scots in justification of thir deposing Queen
Mary,

Mary, sent Embassadors to Queen *Elizabeth*, and in a writt'n Declaration al-
leag'd that they had us'd towards her more lenity then she deserv'd; that thir
Ancestors had heretofore punish'd thir Kings by death or banishment; that the
Scots were a free Nation, made King whom they freely chose, and with the same
freedom un-king'd him if they saw cause, by right of ancient Laws and Cere-
monies yet remaining, and old Customs yet among the High-landers in choosing
the head of thir Clanns, or Families; all which, with many other arguments
bore witness that Regal power was nothing else but a mutuall Covenant or stipu-
lation between King and People. *Buch. Hist. l. 20.* These were Scotchmen
and Presbyterians: but what measure then have they lately offer'd, to think
such liberty less becoming us then themselves, presuming to put him upon us
for a Maister whom thir Law scarce allows to be thir own Equall? If now then
we heare them in another straine then heretofore in the purest times of thir
Church, we may be confident it is the voice of Faction speaking in them, not
of Truth and Reformation.

In the Year 1581. the States of *Holland* in a general Assembly at the *Hague*,
abjur'd all obedience and subjection to *Philip* King of *Spain*; and in a Declara-
tion justify thir so doing; for that by his tyrannous Government, against Faith
so oft'n giv'n and brok'n, he had lost his right to all the Belgic Provinces; that
therefore they depos'd him, and declar'd it lawful to choose another in his stead.
Tbuan. l. 74. From that time to this, no State or Kingdom in the World hath
equally prosper'd: But let them remember not to look with an evil and preju-
dicial eye upon thir neighbours walking by the same rule.

But what need these examples to Presbyterians, I mean to those who now of
late would seem so much to abhor deposing, whenas they to all Christendom
have giv'n the latest and the liveliest example of doing it themselves. I question
not the lawfulness of raising War against a Tyrant in defence of Religion, or
civil Liberty; for no Protestant Church from the first *Waldenses* of *Lyons* and
Languedoc to this day, but have don it round, and maintain'd it lawfull. But this
I doubt not to affirm, that the Presbyterians, who now so much condemn de-
posing, were the men themselves that depos'd the King, and cannot with all
thir shifting and relapsing wash off the guiltiness from thir own hands. For
they themselves, by these thir late doings have made it guiltiness, and turn'd thir
own warrantable actions into Rebellion.

There is nothing that so actually makes a King of *England*, as rightful Pos-
session and Supremacy in all Causes both Civil and Ecclesiastical: and nothing that
so actually makes a Subject of *England*, as those two Oaths of Allegiance and
Supremacy observ'd without equivocating, or any mental reservation. Out of doubt
then when the King shall command things already constituted in Church or
State, Obedience is the true essence of a Subject, either to do, if it be lawful,
or if he hold the thing unlawful, to submit to that Penalty which the Law im-
poses, so long as he intends to remain a Subject. Therefore when the people, or
any part of them, shall rise against the King and his Authority, executing the Law
in any thing establish'd, Civil or Ecclesiastical, I do not say it is Rebellion, if
the thing commanded though establish'd be unlawful, and that they sought first
all due means of redress (and no man is further bound to Law) but I say it is an
absolute renouncing both of Supremacy and Allegiance, which in one word is an
actual and total deposing of the King, and the setting up another supreme Au-
thority over them. And whether the Presbyterians have not don all this and
much more, they will not put me, I suppose, to reckon up a seven years story
fresh in the memory of all men. Have they not utterly broke the Oath of Alle-
giance, rejecting the Kings Command and Authority sent them from any part of
the Kingdom whether in things lawful or unlawful? Have they not abjur'd the
Oath of Supremacy by setting up the Parliament without the King, supreme to
all thir Obedience; and though thir Vow and Covenant bound them in general
to the Parliament, yet sometimes adhering to the lesser part of Lords and Com-
mons that remain'd faithful, as they term it, and ev'n of them, one while to the
Commons without the Lords, another while to the Lords without the Commons?
Have they not still declar'd thir meaning, whatever thir Oath were, to hold
them onely for supreme whom they found at any time most yeilding to what
they petition'd? Both these Oaths which were the straitest bond of an English
Subject in reference to the King, being thus broke and made void; it follows

undeniably that the King from that time was by them in fact absolutely depos'd, and they no longer in reality to be thought his Subjects, notwithstanding thir fine Clause in the Covenant to preserve his Person, Crown and Dignity, set there by some dodging Casuist with more craft then sincerity, to mitigate the matter in case of ill success, and not tak'n I suppose by any honest man, but as a Condition subordinate to every the least Particle that might more concern Religion, Liberty, or the Public Peace.

To prove it yet more plainly that they are the Men who have depos'd the King, I thus argue. We know that King and Subject are Relatives, and relatives have no longer being then in the relation; the relation between King and Subject can be no other than Regal Authority and Subjection. Hence I infer past thir defending, that if the Subject who is one relative, takes away the Relation, of force he takes away also the other relative: but the Presbyterians who were one Relative, that is to say Subjects, have for this sev'n years tak'n away the Relation; that is to say, the Kings Authority, and thir Subjection to it; therfore the Presbyterians for these sev'n years have remov'd and extinguish'd the other Relative, that is to say the King; or to speak more in brief, have depos'd him; not only by depriving him the execution of his Authority, but by conferring it upon others. If then thir Oaths of Subjection brok'n, new Supremacy obey'd, new Oaths and Covenants tak'n, notwithstanding frivolous evasions, have in plain terms unking'd the King, much more then hath thir sev'n years War, not depos'd him only, but outlaw'd him, and defid'd him as an Alien, a Rebel to Law, an Enemy to the State. It must needs be clear to any man not averse from Reason, that Hostility and Subjection are two direct and positive Contraries, and can no more in one Subject stand together in respect of the same King, then one person at the same time can be in two remote places. Against whom therfore the Subject is in act of Hostility we may be confident that to him he is in no Subjection: and in whom Hostility takes place of Subjection, for they can by no means consist together, to him the King can be not only no King, but an Enemy. So that from hence we shall not need dispute whether they have depos'd him, or what they have defaulted towards him as no King, but shew manifestly how much they have don toward the killing him. Have they not levied all these Warrs against him whether offensive or defensive (for defence in Warr equally offends, and most prudently beforehand) and giv'n Commission to slay where they knew his Person could not be exempt from danger? And if chance or flight had not sav'd him, how oft'n had they kill'd him, directing thir Artillery without blame or prohibition to the very place where they saw him stand? Have they not coverted his Revenue to other uses, and detain'd from him all means of livelyhood, so that for them long since he might have perisht, or have starv'd? Have they not hunted and pursu'd him round about the Kingdom with sword and fire? Have they not formerly deny'd to treat with him, and thir now recanting Ministers preach'd against him, as a Reprobate incurable, an Enemy to God and his Church, markt for destruction, and therefore not to be treated with? Have they not beseig'd him, and to thir power forbid him Water and Fire, save what they shot against him to the hazard of his life? Yet while they thus assaulted and endangered it with hostile deeds, they swore in words to defend it with his Crown and Dignity; not in order, as it seems now, to a firm and lasting Peace, or to his repentance after all this blood; but simply, without regard, without remorse or any comparable value of all the miseries and calamities sufferd by the poor people, or to suffer hereafter through his obstinacy or impenitence. No understanding man can be ignorant that Covenants are ever made according to the present state of persons and of things; and have ever the more general Laws of Nature and of Reason included in them, though not express'd. If I make a voluntary Covenant as with a man to do him good, and he prove afterward a Monster to me, I should conceive a disobliment. If I covenant, not to hurt an enemy, in favor of him and forbearance, and hope of his amendment, and he, after that, shall do me tenfold injury and mischief to what he had don when I so covenanted, and still be plotting what may tend to my destruction, I question not but that his after-actions release me; nor know I Covenant so sacred that withholds me from demanding Justice on him. Howbeit, had not thir distrust in a good Cause, and the fast and loos of our prevaricating Divines oversway'd, it had bin doubtless better, not to have inserted in a Covenant unnecessary obligations,

gations, and words, not works, of a supererogating Allegiance to thir enemy ; no way advantageous to themselves, had the King prevail'd, as to thir cost many would have felt ; but full of snare and distraction to our friends, usefull only, as we now find, to our adversaries, who under such a latitude and shelter of ambiguous interpretation have ever since been plotting and contriving new opportunities to trouble all again. How much better had it bin, and more becoming an undaunted Vertue to have declar'd op'nly and boldly whom and what power the people were to hold Supreme, as on the like occasion Protestants have don before, and many conscientious men now in these times have more then once besought the Parliament to do, that they might go on upon a sure foundation, and not with a ridling Covenant in thir mouths, seeming to swear counter, almost in the same breath, Allegiance and no Allegiance ; which doubtless had drawn off all the minds of sincere men from siding with them, had they not discern'd thir actions farr more deposing him then thir words upholding him ; which words made now the subject of cavillous interpretations, stood ever in the Covenant, by judgment of the more discerning sort, an evidence of thir feare not of thir fidelity. What, should I return to speak on, of those attempts for which the King himself hath oft'n charg'd the Presbyterians of seeking his life. whenas in the due estimation of things they might without a fallacy be sayd to have don the deed outright. Who knows not that the King is a name of dignity and office, not of person : Who therefore kills a King, must kill him while he is a King. Then they certainly who by deposing him have long since tak'n from him the life of a King, his office and his dignity, they in the truest sence may be said to have killd the King : nor only by thir deposing and waging Warr against him, which besides the danger to his personal life, set him in the fardest opposite point from any vital function of a King, but by thir holding him in prison vanquished and yeilded into thir absolute and *despotic* power, which brought him to the lowest degradement and incapacity of the Regal name. I say not by whose matchless valour next under God, left the story of thir ingratitude thereupon carry me from the purpose in hand, which is to convince them that they, which I repeat again, were the men who in the truest sence killd the King, not only as is provd before, but by depressing him thir King farr below the rank of a Subject to the condition of a Captive, without intention to restore him, as the Chancellour of *Scotland* in a speech told him plainly at *Newcastle*, unless he granted fully all thir Demands, which they knew he never meant. Nor did they treat or think of treating with him, till thir hatred to the Army that deliverd them, not thir love or duty to the King, joyn'd them secretly with men sentenc'd so oft for Reprobates, in thir own mouths, by whose futtle inspiring they grew mad upon a most tardy and improper Treaty. Whereas if the whole bent of thir actions had not bin against the King himself, but against his evill Council, as they fain'd, and publish'd, wherefore did they not restore him all that while to the true life of a King, his Office, Crown and Dignity, when he was in thir power, and they themselves his neereest Counselers ? The truth therefore is, both that they would not, and that indeed they could not without their own certain destruction, having reduc'd him to such a final pass, as was the very death and burial of all in him that was regal, and from whence never King of *England* yet reviv'd, but by the new re-inforcement of his own party, which was a kind of resurrection to him. Thus having quite extinguish'd all that could be in him of a King, and from a total privation clad him over like another specifical thing with formes and habitudes destructive to the former, they left in his person dead as to Law and all the civil right either of King or Subject the life only of a Prisoner, a Captive and a Malefactor. Whom the equal and impartial hand of Justice finding, was no more to spare then another ordinary man ; not only made obnoxious to the doome of Law by a charge more then once drawn up against him, and his own confession to the first Article at *Newport*, but summonsd and arraignd in the sight of God and his people, curst and devoted to perdition worse then any *Ahab*, or *Antiochus*, with exhortation to curse all those in the Name of God that made not War against him, as bitterly as *Meroz* was to be curs'd, that went not out against a Canaanitish King, almost in all the Sermons, Prayers, and Fulminations that have bin utterd this sev'n years by those clov'n Tongues of falshood and dissention, who now, to the stirring up of new discord, acquitt him ; and against thir own discipline,

discipline, which they boast to be the Throne and Scepter of Christ, absolve him, unconfound him, though unconverted, unrepentant, unsensible of all thir precious Saints and Martyrs whose blood they have so oft layd upon his head : and now again with a new sovran anointment can wash it all off, as if it were as vile, and no more to be reckn'd for then the blood of so many Dogs in a time of Pestilence : giving the most opprobrious lye to all the acted zeal that for these many years hath fill'd thir bellies, and fed them fat upon the foolish People. Ministers of Sedition, not of the Gospel, who while they saw it manifestly tend to civil Warr and Bloodshed, never ceas'd exasperating the people against him ; and now that they see it likely to breed new commotion, cease not to incite others against the people that have sav'd them from him, as if Sedition were thir only aime whether against him or for him. But God, as we have cause to trust, will put other thoughts into the people, and turn them from looking after these firebrands, of whose fury, and false prophecies, we have enough experience ; and from the murmurs of new discord will incline them to heark'n rather with erected minds to the voice of our supreme Magistracy, calling us to liberty, and the flourishing deeds of a reform'd Commonwealth ; with this hope that as God was heretofore angry with the Jews who rejected him and his form of Government to choose a King, so that he will bless us, and be propitious to us who reject a King to make him only our Leader, and supreme Governour in the conformity as neer as may be of his own ancient Government ; if we have at least but so much worth in us to entertaine the sense of our future happiness, and the courage to receive what God voutsafts us : wherein we have the honour to preceed other Nations who are now labouring to be our followers. For as to this question in hand, what the people by thir just right may do in change of Government, or of Governour, we see it cleerd sufficiently ; besides other ample Authority ev'n from the mouths of Princes themselves. And surely they that shall boast, as we do, to be a free Nation and not have in themselves the power to remove, or to abolish any Governour supreme, or subordinate with the Government it self upon urgent causes, may please thir fancy with a ridiculous and painted freedom, fit to coz'n babies ; but are indeed under tyranny and servitude ; as wanting that power, which is the root and source of all liberty, to dispose and *economize* in the Land which God hath giv'n them, as Maisters of Family in thir own House and free Inheritance. Without which natural and essential power of a free Nation, though bearing high thir heads, they can in due esteem be thought no better then slaves and vassals born, in the tenure and occupation of another inheriting Lord. Whose Government, though not illegal, or intolerable, hangs over them as a Lordly scourge, not as a free Government ; and therefore to be abrogated. How much more justly then may they sling off Tyranny, or Tyrants ? who being once depos'd can be no more then private men, as subject to the reach of Justice and Arraignment as any other Transgressors ? And certainly if men, not to speak of Heathen, both wise and religious, have don justice upon Tyrants what way they could soonest, how much more mild and human then is it to give them fair and op'n tryall ? To teach lawless Kings, and all that so much adore them, that not mortal man, or his imperious Will, but Justice is the only true Sovran and supreme Majesty upon Earth. Let men cease therfore out of Faction and Hypocrisy to make outcrys and horrid things of things so just and honorable. And if the Parliament and Military Council do what they do without president, if it appear thir duty, it argues the more wisdom, vertue, and magnanimity, that they know themselves able to be a president to others. Who perhaps in future ages, if they prove not too degenerate, will look up with honour and aspire toward these exemplary, and matchless deeds of thir Ancestors, as to the highest top of thir civil glory and emulation. Which heretofore in the pursuance of fame and forren dominion, spent it self vain-gloriously abroad ; but henceforth may learn a better fortitude to dare execute highest Justice on them that shall by force of Arms endeavour the oppressing and bereaving of Religion and thir Liberty at home : that no unbridl'd Potentate or Tyrant, but to his sorrow for the future, may presume such high and irresponsible licence over mankind, to havock and turn upside-down whole Kingdoms of men, as though they were no more in respect of his perverse Will then a Nation of Pismires. As for the party call'd Presbyterian, of whom I beleive very many to be good and faithful Christians, though

though misled by some of turbulent Spirit, I wish them earnestly and calmly not to fall off from their first Principles, nor to affect rigor and superiority over men not under them; not to compell unforcible things in Religion especially, which if not voluntary, becomes a sin; nor to assist the clamor and malicious drifts of men whom they themselves have judg'd to be the worst of men, the obdurate enemies of God and his Church: nor to dart against the actions of their brethren, for want of other argument those wrested Laws and Scriptures thrown by Prelats and Malignants against their own sides, which though they hurt not otherwise, yet tak'n up by them to the condemnation of their own doings give scandal to all men, and discover in themselves either extreme passion or apostacy. Let them not oppose their best friends and associates who molest them not at all, infringe not the least of their Liberties, unless they call it their liberty to bind other mens Consciences, but are still seeking to live at peace with them and brotherly accord. Let them beware an old and perfect Enemy, who though he hope by sowing Discord to make them his Instruments, yet cannot forbear a minute the open threatening of his destin'd Revenge upon them when they have serv'd his purposes. Let them feare therefore, if they be wise, rather what they have don already, then what remains to do, and be warn'd in time they put no confidence in Princes whom they have provok'd, lest they be added to the Examples of those that miserably have tasted the event. Stories can inform them how *Christiern* the second, King of *Denmark*, not much above a hundred years past driv'n out by his Subjects, and receav'd again upon new Oaths and Conditions, broke through them all to his most bloody Revenge, slaying his cheif Opposers when he saw his time, both them and their children invited to a feast for that purpose. How *Maximilian* dealt with those of *Bruges*, though by mediation of the *German* Princes reconcil'd to them by solem and public writings drawn and seal'd. How the Massacre at *Paris* was the effect of that credulous Peace which the French Protestants made with *Charles* the Ninth their King: and that the main visible cause which to this day hath sav'd the *Netherlands* from utter ruin, was their final not beleiving the perfidious cruelty which as a constant maxim of State hath bin us'd by the Spanish Kings on their Subjects that have tak'n arms and after trusted them; as no latter age but can testify, heretofore in *Belgia* it self, and this very year in *Naples*. And to conclude with one past Exception, though farr more ancient, *David* after once he had tak'n arms, never after that trusted *Saul*, though with Tears and much relenting he twice promis'd not to hurt him. These Instances, few of many, might admonish them, both English and Scotch, not to let their own ends, and the driving on of a Faction, betray them blindly into the snare of those Enemies whose Revenge looks on them as the men who first begun, fomented, and carri'd on beyond the cure of any sound or safe accommodation, all the evil which hath since unavoidably befall'n them and their King.

I have something also to the Divines, though brief to what were needfull; not to be disturbers of the civil affairs, being in hands better able and more belonging to manage them; but to study harder, and to attend the office of good Pastors, knowing that he whose Flock is least among them, hath a dreadful charge, not perform'd by mounting twice into the chair with a formal Preachment huddl'd up at the odd hours of a whole lazy week, but by incessant pains and watching in season and out of season, from house to house over the Souls of whom they have to feed. Which if they ever well consider'd, how little leisure would they find to be the most pragmatistical Sidesmen of every popular Tumult and Sedition? And all this while are to learn what the true end and reason is of the Gospel which they teach; and what a world it differs from the censorious and supercilious lording over Conscience. It would be good also they liv'd so as might perswade the people they hated Covetousness, which worse then Heresy, is Idolatry; hated Pluralities, and all kind of Simony; lest rambling from Benefice to Benefice, like ravenous Wolves seeking where they may devour the biggest. Of which if some, well and warmly seated from the beginning, be not guilty, 'twere good they held not conversation with such as are: let them be sorry that being call'd to assemble about reforming the Church, they fell to propping and soliciting the Parliament, though they had renounc'd the name of Priests, for a new settling of their Tithes and Oblations; and double lin'd themselves with spiritual places of commodity beyond the possible discharge of their duty.

duty. Let them assemble in Consistory with thir Elders and Deacons, according to ancient Ecclesiastical rule, to the preserving of Church-discipline, each in his severall charge, and not a pack of Clergy-men by themselves to belly-cheer in thir presumptuous Sion, or to promote designs, abuse and gull the simple Laitty, and stir up Tumult, as the Prelats did, for the maintenance of thir pride and avarice. These things if they observe and waite with patience; no doubt but all things will go well without thir importunities or exclamations: and the Printed Letters which they send subscrib'd with the ostentation of great Characters and little moment, would be more considerable then now they are. But if they be the Ministers of Mammon instead of Christ, and scandalize his Church with the filthy love of Gain, aspiring also to sit the closest and the heaviest of all Tyrants, upon the Conscience, and fall notoriously into the same Sins, whereof so lately and so loud they accus'd the Prelates; as God rooted out those immediately before, so will he root out them thir imitators: and to vindicate his own Glory and Religion, will uncover thir hypocrisy, to the open world; and visit upon thir own heads that *curse ye Meroz*, the very *Motto* of thir Pulpits, wherewith so frequently, not as *Meroz*, but more like Atheists they have mock'd the vengeance of God, and the zeal of his People.

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

Articles of Peace

BETWEEN

of *JAMES* Earl of *ORMOND* for King *Charles*
the First on the one hand, and the Irish
Rebels and Papists on the other hand.

And on a Letter sent by *ORMOND* to Colonel
of *JONES* Governour of *Dublin*.

And a Representation of the Scots Presbytery at *Belfast*
in *Ireland*.

To which the said Articles, Letter, with Col. *Jones's Answer* to it,
and *Representation, &c.* are prefix'd.

A PROCLAMATION.

ORMOND,

WHEREAS Articles of Peace are made, concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between Us, *JAMES* Lord Marquess of *ORMOND*, Lord Lieut. General, and General Governour of His Majesties Kingdom of *Ireland*, by Virtue of the Authority wherewith We are intrusted, for, and on the behalf of His Most Excellent Majesty of the one Part, and the General Assembly of the *Roman Catholics* of the said Kingdom, for and on the behalf of His Majesties *Roman Catholic* Subjects of the same, on the other Part; a true Copy of which Articles of Peace is hereunto annexed. We the Lord Lieut. do by this Proclamation, in His Majesties Name publish the same, and do in His Majesties Name strictly Charge and Command all His Majesties Subjects, and all others inhabiting or residing within His Majesties said Kingdom of *Ireland* to take notice thereof, and to render due Obedience to the same in all the Parts thereof.

And as his Majesty hath been induced to this Peace, out of a deep sense of the Miseries and Calamities brought upon this his Kingdom and People, and out of a Hope conceived by His Majesty, that it may prevent the further Effusion of His Subjects Blood, redeem them out of all the Miseries and Calamities under which they now suffer, restore them to all Quietness and Happiness under His Majesties most Gracious Government, deliver the Kingdom in general from those Slaughters, Depredations, Rapines and Spoils which always accompany a War, encourage the Subjects and others with Comfort to betake themselves to Trade, Traffic, Commerce, Manufacture and all other things,

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which

which uninterrupted, may increase the Wealth and Strength of the Kingdom, beget in all His Majesties Subjects of this Kingdom a perfect Unity amongst themselves, after the too long continued Division amongst them : So his Majesty assures himself that all His Subjects of this His Kingdom (duly considering the great and inestimable Benefits which they may find in this Peace) will with all Duty render due Obedience thereunto. And We in His Majesties Name, do hereby declare, That all Persons so rendering due Obedience to the said Peace, shall be protected, cherished, countenanced and supported by His Majesty, and his Royal Authority, according to the true Intent and Meaning of the said Articles of Peace.

Given at our Castle
of Kilkenny, Ja-
nuary 17. 1648.

GOD SAVE THE
K I N G.

Articles of Peace, made, concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between His Excellency *JAMES* Lord Marquess of *ORMOND*, Lord Lieutenant General, and General of His Majesties Kingdom of *Ireland*, for, and on the behalf of His Most Excellent Majesty, by Virtue of the Authority wherewith the said Lord Lieutenant is intrusted, on the one Part : And the General Assembly of the *Roman Catholics* of the said Kingdom, for, and on the behalf of His Majesties *Roman Catholic* Subjects of the same, on the other Part.

HIS Majesties *Roman Catholic* Subjects, as thereunto bound by *Allegiance, Duty and Nature*, do most humbly and freely Acknowledge and Recognize their Sovereign Lord King *Charles* to be lawful and undoubted King of this Kingdom of *Ireland*, and other His Highness's Realms and Dominions : And His Majesties said *Roman Catholic* Subjects, apprehending with a deep sense the sad Condition whereunto His Majesty is reduced, as a further Testimony of their Loyalty, do declare, that they and their Posterity for ever, to the utmost of their Power, even to the Expence of their Blood and Fortunes, will maintain and uphold His Majesty, His Heirs and lawful Successors, their Rights, Prerogatives, Government and Authority, and thereunto freely and heartily will render all due Obedience.

Of which faithful and Loyal Recognition and Declaration so seasonably made by the said *Roman Catholics*, His Majesty is graciously pleas'd to accept, and accordingly to own them His loyal and dutiful Subjects : And is further graciously pleas'd to extend unto them the following *Graces and Securities*.

I. IMPRIMIS, It is concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the said Lord Lieutenant, for, and on the behalf of His Most Excellent Majesty, and the said General Assembly, for, and on the behalf of the said *Roman Catholic* Subjects; and His Majesty is graciously pleas'd, That it shall be enacted by *ACT* to be passed in the next Parliament to be held in this Kingdom, that all and every the Professors of the *Roman Catholic* Religion within the said Kingdom, shall be free and exempt from all Mulcts, Penalties, Restraints and Inhibitions, that are or may be impos'd upon them by any Law, Statute, Usage or Custom whatsoever, for, or concerning, the free exercise of the *Roman Catholic* Religion : And that it shall be likewise Enacted, that the said *Roman Catholics* or any of them, shall not be question'd or molested in their Persons, Goods or Estates, for any Matter or Cause whatsoever, for, concerning, or by reason of the free Exercise of their Religion, by Virtue of any Power, Authority, Statute, Law or Usage whatsoever : And that it shall be further Enacted, that no *Roman Catholic* in this Kingdom shall be compelled to exercise any Religion, Form of Devotion, or Divine Service, other then such as shall be agreeable to their Conscience; and that they shall not be prejudiced or molested in their Persons, Goods or Estates for not observing, using or hearing the Book of Common-Prayer, or any other Form of Devotion

tion or Divine Service by Virtue of any Colour or Statute made in the second year of Queen *Elizabeth*, or by Virtue or Colour of any other Law, Declaration of Law, Statute, Custom, or Usage whatsoever, made or declared, or to be made or declared : And that it shall be further Enacted, that the Professors of the *Roman Catholic* Religion, or any of them, be not bound or obliged to take the Oath commonly call'd the Oath of *Supremacy* expressed in the Statute of 2 *Elizabeth*, c. 1. or in any other Statute or Statutes : And that the said Oath shall not be tendered unto them, and that the Refusal of the said Oath shall not redound to the Prejudice of them, or any of them, they taking the Oath of Allegiance *in hac verba*, viz. *I A. B. Do hereby acknowledg, profess, testify and declare in my Conscience, before God and the World, that our Sovereign Lord King CHARLES is Lawful and Rightful King of this Realm, and of other his Majesties Dominions and Countries ; and I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to His Majesty, and His Heirs and Successors, and Him and them will defend to the uttermost of my power against all Conspiracies and Attempts whatsoever which shall be made against His or their Crown and Dignity ; and do my best endeavour to disclose and make known to His Majesty His Heirs and Successors, or to the Lord Deputy, or other His Majesties Chief Governour or Governours for the time being, all Treason or traitorous Conspiracies which I shall know or hear to be intended against His Majesty, or any of them : and I do make this Recognition and Acknowledgment, heartily, willingly and truly, upon the true Faith of a Christian ; so help me God, &c.* Nevertheless, the said Lord Lieutenant doth not hereby intend that any thing in these Concessions contain'd shall extend, or be construed to extend to the granting of Churches, Church-Livings, or the exercise of Jurisdiction, the Authority of the said Lord Lieutenant not extending so far ; yet the said Lord Lieutenant is authoriz'd to give the said *Roman Catholics* full Assurance, as hereby the said Lord Lieutenant doth give unto the said *Roman Catholics* full Assurance, that they or any of them shall not be molested in the Possession which they have at present of the Churches and Church-Livings, or of the Exercise of their respective Jurisdictions, as they now exercise the same, until such time as His Majesty upon a full Consideration of the Desires of the said *Roman Catholics* in a free Parliament to be held in this Kingdom shall declare His further Pleasure.

II. *Item*, It is concluded, accorded and agreed upon by and between the said Parties, and His Majesty is further graciously pleas'd that a free Parliament shall be held in this Kingdom within six Months after the Date of these Articles of P E A C E, or as soon after as *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* of *Costologh* Lord President of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Esquire, *Sir Lucas Dillon* Knight, *Sir Nicholas Plunket* Knight, *Sir Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell*, Esquires, or the major part of them will desire the same, so that by possibility it may be held ; and that in the mean time, and until the Articles of these Presents, agreed to be pass'd in Parliament be accordingly pass'd, the same shall be inviolably observ'd as to the Matters therein contain'd, as if they were enacted in Parliament : And that in case a Parliament be not call'd and held in this Kingdom within two years next after the Date of these Articles of Peace, then His Majesties Lord Lieutenant, or other His Majesties chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, will at the request of the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* of *Costologh* Lord President of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Esquire, *Sir Lucas Dillon* Knight, *Sir Nicholas Plunket* Knight, *Sir Richard Barnwall*, Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell*, Esquires, or the major part of them, call a General Assembly of the Lords and Commons of this Kingdom, to attend upon the said Lord Lieutenant or other His Majesties chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, in some convenient Place, for the better settling of the Affairs of the Kingdom. And it is further concluded, accorded and agreed by and between the said Parties, that all Matters that by these Articles are agreed upon to be pass'd in Parliament, shall be transmitted into *ENGLAND*, according to the usual Form, to be pass'd in the said Parliament, and that the said Acts so agreed upon, and so to be pass'd, shall receive no Disjunction or Alteration here or in *England* ;

provided that nothing shall be concluded by both or either of the said Houses of Parliament, which may bring prejudice to any of His Majesties *Protestant* Party, or their Adherents, or to his Majesties *Roman Catholic* Subjects or their Adherents, other then such things as upon this Treaty are concluded to be done, or such things as may be proper for the Committee of Privileges of either or both Houses, to take Cognizance of, as in such Cases heretofore hath been accustomed, and other then such Matters as His Majesty will be graciously pleas'd to declare His further pleasure in, to be pass'd in Parliament for the Satisfaction of his Subjects, and other then such things as shall be propounded to either or both House by his Majesties Lord Lieutenant or other chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, during the said Parliament, for the Advancement of his Majesties Service, and the Peace of the Kingdom; which Clause is to admit no Construction which may trench upon the Articles of Peace or any of them; and that both Houses of Parliament may consider and they shall think convenient touching the Repeal or Suspension of the Statute commonly call'd, *Poyning's ACT*, Entitled, *An ACT* that no Parliament be holden in that Land, until the *ACTS* be certified into *ENGLAND*.

III. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the said Parties, and his Majesty is graciously pleased, that all Acts, Ordinances and Orders made by both or either Houses of Parliament, to the blemish, dishonour or prejudice of his Majesties *Roman Catholic* Subjects of this Kingdom, or any of them sithence the 7th of *August* 1641. shall be vacated; and that the same and all Exemplifications and other Acts which continue the memory of them be made void by Act to be pass'd in the next Parliament to be held in this Kingdom; and that in the mean time the said Acts or Ordinances, or any of them, shall be no Prejudice to the said *Roman Catholics*, or any of them.

IV. *Item*, It is also concluded, and agreed upon, and his Majesty is likewise graciously pleas'd, that all Indictments, Attainders, Outlawries in this Kingdom, and all the Processess and other Proceedings thereupon, and all Letters, Patents, Grants, Leases, Customs, Bonds, Recognizances, and all Records, Act or Acts, Office or Offices, Inquisitions, and all other things depending upon, or taken by reason of the said Indictments, Attainders or Outlawries, sithence the 7th day of *August*, 1641. in prejudice of the said *Catholics*, their Heirs, Executors, Administrators or Assigns, or any of them, or the Widows of them, or any of them, shall be vacated and made void in such sort as no Memory shall remain thereof, to the blemish, dishonour or prejudice of the said *Catholics*, their Heirs, Executors, Administrators or Assigns, or any of them, or the Widows of them, or any of them; and that to be done when the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* of *Costolough* Lord President of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell* Esquire, *Sir Lucas Dillon* Knight, *Sir Nicholas Plunket* Knight, *Sir Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neal*, *Miles Reilie* and *Gerrald Fennell* Esquires, or the major part of them shall desire the same, so that by possibility it may be done; and in the mean time that no such Indictments, Attainders, Outlawries, Processess or any other Proceedings thereupon, or any Letters Patents, Grants, Leases, Custodiams, Bonds, Recognizances, or any Record or Acts, Office or Offices, Inquisitions, or any other thing depending upon, or by reason of the said Indictments, Attainders or Outlawries, shall in any sort prejudice the said *Roman Catholics*, or any of them, but that they and every of them shall be forthwith upon Perfection of these Articles, restor'd to their respective Possessions and Hereditaments respectively; provided, that no Man shall be question'd by reason hereof, for Measne Rates or Wastes, saving wilful Wastes committed after the first day of *May* last past.

V. *Item*, It is likewise concluded, accorded and agreed, and his Majesty is graciously pleased, that as soon as possible may be, all Impediments which may hinder the said *Roman Catholics*, to sit or vote in the next intended Parliament, or to choose, or to be chosen Knights and Burgeses, to sit or vote there, shall be removed, and that before the said Parliament.

VI. *Item*, It is concluded, accorded and agreed upon, and his Majesty is further graciously pleased, that all Debts shall remain as they were upon the 23d of

of *Oft* 1641. Notwithstanding any Disposition made, or to be made, by Virtue or Colour of any Attainder, Outlawry, Fugacy, or other Forfeiture; and that no Disposition or Grant made, or to be made of any such Debts, by Virtue of any Attainder, Outlawry, Fugacy, or other Forfeiture, shall be of force; and this to be passed as an Act in the next Parliament.

VII. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, and his Majesty is graciously pleased, that for the securing of the Estates or reputed Estates of the Lords, Knights, Gentlemen and Freeholders, or reputed Freeholders, as well of *Connaght*, and County of *Clare*, or Country of *Thomond*, as of the Counties of *Limerick* and *Tipperary*, the same to be secured by Act of Parliament, according to the Intent of the 25th Article of the Graces granted in the fourth year of his Majesties Reign, the Tenor whereof for so much as concerneth the same, doth ensue in these words, *viz.* We are graciously pleased, that for the Inhabitants of *Connaght* and Country of *Thomond* and County of *Clare*, that their several Estates shall be confirmed unto them and their Heirs against us, and our Heirs and Successors, by Act to be passed in the next Parliament to be holden in *Ireland*, to the end the same may never hereafter be brought into any further Question by Us, or our Heirs and Successors. In which Act of Parliament so to be passed, you are to take care that all Tenures in *Capite*, and all Rents and Services as are now due, or which ought to be answered unto us out of the said Lands and Premises, by any Letters Patents past thereof since the first year of King *HENRY* the Eight, or found by any Office taken from the said first year of King *HENRY* the VIII. until the 21st of *July* 1645. whereby our late dear Father, or any his Predecessors actually received any Profit by Wardship, Liveries, Primer-seisins, Measne Rates, Ousterlemains or Fines of Alienations without Licence, be again reserved unto us, our Heirs and Successors, and all the rest of the Premises to be holden of our Castle of *Athlone* by Knights Service, according to our said late Fathers Letters, notwithstanding any Tenures in *Capite* found for Us by Office, since the 21st of *July* 1615. and not appearing in any such Letters Patents, or Offices; within which Rule His Majesty is likewise graciously pleased, That the said Lands in the Counties of *Limerick* and *Tipperary* be included, but to be held by such Rents and Tenures only, as they were in the fourth year of his Majesties Reign; provided always, that the said Lords, Knights, Gentlemen and Freeholders of the said Province of *Connaght*, County of *Clare*, and Country of *Thomond*, and Counties of *Tipperary* and *Limerick*, shall have and enjoy the full Benefit of such Composition and Agreement which shall be made with his most Excellent Majesty, for the Court of Wards, Tenures, Respits and Issues of Homage, any Clause in this Article to the contrary notwithstanding. And as for the Lands within the Counties of *Kilkenny* and *Wickloe*, unto which his Majesty was intitled by Offices, taken or found in the time of the Earl of *Strafford*'s Government in this Kingdom, His Majesty is further graciously pleased, That the State thereof shall be considered in the next intended Parliament, where his Majesty will assent unto that which shall be just and honourable; and that the like Act of Limitation of his Majesties Titles, for the Security of the Estates of his Subjects of this Kingdom be passed in the said Parliament as was Enacted in the 21st year of his late Majesty King *JAMES* his Reign in *ENGLAND*.

VIII. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, and his Majesty is further graciously pleased, that all Incapacities imposed upon the Natives of this Kingdom or any of them, as Natives, by any Act of Parliament, Provisos in Patents or otherwise, be taken away by Act to be passed in the said Parliament; and that they may be enabled to erect one or more Inns of Court in or near the City of *Dublin* or elsewhere, as shall be thought fit by his Majesties Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being; and in case the said Inns of Court shall be erected before the first day of the next Parliament, then the same shall be in such Place as his Majesties Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, by and with the Advice and Consent of the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* of *Costolough* Lord President of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athlunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell* Esquire, Sir *Lucas Dillon* Knight, Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Knight, Sir *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyr-*
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lab O Neile, Miles Reily, Gerrald Fennel Esquires, or any seven or more of them shall think fit ; and that such Students, Natives of this Kingdom, as shall be therein, may take and receive the usual Degrees accustom'd in any Inns of Court, they taking the ensuing Oath ; viz. I A.B. Do hereby acknowledge, profess, testify and declare in my Conscience before God and the World, that our Sovereign Lord King Charles is Lawful and Rightful King of this Realm, and of other his Majesties Dominions and Countries ; and I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to his Majesty, and his Heirs and Successors, and him and them will defend to the utmost of my Power against all Conspiracies and Attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his or their Crown and Dignity ; and do my best endeavour to disclose and make known to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, or to the Lord Deputy, or other his Majesties Chief Governour or Governours for the time being, all Treason or traiterous Conspiracies which I shall know or hear to be intended against his Majesty or any of them. And I do make this Recognition and Acknowledgment heartily, willingly and truly, upon the true Faith of a Christian ; so help me God, &c. And his Majesty is further graciously pleased, that his Majesties *Roman Catholic* Subjects may erect and keep free Schools for Education of Youths in this Kingdom, any Law or Statute to the contrary notwithstanding ; and that all the matters assented unto in this Article be passed as Acts of Parliament in the said next Parliament.

IX. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said Parties, and his Majesty is graciously pleased, that Places of Command, Honour, Profit and Trust in his Majesties Armies in this Kingdom shall be upon Perfection of these Articles actually and by particular Instances conferred upon his *Roman Catholic* Subjects of this Kingdom ; and that upon the distribution, conferring and disposing of the Places of Command, Honour, Profit and Trust in his Majesties Armies in this Kingdom, for the future no Difference shall be made between the said *Roman Catholics*, and other his Majesties Subjects ; but that such Distribution shall be made with equal Indifferency according to their respective Merits and Abilities : and that all his Majesties Subjects of this Kingdom, as well *Roman Catholics* as others, may for his Majesties Service and their own Security, arm themselves the best they may, wherein they shall have all fitting Incouragement. And it is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the said Parties, and his Majesty is further graciously pleas'd ; That Places of Command, Honour, Profit and Trust in the Civil Government in this Kingdom, shall be upon passing of the Bills in these Articles mentioned in the next Parliament, actually and by particular Instances conferred upon his Majesties *Roman Catholic* Subjects of this Kingdom ; and that in the distribution, conferring and disposal of the Places of Command, Honour, Profit and Trust in the Civil Government, for the future no Difference shall be made between the said *Roman Catholics*, and other his Majesties Subjects, but that such Distribution shall be made with equal Indifferency, according to their respective Merits and Abilities ; and that in the Distribution of Ministerial Offices or Places, which now are, or hereafter shall be void in this Kingdom, equality shall be us'd to the *Roman Catholic* Natives of this Kingdom, as to other his Majesties Subjects ; and that the Command of Forts, Castles, Garison-Towns, and other Places of Importance of this Kingdom, shall be conferred upon His Majesties *Roman Catholic* Subjects of this Kingdom upon Perfection of these Articles actually and by particular Instances ; and that in the distribution, conferring and disposal of the Forts, Castles, Garison-Towns, and other Places of Importance in this Kingdom, no difference shall be made between his Majesties *Roman Catholic* Subjects of this Kingdom, and other his Majesties Subjects, but that such distribution shall be made with equal Indifferency, according to their respective Merits and Abilities ; and that until full Settlement in Parliament fifteen thousand Foot, and two thousand and five hundred Horse of the *Roman Catholics* of this Kingdom shall be of the Standing Army of this Kingdom : And that until full Settlement in Parliament as aforesaid, the said Lord Lieutenant or other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, and the said *Thomas Lord Visc. Dillon of Costlogh* Lord President of *Connaght*, *Donnogh Lord Visc. Muskerry*, *Francis Lord Baron of Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel Esq* ; *Sir Lucas Dillon Kt.* *Sir Nicholas Plunket Kt.* *Sir Richard Barnwall Bar.* *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*,

laghan, Tyrлах O Neile, Miles Reily and Gervald Fennel Esq; or any seven or more of them, the said Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon of Cesholagh Lord President of Connaght, Donnogh Lord Viscount Muskerry, Francis Lord Bacon of Athumy, Alexander Mac Donnel Esq; Sir Lucas Dillon Kt. Sir Nicholas Plunket Kt. Sir Richard Barnwall Baronet, Jeffery Brown, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrлах O Neile, Miles Reily and Gervald Fennell, Esquires, shall diminish or add unto the said Number, as they shall see cause from time to time.

X. *Item, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the said Parties, and his Majesty is further graciously pleased, that his Majesty will accept of the yearly Rent, or annual Sum of twelve thousand pounds Sterling, to be applotted with Indifferency and Equality, and consented to be paid to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors in Parliament, for and in lieu of the Court of Wards in this Kingdom, Tenures in Capite, Common Knights-Service, and all other Tenures within the Cognizance of that Court, and for, and in lieu of all Wardships, Primer-seizins, Fines, Ousterlemains, Liveries, Intrusions, Alienations, Measne Rates, Releases and all other Profits within the Cognizance of the said Court, or incident to the said Tenures, or any of them, or Fines to accrue to his Majesty by reason of the said Tenures or any of them, and for and in lieu of Respits and Issues of Homage and Fines for the same. And the said yearly Rent being so applotted and consented unto in Parliament as aforesaid, then a Bill is to be agreed on in the said Parliament to be passed as an Act for the securing of the said yearly Rent, or annual Sum of twelve thousand Pounds to be applotted as aforesaid, and for the Extinction and taking away of the said Court, and other Matters aforesaid in this Article contained. And it is further agreed, that reasonable Compositions shall be accepted for Wardships fallen since the 23^d of October 1641. and already granted, and that no Wardships fallen and not granted, or that shall fall, shall be passed until the Success of this Article shall appear; and if his Majesty be secured as aforesaid, then all Wardships fallen since the said 23^d of October, are to be included in the Agreement aforesaid, upon Composition to be made with such as have Grants as aforesaid; which Composition to be made with the Grantees since the time aforesaid, is to be left to indifferent Persons, and the Umpirage to the said Lord Lieutenant.*

XI. *Item, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the said Parties, and his Majesty is further graciously pleas'd, That no Nobleman or Peer of this Realm, in Parliament, shall be hereafter capable of more Proxies then two, and that blank Proxies shall be hereafter totally disallowed; and that if such Noble Men or Peers of this Realm, as have no Estates in this Kingdom, do not within five years, to begin from the conclusion of these Articles, purchase in this Kingdom as followeth, viz. A Lord Baron 200 l. per annum, a Lord Viscount 400 l. per annum, and an Earl 600 l. per annum, a Marquess 800 l. per annum, a Duke 1000 l. per annum, shall lose their Votes in Parliament until such time as they shall afterwards acquire such Estates respectively; and that none be admitted in the House of Commons, but such as shall be citated and resident within this Kingdom.*

XII. *Item, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the said Parties, and his Majesty is further graciously pleas'd, That as for and concerning the Independency of the Parliament of Ireland on the Parliament of England, his Majesty will leave both Houses of Parliament in this Kingdom to make such Declaration therein as shall be agreeable to the Laws of the Kingdom of Ireland.*

XIII. *Item, It is further concluded and agreed upon, by and between the said Parties, and his Majesty is further graciously pleas'd, That the Council-Table shall contain it self within its proper Bounds, in handling Matters of State and Weight fit for that Place; amongst which the Patents of Plantation, and the Offices whereupon those Grants are founded to be handled, as Matters of State, and to be heard and determined by his Majesties Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governour or Governours for the time being, and the Council publicly at the Council-Board, and not otherwise, but Titles between Party and Party grown after these Patents granted, are to be left to the ordinary Course of Law; and that the Council-Table do not hereafter intermeddle with common Business, that is within the Cognizance of the ordinary Courts, nor with the altering of Possessions of Lands, nor make, nor use, pri-*

vate Orders, Hearings or References concerning any such matter, nor grant any Injunction or Order for stay of any Suits in any Civil Cause: And that Parties griev'd for or by reason of any Proceedings formerly had there, may commence their Suits, and prosecute the same in any of his Majesties Courts of Justice or Equity for remedy of their pretended Rights, without any Restraint or Interruption from his Majesty, or otherwise, by the Chief Governour or Governours and Council of this Kingdom: And that the Proceedings in the respective Precedency Courts shall be pursuant, and according to his Majesties printed Book of Instructions, and that they shall contain themselves within the Limits prescribed by that Book, when the Kingdom shall be restored to such a degree of Quietness, as they be not necessarily enforced to exceed the same.

XIV. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon by and between the said Parties, and his Majesty is further graciously pleas'd, That as for and concerning one Statute made in this Kingdom, in the eleventh year of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, Intituled, An ACT for staying of Wool, Flocks, Tallow and other Necessaries within this Realm: And another Statute made in the said Kingdom in the twelfth year of the Reign of the said Queen, Intituled, An ACT

and one other Statute made in the said Kingdom, in the 13th year of the Reign of the said late Queen, Intituled, An Exemplanation of the Act made in a Session of this Parliament for the staying of Wool, Flocks, Tallow, and other Wares and Commodities mention'd in the said Act, and certain Articles added to the same Act, all concerning staple or native Commodities of this Kingdom, shall be repealed, if it shall be so thought fit in the Parliament (excepting for Wool and Wool-fells) and that such indifferent Persons as shall be agreed on by the said Lord Lieutenant, and the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* of *Costelagh* Lord President of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Esq; *Sir Lucas Dillon* Kt. *Sir Nicholas Plunket* Kt. *Sir Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Esquires, or any seven or more of them shall be authorized by Commission under the Great Seal, to moderate and ascertain the Rates of Merchandize, to be exported or imported out of, or into this Kingdom, as they shall think fit.

XV. *Item*, It is concluded, accorded and agreed, by and between the said Parties, and his Majesty is graciously pleas'd, That all and every Person and Persons within this Kingdom, pretending to have suffered by Offices found of several Countries, Territories, Lands and Hereditaments in the Province of *Ulster*, and other Provinces of this Kingdom, in or since the first year of King *James* his Reign, or by Attainders or Forfeitures, or by Pretence and Colour thereof, since the said 1st year of King *James*, or by other Acts depending on the said Offices, Attainders and Forfeitures, may petition his Majesty in Parliament for Relief and Redress; and if after examination it shall appear to his Majesty, the said Persons, or any of them have been injured, then his Majesty will prescribe a Course to repair the Person or Persons so suffering according to Justice and Honour.

XVI. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the said Parties, and his Majesty is graciously pleas'd, that as to the particular Cases of *Maurice* Lord Viscount *de Rupe and Fermoy*, *Arthur* Lord Visc. *Iveagh*, *Sir Edward Fitz Gerrald* of *Gloanglish* Baronet, *Charles Mac Carty* Reag, *Roger Moore*, *Anthony Marc*, *William Fitz Gerrald*, *Anthony Lynch*, *John Lacy*, *Collo Mac Brien Mac Mahowne*, *Daniel Castigni*, *Edmond Fitz Gerrald* of *Ballinmartir*, *Lucas Keating*, *Theobald Roch Fitz Miles*, *Thomas Fitz Gerrald* of the *Vally*, *John Bourke* of *Loghmaske*, *Edmond Fitz Gerrald* of *Ballinmallo*, *James Fitz William Gerrald* of *Glinane*, and *Edward Sutton*, they may petition his Majesty in the next Parliament, whereupon his Majesty will take such Consideration of them as shall be just and fit.

XVII. *Item*, It is likewise concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the said Parties, and his Majesty is graciously pleas'd, That the Citizens, Freemen, Burgesses and former Inhabitants of the City of *Cork*, Towns of *Youghall* and *Downgarven* shall be forthwith upon Perfection of these Articles, restored to their respective Possessions and Estates in the said City and Towns, respectively,

respectively, where the same extends not to the endangering of the said Garisons in the said City and Towns. In which case so many of the said Citizens and Inhabitants, as shall not be admitted to the present Possession of their Houses within the said City and Towns, shall be afforded a valuable annual Rent for the same, until Settlement in Parliament, at which time they shall be restor'd to those their Possessions. And it is further agreed, and his Majesty is graciously pleas'd, That the said Citizens, Freemen, Burgesles and Inhabitants of the said City of *Cork*, and Towns of *Youghall* and *Downegarven*, respectively, shall be enabled in convenient time before the next Parliament to be held in this Kingdom, to choose and return Burgesles into the same Parliament.

XVIII. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the said Parties, and his Majesty is further graciously pleas'd, That an ACT of Oblivion be past in the next Parliament, to extend to all his Majesties Subjects of this Kingdom, and their Adherents, of all Treasons and Offences, capital, criminal and personal, and other Offences of what nature, kind or quality soever, in such manner, as if such Treasons or Offences had never been committed, perpetrated or done : That the said Act do extend to the Heirs, Children, Kindred, Executors, Administrators, Wives, Widows, Dowagers, or Allians of such of the said Subjects and their Adherents who dy'd on, before, or since, the 23^d of *October*, 1641. that the said Act do relate to the first day of the next Parliament; that the said Act do extend to all Bodies Politic and Corporate, and their respective Successors, and unto all Cities, Burroughs, Counties, Baronies, Hundreds, Towns, Villages, Thithlings, and every of them within this Kingdom, for and concerning all and every of the said Offences, or any other Offence or Offences in them, or any of them committed or done by his Majesties said Subjects, or their Adherents, or any of them, before, in, or since the 23^d of *October*, 1641. Provided this Act shall not extend to be construed to pardon any Offence or Offences, for which any person or Persons have been convicted or attainted on Record at any time before the 23^d day of *October*, in the year of our Lord, 1641. That this Act shall extend to Piracies, and all other Offences committed upon the Sea by his Majesties said Subjects, or their Adherents or any of them; that in this Act of Oblivion, Words of release, acquittal and discharge be inserted, that no Person or Persons, Bodies Politic or Corporate, Counties, Cities, Burroughs, Baronies, Hundreds, Towns, Villages, Thithlings, or any of them within this Kingdom, included within the said Act, be troubled, impeached, sued, inquired or molested, for, or by reason of any Offence, Matter or thing whatsoever, comprised within the said Act: And the said Act shall extend to all Rents, Goods and Chattels taken, detained or grown due to the Subjects of the one Party from the other since the 23^d of *October*, 1641. to the Date of these Articles of Peace; and also to all Custom, Rents, Arrears of Rents, to Prizes, Recognizances, Bonds, Fines, Forfeitures, Penalties, and to all other Profits, Perquisites and Dues which were due, or did, or should accrew to his Majesty on, before, or since the 23^d of *October*, 1641. until the Perfection of these Articles, and likewise to all Measne Rates, Fines of what nature soever, Recognizances, Judgments, Executions thereupon, and Penalties whatsoever, and to all other Profits due to his Majesty since the said 23^d of *October* and before, until the Perfection of these Articles, for, by reason, or which lay within the Survey or Recognizance of the Court of Wards; and also to all Rescues, Issues of Homage and Fines for the same: provided this shall not extend to discharge or remit any of the King's Debts or Subsidies due before the said 23^d of *October*, 1641, which were then or before levied, or taken by the Sheriffs, Commissioners, Receivers or Collectors, and not then or before accounted for, or since disposed to the publick Use of the said *Roman Catholic* Subjects, but that such Persons may be brought to account for the same after full Settlement in Parliament, and not before, unless by and with the Advice and Consent of the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* of *Castlogh* Lord President of *Connaught*, *Donnogh* Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Arbunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Esq; Sir *Lucas Dillon* Kt. Sir *Nicholas Plunket* Kt. Sir *Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neil*, *Miles Reilly* and *Gerrald Fennell* Esquires, or any seven or more of them, as the said Lord Lieu-

tenant otherwise shall think fit; provided, that such barbarous and inhuman Crimes as shall be particulariz'd and agreed upon by the said Lord Lieutenant, and the said *Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon of Costologh Lord President of Connaght, Donnogh Lord Viscount Muskerry, Francis Lord Baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac Donnell Esq; Sir Lucas Dillon Kt. Sir Nicholas Plunket Kt. Sir Richard Barnwall Baronet, Jeffery Brown, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlab O Neil, Miles Reily and Gerrald Fennell Esquires*, or any seven or more of them, as to the Actors and Procurers thereof, be left to be tried and adjudged by such indifferent Commissioners as shall be agreed upon by the said Lord Lieutenant, and the said *Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon of Costologh Lord President of Connaght, Donnogh Lord Viscount Muskerry, Francis Lord Baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac Donnell Esq; Sir Lucas Dillon Kt. Sir Nicholas Plunket Kt. Sir Richard Barnwall Baronet, Jeffery Brown, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlab O Neil, Miles Reily and Gerrald Fennell Esquires*, or any seven or more of them; and that the Power of the said Commissioners shall continue only for two years next ensuing the Date of their Commission, which Commission is to issue within six Months after the Date of these Articles; provided also that the Commissioners be agreed on for trial of the said particular Crimes to be excepted, shall hear, order and determine all Cases of Trust, where relief may or ought in equity to be afforded against all manner of Persons, according to the Equity and Circumstances of every such Cases; and his Majesties Chief Governour or Governours, and other Magistrates for the time being, in all his Majesties Courts of Justice, and other his Majesties Officers of what Condition or Quality soever, be bound and requir'd to take notice of, and pursue the said Act of Oblivion without pleading or suit to be made for the same; and that no Clerk or other Officers do make out or write out any manner of Writs, Processes, Summons or other Precept, for, concerning, or by reason of any Matter, Cause or Thing whatsoever released, forgiven, discharged, or to be forgiven by the said Act, under pain of 20 l. Sterling, and that no Sheriff or other Officer, do execute any such Writ, Process, Summons or Precept; and that no Record, Writing or Memory, do remain of any Offence or Offences, released or forgiven, or mentioned to be forgiven by this Act; and that all other Clauses usually inserted in Acts of General Pardon or Oblivion, enlarging his Majesties Grace and Mercy, not herein particularized, be inserted and comprized in the said Act, when the Bill shall be drawn up with the Exceptions already expressed, and none other: Provided always, that the said Act of Oblivion shall not extend to any Treason, Felony or other Offence or Offences, which shall be committed or done from or after the Date of these Articles, until the first Day of the before mentioned next Parliament, to be held in this Kingdom. Provided also, that any Act or Acts, which shall be done by Virtue, Pretence, or in Pursuance of these Articles of Peace agreed upon, or any Act or Acts which shall be done by Virtue, Colour or Pretence of the Power or Authority used or exercised by and amongst the Confederate *Roman Catholics* after the Date of the said Articles, and before the said Publication, shall not be accounted, taken, construed, or to be, Treason, Felony, or other Offence to be excepted out of the said Act of Oblivion; provided likewise, that the said Act of Oblivion shall not extend unto any Person or Persons, that will not obey and submit unto the Peace concluded and agreed on by these Articles; provided further, that the said Act of Oblivion, or any thing in this Article contained, shall not hinder or interrupt the said *Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon of Costologh Lord President of Connaght, Donnogh Lord Viscount Muskerry, Francis Lord Baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac Donnell Esq; Sir Lucas Dillon Kt. Sir Nicholas Plunket Kt. Sir Richard Barnwall Baronet, Jeffery Brown, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlab O Neile, Miles Reily and Gerrald Fennell, Esquires*, or any seven or more of them, to call to an Account, and proceed against the Council and Congregation, and the respective supream Councils, Commissioners general, appointed hitherto from time to time by the Confederate *Catholics* to manage their Affairs, or any other Person or Persons accomptable to an Accompt for their respective Receipts and Disbursements, since the beginning of their respective Imploiments under the said Confederate *Catholics*, or to acquit or release any Arrears of Excises, Customs, or public Taxes to be accounted for since the 23d of *October 1641*. and not dispos'd of hitherto, to the public Use, but that the Parties therein concern'd

may

may be call'd to an Account for the same as aforesaid, by the said *Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon of Costologh Lord President of Connaght, Donnogh Lord Visc. Muskerry, Francis Lord Baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac Donnel Esquire, Sir Lucas Dillon Kt. Sir Nicholas Plunket Kt. Sir Richard Barnwall Baronet, Jeffery Brown, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily and Gerrald Fennell*, Esquires, or any seven or more of them, the said ACT or any thing therein contain'd to the contrary notwithstanding.

XIX. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the said Parties, and his Majesty is graciously pleas'd, that an ACT be pass'd in the next Parliament, prohibiting, That neither the Lord Deputy, or other Chief Governour or Governours, Lord Chancellor, Lord High Treasurer, Vice Treasurer, Chancellor, or any of the Barons of the Exchequer, Privy Council, or Judges of the four Courts, be Farmers of his Majesties Customs within this Kingdom.

XX. *Item*, It is likewise concluded, accorded and agreed, and his Majesty is graciously pleas'd, that an ACT of Parliament pass in this Kingdom against Monopolies, such as was enacted in *England 21 Jacobi Regis*, with a further Clause of repealing of all Grants of Monopolies in this Kingdom; and that Commissioners be agreed upon by the said Lord Lieutenant, and the said *Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon of Costologh Lord President of Connaght, Donnogh Lord Viscount Muskerry, Francis Lord Baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac Donnel Esq; Sir Lucas Dillon Kt. Sir Nicholas Plunket Kt. Sir Richard Barnwall Bar. Jeffery Brown, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily and Gerrald Fennell* Esquires, or any seven or more of them, to set down the Rates for the Custom and Imposition to be laid on *Aquavite, Wine, Oil, Yarn and Tobacco*.

XXI. *Item*, It is concluded, accorded and agreed, and his Majesty is graciously pleas'd, that such Persons as shall be agreed on by the said Lord Lieutenant, and the said *Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon of Costologh Lord President of Connaght, Donnogh Lord Viscount Muskerry, Francis Lord Baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac Donnel Esquire, Sir Lucas Dillon Knight, Sir Nicholas Plunket Knight, Sir Richard Barnwall Baronet, Jeffery Brown, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reilie and Gerrald Fennell* Esquires, or any seven or more of them, shall be as soon as may be authoriz'd by Commission under the Great Seal to regulate the Court of Castle-chamber, and such Causes as shall be brought into, and censur'd in the said Court.

XXII. *Item*, It is concluded, accorded and agreed upon, and his Majesty is graciously pleas'd, that two Acts lately pass'd in this Kingdom, one prohibiting the plowing with Horses by the Tail, and the other prohibiting the burning of Oats in the Straw, be repeal'd.

XXIII. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the said Parties, and his Majesty is further graciously pleas'd, for as much as upon Application of Agents from this Kingdom unto his Majesty in the fourth year of his Reign, and lately upon humble Suit made unto his Majesty, by a Committee of both Houses of the Parliament of this Kingdom, order was given by his Majesty for redress of several Grievances, and for so many of those as are not express'd in the Articles, whereof both Houses in the next ensuing Parliament shall desire the benefit of his Majesties said former Directions for Redress therein, that the same be afforded them, yet so, as for prevention of Inconveniences to his Majesties Service, that the Warning mention'd in the 24th Article of the Graces in the fourth year of his Majesties Reign be so understood, that the Warning being left at the Persons Dwelling-houses be held sufficient Warning; and as to the 22^d Article of the said Graces, the Process hitherto us'd in the Court of Wards do still continue, as hitherto it hath done in that, and hath been us'd in other *English* Courts; but the Court of Wards being compounded for, so much of the aforesaid Answer as concerns Warning and Process shall be omitted.

XXIV. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the said Parties, and his Majesty is further graciously pleas'd, That Maritime Causes may be determin'd in this Kingdom, without driving of Merchants or others to appeal and seek Justice elsewhere: and if it shall fall out that there be Cause of an Appeal, the Party griev'd is to appeal to his Majesty in the Chancery of *IRELAND*; and that Sentence thereupon to be given by the

Delegates, to be definitive, and not to be question'd upon any further Appeal, except it be in the Parliament of this Kingdom, if the Parliament shall then be sitting, otherwise not, this to be by A C T of Parliament; and until the said Parliament, the Admiralty and Maritime Causes shall be order'd and settl'd by the said Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, by and with the Advice and Consent of the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* of *Costologh* Lord President of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell* Esq; *Sir Lucas Dillon* Kt. *Sir Nicholas Plunket* Kt. *Sir Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Esquires, or any seven or more of them.

XXV. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the said Parties, and his Majesty is graciously pleas'd, That his Majesties Subjects of this Kingdom be cas'd of all Rents and increase of Rents lately rais'd on the Commission or defective Titles in the Earl of *Strafford's* Government, this to be by A C T of Parliament; and that in the mean time the said Rents or encrease of Rents shall not be written for by any Process, or the payment thereof in any sort procur'd.

XXVI. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the said Parties, and his Majesty is further graciously pleas'd, that by A C T to be pass'd in the next Parliament, all the Arrears of Interest-Money, which did accrue and grow due by way of Debt, Mortgage or otherwise, and yet not so satisfy'd since the 23^d of *October* 1641. until the Perfection of these Articles, shall be fully forgiven and be releas'd; and that for and during the space of three years next ensuing, no more shall be taken for Use or Interest of Money then five Pounds *per Centum*. And in Cases of Equity arising through Disability, occasion'd by the Distempers of the Times, the Considerations of Equity to be like unto both Parties; but as for Mortgages contracted between his Majesties *Roman Catholic* Subjects and others of that Party, where Entry hath been made by the Mortgagers against Law, and the Condition of their Mortgages, and detain'd wrongfully by them without giving any Satisfaction to the Mortgagees, or where any such Mortgagers have made Profit of the Lands mortgaged above Country Charges, yet answer no Rent, or other Consideration to the Mortgagees, the Parties griev'd respectively to be left for relief to a Course of Equity therein.

XXVII. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, and his Majesty is further graciously pleas'd, that immediately upon Perfection of these Articles, the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* of *Costologh* Lord President of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell* Esq; *Sir Lucas Dillon* Kt. *Sir Nicholas Plunket* Kt. *Sir Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily*, *Gerrald Fennell* Esquires, shall be authoriz'd by the said Lord Lieutenant to proceed in, hear, determin and execute, in and throughout this Kingdom, the ensuing Particulars, and all the Matters thereupon depending; and that such Authority and other the Authorities hereafter mention'd shall remain of force without revocation, alteration or diminution, until Acts of Parliament be pass'd, according to the purport and intent of these Articles; and that in case of Death, Miscarriage, Disability to serve by reason of Sicknes or otherwise of any the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* of *Costologh* Ld President of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Ld Visc. *Muskerry*, *Francis* Ld Bar. of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell* Esq; *Sir Lucas Dillon* Kt. *Sir Nicholas Plunket* Kt. *Sir Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Esquires, and his Majesties Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, shall name and authorize another in the Place of such as shall be so dead or shall miscarry himself, or be so disabled, and that the same shall be such Person as shall be allow'd of by the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* of *Costologh*, Lord President of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnell* Esq; *Sir Lucas Dillon* Kt. *Sir Nicholas Plunket* Kt. *Sir Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Esquires, or any seven or more of them then living. And that the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* of *Costologh* Lord

Lord President of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Esq; *Sir Lucas Dillon* Kt. *Sir Nicholas Plunket* Kt. *Sir Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Esquires, or any seven or more of them, shall have Power to applot, raise and levy Means with Indifferency and Equality by way of Excise or otherwise, upon all his Majesties Subjects within the said Kingdom, their Persons, Estates and Goods, towards the Maintenance of such Army or Armies as shall be thought fit to continue, and be in Pay for his Majesties Service, the Defence of the Kingdom, and other the necessary public Charges thereof, and towards the Maintenance of the Forts, Castles, Garrisons and Towns, until there shall be a Settlement in Parliament of both or either party, other than such of the said Forts, Garrisons and Castles, as from time to time shall be thought fit, by his Majesties Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, by and with the Advice and Consent of the said *Thomas* Lord Visc. *Dillon* of *Costologh* Lord President of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Visc. *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Esq; *Sir Lucas Dillon* Kt. *Sir Nicholas Plunket* Kt. *Sir Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Esquires, or any seven or more of them, not to be maintained at the Charge of the Public, provided that his Majesties Lord Lieutenant or other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, be first made acquainted with such Taxes, Levies and Excises as shall be made, and the manner of levying thereof, and that he approve the same; and to the end that such of the Protestant Party as shall submit to the Peace, may in the several Countries where any of their Estates lieth, have Equality and Indifferency in the Assessments and Levies that shall concern their Estates in the said several Counties.

It is concluded, accorded and agreed upon, and his Majesty is graciously pleased, That in the Directions which shall issue to any such County, for the applotting, subdividing and levying of the said Public Assessments, some of the said Protestant Party shall be joined with others of the *Roman Catholic* Party to that purpose, and for effecting that Service; and the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* of *Costologh* Lord President of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Esq; *Sir Lucas Dillon* Kt. *Sir Nicholas Plunket* Kt. *Sir Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Esq; or any seven or more of them, shall have power to levy the Arrears of all Excises and other public Taxes imposed by the Confederate *Roman Catholics*, and yet unpaid, and to call Receivers and other Accomptants of all former Taxes and all public Dues to a just and strict Account, either by themselves, or by such as they or any seven or more of them shall name or appoint; and that the said Lord Lieutenant, or any other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, shall from time to time issue Commissions to such Person and Persons as shall be named and appointed by the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* of *Costologh* Lord President of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Esq; *Sir Lucas Dillon* Kt. *Sir Nicholas Plunket* Kt. *Sir Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Esquires, or any seven or more of them, for letting, setting, and improving the Estates of all such Person and Persons, as shall adhere to any Party opposing his Majesties Authority, and not submitting to the Peace; and that the Profits of such Estates shall be converted by the said Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, to the Maintenance of the King's Army and other necessary Charges, until Settlement by Parliament; and that the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* of *Costologh* Lord President of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Esq; *Sir Lucas Dillon* Kt. *Sir Nicholas Plunket* Kt. *Sir Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Esquires, or any seven or more of them, shall have power to applot, raise and levy Means with Indifferency and Equality, for the buying of Arms and Ammunition, and for the entertaining of Frigats in such proportion as shall be thought fit by his Majesties

jesties Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, by and with the Advice and Consent of the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* of *Costologh* Lord President of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Esq; *Sir Lucas Dillon* Kt. *Sir Nicholas Plunket* Kt. *Sir Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily* and *Gerrald Fennell* Esquires, or any seven or more of them; the said Arms and Ammunition to be laid up in such Magazines, and under the Charge of such Persons as shall be agreed on by the said Lord Lieutenant, and the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* of *Costologh* Lord President of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel* Esq; *Sir Lucas Dillon* Kt. *Sir Nicholas Plunket* Kt. *Sir Richard Barnwall* Baronet, *Jeffery Brown*, *Donnogh O Callaghan*, *Tyrlah O Neile*, *Miles Reily*, *Gerrald Fennell* Esquires, or any seven or more of them, and to be disposed of, and the said Frigats to be employed for his Majesties Service, and the public Use and Benefit of this Kingdom of Ireland; and that the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* of *Costologh* Lord President of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, &c. or any seven or more of them, shall have power to applot, raise and levy Means with Indifferency and Equality, by way of Excise or otherwise, in the several Cities, Corporate Towns, Counties and part of Counties, now within the Quarters and only upon the Estates of the said Confederate *Roman Catholics*, all such Sum and Sums of Money as shall appear to the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* of *Costologh* Lord President of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, &c. or any seven or more of them, to be really due, for and in the Discharge of the publick Engagements of the said Confederate *Catholics*, incurred and grown due before the Conclusion of these Articles; and that the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* of *Costologh* Lord President of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, &c. or any seven or more of them, shall be authoriz'd to appoint Receivers, Collectors and all other Officers, for such Monies as shall be assessed, taxed or applotted, in pursuance of the Authorities mention'd in this Article, and for the Arrears of all former Applotments, Taxes and other public Dues yet unpaid; And that the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* of *Costologh* Lord President of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, &c. or any seven or more of them, in case of Refractories or Delinquency, may distrain and imprison, and cause such Delinquents to be distrained and imprisoned. And the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* of *Costologh* Lord President of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, &c. or any seven or more of them make perfect Books of all such Monies as shall be applotted, raised or levy'd, out of which Books they are to make several and respective Abstracts, to be delivered under their hands, or the hands of any seven or more of them, to the several and respective Collectors, which shall be appointed to levy and receive the same. And that a Duplicate of the said Books, under the hands of the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* of *Costologh* Lord President of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, &c. or any seven or more of them, be delivered unto his Majesties Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, whereby a perfect Account may be given; and that the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* of *Costologh* Lord President of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, &c. or any seven or more of them, shall have Power to call the Council and Congregation, and the respective supream Councils, and Commissioners General, appointed hitherto from time to time, by the said Confederate *Roman Catholics*, to manage their public Affairs, and all other Persons accountable, to an Account for all their Receipts and Disbursements since the beginning of their respective Imploiments, under the Confederate *Roman Catholics*.

XXVIII. *Item*, It is concluded, accorded and agreed, by and between the said Parties, and his Majesty is graciously pleas'd, That for the Preservation of the Peace and Tranquillity of the Kingdom, the said Lord Lieutenant, and the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* of *Costologh* Lord President of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, &c. or any seven

or more of them, shall for the present agree upon such Persons, who are to be authorized by Commission under the Great Seal, to be Commissioners of the *Peace, Oyer and Terminer, Assizes and Goal-delivery*, in, and throughout the Kingdom, to continue during pleasure, with such Power as Justices of the *Peace, Oyer and Terminer, Assizes and Goal-delivery* in former time of *Peace* have usually had, which is not to extend unto any Crime or Offence committed before the first of *May* last past, and to be qualify'd with Power to hear and determin all Civil Causes coming before them, not exceeding ten Pounds; provided that they shall not intermeddle with Titles of Lands; provided likewise, the Authority of such Commissioners shall not extend to question any Person or Persons, for any Shipping, Cattle or Goods, heretofore taken by either Party from the other, or other Injuries done contrary to the Articles of Cessation, concluded by and with the said *Roman Catholic* Party in, or since *May* last, but that the same shall be determined by such indifferent Persons, as the Lord Lieutenant, by the Advice and Consent of the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* of *Costologh* Lord President of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, &c. or any seven or more of them shall think fit, to the end that speedy and equal Justice may be done to all Parties grieved; and the said Commissioners are to make their Estreats as accustomed of *Peace* and shall take the ensuing Oath, *viz.* You shall swear, That as Justice of the *Peace, Oyer and Terminer, Assizes and Goal-delivery* in the Counties of *A. B.* in all Articles to the Commission to you directed, you shall do equal Right to the poor, and to the rich after your Cunning and Wit and Power, and after the Laws and Customs of the Realm, and in pursuance of these Articles; and you shall not be of Counsel of any Quarrel hanging before you; and the Issues, Fines and Amerciaments which shall happen to be made, and all Forfeitures which shall happen before you, you shall cause to be entred without any concealment or imbezling, and send to the Court of Exchequer, or to such other Place as his Majesties Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom shall appoint, until there may be access unto the said Court of Exchequer: You shall not let for Gift or other Cause, but well and truly you shall do your Office of Justice of *Peace, Oyer and Terminer, Assizes and Goal-delivery* in that behalf, and that you take nothing for your Office of Justice of the *Peace, Oyer and Terminer, Assizes and Goal-delivery* to be done, but of the King, and Fees accustomed; and you shall not direct, or cause to be directed, any Warrant by you, to be made to the Parties, but you shall direct them to the Sheriffs and Bayliffs of the said Counties respectively, or other the King's Officers or Ministers, or other indifferent Persons to do execution thereof. So help you God, &c.

And that as well in the said Commission, as in all other Commissions and Authorities to be issued in pursuance of the present Articles, this Clause shall be inserted, *viz.* That all Officers, Civil and Martial, shall be required to be aiding and assisting and obedient unto the said Commissioners, and other Persons to be authorized as above said in the execution of their respective Powers.

XXIX. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the said Parties, and his Majesty is further graciously pleas'd, That his Majesties *Roman Catholic* Subjects, do continue the Possession of such of his Majesties Cities, Garisons, Towns, Forts and Castles which are within their now Quarters, until Settlement by Parliament, and to be commanded, ruled and governed in chief, upon occasion of necessity (as to the Martial and Military Affairs) by such as his Majesty, or his Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, shall appoint; and the said Appointment to be by and with the Advice and Consent of the said *Thomas* Lord Viscount *Dillon* of *Costologh* Lord President of *Connaght*, *Donnogh* Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, *Francis* Lord Baron of *Athunry*, &c. or any seven or more of them; and his Majesties Chief Governour or Governours, is to issue Commissions accordingly, to such Persons as shall be so named and appointed as aforesaid, for the executing of such Command, Rule or Government, to continue until all the Particulars in these present Articles agreed on to pass in Parliament, shall be accordingly passed; only in case of Death or Misbehaviour, such other Person or Persons to be appointed for the said Command, Rule and Government, to be

be named and appointed in the place or places, of him or them, who shall so die or misbehave themselves, as the Chief Governour or Governours for the time being, by the Advice and Consent of the said *Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon of Costologh Lord President of Connaght, Donnogh Lord Viscount Muskerry, Francis Lord Baron of Athunry, &c.* or any seven or more of them shall think fit, and to be continued until a Settlement in Parliament as aforesaid.

XXX. *Item*, It is further concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the said Parties, and his Majesty is further graciously pleased, That all Customs and Tenths of Prizes belonging to his Majesty, which from the Perfection of these Articles shall fall due within this Kingdom, shall be paid unto his Majesties Receipt, or until recourse may be had thereunto in the ordinary legal Way, unto such Person or Persons, and in such place or places, and under such Controuls as the Lord Lieutenant shall appoint to be disposed of, in order to the Defence and Safety of the Kingdom, and the defraying of other the necessary public Charges thereof, for the Ease of the Subjects in other their Levyes, Charges and Applotments. And that all and every Person or Persons, who are at present intrusted and imployed by the said *Roman Catholics*, in the Entries, Receipts, Collections, or otherwise, concerning the said Customs and Tenths of Prizes, do continue their respective Imployments in the same, until full Settlement in Parliament, accountable to his Majesties Receipts, or until recourse may be had thereunto; as the said Lord Lieutenant shall appoint as aforesaid, other than to such, and so many of them, as to the Chief Governour or Governours for the time being, by and with the Advice and Consent of the said *Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon of Costologh Lord President of Connaght, Donnogh Lord Viscount Muskerry, Francis Lord Baron of Athunry, &c.* or any seven or more of them, shall be thought fit to be altered; and then, and in such case, or in case of Death, Fraud or Misbehaviour, or other Alteration of any such Person or Persons, then such other Person or Persons to be employed therein, as shall be thought fit by the Chief Governour or Governours for the time being, by and with the Advice and Consent of the said *Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon of Costologh Lord President of Connaght, Donnogh Lord Viscount Muskerry, Francis Lord Baron of Athunry, &c.* or any seven or more of them; and when it shall appear that any Person or Persons, who shall be found faithful to his Majesty, hath right to any of the Offices or Places about the said Customs, whereunto he or they may not be admitted until Settlement in Parliament as aforesaid, that a reasonable Compensation shall be afforded to such Person or Persons for the same.

XXXI. *Item*, As for and concerning his Majesties Rents, payable at *Easter* next, and from thenceforth to grow due, until a Settlement in Parliament, it is concluded, accorded and agreed upon, by and between the said Parties, and his Majesty is graciously pleas'd, That the said Rents be not written for, or levied, until a full Settlement in Parliament; and in due time upon Application to be made to the said Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom, by the said *Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon of Costologh Lord President of Connaght, Donnogh Lord Viscount Muskerry, Francis Lord Baron of Athunry, &c.* or any seven or more of them, for remittal of those Rents, the said Lord Lieutenant, or any other Chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the time being, shall intimate their Desires, and the Reason thereof to his Majesty, who upon consideration of the present Condition of this Kingdom will declare his gracious Pleasure therein, as shall be just and honourable, and satisfactory to the reasonable Desires of his Subjects.

XXXII. *Item*, It is concluded, accorded and agreed, by and between the said Parties, and his Majesty is graciously pleas'd, That the Commissioners of *Oyer and Terminer* and *Goal-delivery* to be named as aforesaid, shall have Power to hear and determin all Murders, Manslaughters, Rapes, Stealths, burning of Houses and Corn in Rick or Stack, Robberies, Burglaries, forcible Entries, Detainers of Possessions, and other Offences committed or done, and to be committed and done since the first day of *May* last past, until the first day of the next Parliament, these present Articles, or any thing therein contained to the contrary notwithstanding; provided, that the Authority of the said Commissioners shall not extend to question any Person or Persons, for doing or committing

mitting any Act whatsoever, before the Conclusion of this Treaty, by Virtue or Colour of any Warrant or Direction from those in public Authority among the Confederate *Roman Catholics*, nor unto any Act which shall be done after the perfecting and concluding of these Articles, by Virtue or Pretence of any Authority which is now by these Articles agreed on; provided also that the said Commission shall not continue longer than the first day of the next Parliament.

XXXIII. *Item*, It is concluded, accorded, by and between the said Parties, and his Majesty is further graciously pleas'd, That for the determining such differences which may arise between his Majesties Subjects within this Kingdom, and the prevention of Inconvenience and Disquiet which through want of due Remedy in several Causes may happen, there shall be Judicatures establish'd in this Kingdom, and that the Persons to be authorized in them, shall have Power to do all such things as shall be proper and necessary for them to do; and the said Lord Lieutenant, by and with the Advice and Consent of the said *Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon of Cestlogh Lord President of Connaght, Donnogh Lord Viscount Muskerry, Francis Lord Baron of Athunry, &c.* or any seven or more of them, shall name the said Persons so to be authorized, and do all other things incident unto, and necessary for the settling of the said intended Judicatures.

XXXIV. *Item*, At the Instance, humble Suit and earnest desire of the General Assembly of the Confederate *Roman Catholics*; it is concluded, accorded and agreed upon, that the *Roman Catholic* Regular Clergy of this Kingdom, behaving themselves conformable to these Articles of Peace, shall not be molested in the Possessions, which at present they have of, and in the Bodies, Sites and Precincts of such *Abbies* and *Monasteries* belonging to any *Roman Catholic* within the said Kingdom, until Settlement by Parliament; and that the said Clergy shall not be molested in the enjoying such Pensions, as hitherto since the Wars they enjoyed for their respective Lively-hoods from the said *Roman Catholics*: and the Sites and Precincts hereby intended, are declared to be the Body of the *Abby*, one *Garden* and *Orchard* to each *Abby*, if any there be, and what else is contained within the Walls, Meers or antient Fences or Ditch, that doth supply the Wall thereof, and no more.

XXXV. *Item*, It is concluded, accorded and agreed, by and between the said Parties, that as to all other demands of the said *Roman Catholics*, for or concerning all or any the matters proposed by them, not granted or assented unto in and by the aforesaid Articles, the said *Roman Catholics* be referred to his Majesties gracious Favour and further Concessions. In Witness whereof the said Lord Lieutenant, for and on the behalf of his most Excellent Majesty, to the one Part of these Articles remaining with the said *Roman Catholics*, hath put his Hand and Seal: And Sir *Richard Blake* Kt. in the Chair of the General Assembly of the said *Roman Catholics*, by Order, Command and unanimous Consent of the said *Catholics* in full Assembly, to the other Part thereof remaining with the said Lord Lieutenant, hath put to his Hand and the Public Seal, hitherto us'd by the said *Roman Catholics*, the 17th of January, 1648. and in the 24th Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord *CHARLES*, by the Grace of God King of *Great Britain, France and Ireland, &c.*

S I R,

I HAVE not thus long forbore to invite you with those under your Command, to a Submission to his Majesties Authority in me, and a Conjunction with me, in the ways of his Service, out of any the least Aversion I had to you, or any of them, or out of any dis-esteem I had to your Power, to advance or impede the same, but out of my Fear, whiles those that have of late usurped Power over the Subjects of England, held forth the least colourable Shadow of Moderation in their Intentions towards the Settlement of Church or State, and that in some tolerable Way with relation to Religion, the Interest

[Cccc]

of

of the King and Crown, the Freedom of Parliament, the Liberties of the Subject, any Addresses from me proposing the withdrawing of that Party from those thus professing, from whom they have received some, and expected further support, would have been but coldly received, and any Determination thereupon deferred in hope and expectation of the forementioned Settlement, or that you your self, who certainly have not wanted a foresight of the sad Confusion now covering the Face of England, would have declared with me, the Lord Inchequeen, and the Protestant Army in Munster, in prevention thereof; yet my fear was, it would have been as difficult for you, to have carried with you the main Body of the Army under your Command (not so clear-sighted as your self) as it would have been dangerous to you, and those with you well enclined to have attempted it without them; but now that the Mask of Hypocrisy, by which the Independent Army hath ensnared and enslaved all Estates and Degrees of Men is laid aside, now that barefaced, they evidently appear to be the Subverters of true Religion, and to be the Protectors and Inviters not only of all false Ones, but of Irreligion and Atheism, now that they have barbarously and inhumanly laid violent, sacrilegious hands upon, and murdered God's Anointed, and our King, not as heretofore some Patricides have done, to make room for some Usurper, but in a way plainly manifesting their Intentions, to change the Monarchy of England into Anarchy, unless their Aim be first to constitute an elective Kingdom; and CROMWEL or some such John of Leiden being elected, iken by the same Force, by which they have thus far compassed their Ends, to establish a perfect Turkish Tyranny; now that of the three Estates of King, Lords and Commons, whereof in all Ages Parliaments have consisted, there remains only a small number, and they the Dregs and Scum of the House of Commons, pick'd and aw'd by the ARMY, a wicked Remnant, left for no other end, than yet further if it be possible to delude the People with the Name of a Parliament: The King being murder'd, the Lords and the rest of the Commons being by unheard of violence at several times forc'd from the Houses, and some imprison'd. And now that there remains no other Liberty in the Subject but to profess blasphemous Opinions, to revile and tread under foot Magistracy, to murder Magistrates, and oppress and undo all that are not like-minded with them. Now I say, that I cannot doubt but that you and all with you under your command will take this Opportunity to act and declare against so monstrous and unparallel'd a Rebellion, and that you and they will cheerfully acknowledg, and faithfully serve and obey our Gracious King CHARLES the II. undoubted Heir of his Fathers Crown and Vertues; under whose Right and Conduct we may by God's Assistance restore Protestant Religion to Purity, and therein settle it, Parliaments to their Freedom, good Laws to their Force, and our Fellow-Subjects to their just Liberties; wherein how glorious and blessed a thing it will be, to be so considerably instrumental, as you may now make your self, I leave to you now to consider. And though I conceive there are not any Motives relating to some particular Interest to be mentioned after these so weighty Considerations, which are such as the World hath not been at any time furnish'd with, yet I hold it my part to assure you that as there is nothing you can reasonably propose for the safety, satisfaction or advantage of your self, or of any that shall adhere to you in what I desire, that I shall not to the uttermost of my Power provide for; so there is nothing I would, nor shall more industriously avoid, than those Necessities arising from my Duty to God and Man, that may by your rejecting this Offer force me to be a sad Instrument of shedding English Blood, which in such Case must on both sides happen. If this Overture find place with you, as I earnestly wish it may, let me know with
what

what possible speed you can, and if you please by the Bearer in what way you desire, it shall be drawn on to a Conclusion. For in that, as well as in the Substance, you shall find all ready compliance from me, that desire to be

CARRICK,
March 9.
1648.

Your affectionate Friend to serve you,

O R M O N D.

For Colonel Michael Jones Governour of DUBLIN.

My LORD,

YOUR Lordship's of the ninth, I receiv'd the twelfth instant, and therein have I your Lordship's Invitation to a Conjunction with your self (I suppose) as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and with others now united with the Irish, and with the Irish themselves also.

As I understand not how your Lordship should be invested with that Power pretended, so am I very well assur'd, that it is not in the Power of any without the Parliament of England to give and assure pardon to those bloody Rebels, as by the ACT to that end pass'd may appear more fully. I am also well assur'd, that the Parliament of England would never assent to such a P E A C E (such as is that of your Lordships with the Rebels) wherein is little or no Provision made either for the Protestants or the Protestant Religion. Nor can I understand how the Protestant Religion should be settled and restor'd to its Purity by an Army of Papists, or the Protestant Interests maintain'd by those very Enemies by whom they have been spoil'd and there slaughter'd: And very evident it is, that both the Protestants and Protestant Religion are in that your Lordships Treaty, left as in the Power of the Rebels, to be by them born down and rooted out at pleasure.

As for that Consideration by your Lordship offer'd of the present and late Proceedings in England, I see not how it may be a sufficient Motive to me (or any other in like Trust for the Parliament of England in the Service of this Kingdom) to join with those Rebels upon any the Pretences in that your Lordship's Letter mention'd; for therein were there a manifest betraying that Trust repos'd in me in deserting the Service and Work committed to me, in joyning with those I shall oppose, and in opposing whom I am oblig'd to serve.

Neither conceive I it any part of my Work and Care to take notice of any whatsoever Proceedings of STATE, foreign to my Charge and Trust here, especially they being found hereunto apparently destructive.

Most certain it is, and former Ages have approved it, that the intermeddling of Governours and Parties in this Kingdom, with Sidings and Parties in ENGLAND, have been the very betraying of this Kingdom to the Irish, whiles the British Forces here had been thereupon call'd off, and the Place therein laid open, and as it were given up to the common ENEMY.

It is what your Lordship might have observ'd in your former Treaty with the Rebels, that upon your Lordship's thereupon withdrawing, and sending hence into England the most considerable part of the English Army then commanded by you; thereby was the remaining British Party not long after overpower'd, and your Quarters by the Irish over-run to the Gates of DUBLIN, your self also reduced to that low Condition, as to be besieg'd in this

very City (the Metropolis and principal Citadel of the Kingdom) and that by those very Rebels, who till then could never stand before you : and what the end hath been of that Party, also so sent by your Lordship into England (although the Flower and Strength of the English Army here, both Officers and Souldiers) hath been very observable.

And how much the Dangers are at present (more than in former Ages) of hazarding the English Interest in this Kingdom, by sending any Parties hence into any other Kingdom upon any Pretences whatsoever, is very apparent, as in the generality of the Rebellion, now more than formerly ; so considering your Lordships present Conclusions with, and Concessions to the Rebels, wherein they are allowed the continued Possession of all the Cities, Forts and Places of Strength, whereof they stood possess'd at the time of their Treaty with your Lordship, and that they are to have a Standing Force (if I well remember) of 15000 Foot and 2500 Horse (all of their own Party, Officers and Souldiers) and they (with the whole Kingdom) to be regulated by a major part of Irish Trustees, chosen by the Rebels themselves, as Persons for their Interests and Ends, to be by them confided in, without whom nothing is to be acted. Therein I cannot but mind your Lordship of what hath been sometimes by your self delivered, as your sense in this particular ; that the English Interest in Ireland must be preserv'd by the English, and not by Irish ; and upon that ground (if I be not deceiv'd) did your Lordship then capitulate with the Parliament of ENGLAND, from which clear Principle I am sorry to see your Lordship now receding.

As to that by your Lordship menac'd us here, of Blood and Force, if dissenting from your Lordship's Ways and Designs, for my particular I shall (my Lord) much rather choose to suffer in so doing (for therein shall I do what is becoming, and answerable to my Trust) than to purchase my self on the contrary the ignominious Brand of Perfidy, by any Allurements of whatsoever Advantages offer'd me.

But very confident I am of the same Divine Power which hath still followed me in this WORK, and will still follow me ; and in that Trust doubt I nothing of thus giving your Lordship plainly this my Resolution in that Particular : So I remain,

DUBLIN,
March 14.
1648.

Your Lordship's humble Servant.

Signed, MIC. JONES.

For the Lord of ORMOND these.

By

BY THE
 Lord Lieutenant General
 OF
 IRELAND.

ORMOND,

WHEREAS our late Sovereign Lord King CHARLES of happy Memory hath been lately by a Party of his rebellious Subjects of ENGLAND most traiterously, maliciously, and inhumanly put to death and murdered; and forasmuch as his Majesty that now is, Charles by the Grace of GOD King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, is Son and Heir of his said late Majesty, and therefore by the Laws of the Land, of Force, and practis'd in all Ages, is to inherit. We therefore in discharge of the Duty we owe unto God, our Allegiance and Loyalty to our Sovereign, holding it fit him so to proclaim in and through this his Majesties Kingdom, do by this our present Proclamation declare and manifest to the World, That Charles the II. Son and Heir of our late Sovereign Lord King Charles the I. of happy Memory, is, by the Grace of GOD, the undoubted KING of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the FAITH, &c.

Given at CARRICK Feb. 26. 1648.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

A

A necessary Representation of the present Evils, and eminent Dangers to Religion, Laws and Liberties, arising from the late and present Practices of the Sectarian Party in ENGLAND: Together with an Exhortation to Duties relating to the Covenant, unto all within our Charge; and to all the Well-affected within this Kingdom, by the Presbytery at BELFAST, February the 15th, 1649.

WHEN we seriously consider the great and many Duties which we owe unto God and his People, over whom he hath made us Overseers, and for whom we must give an Account; and when we behold the laudable Examples of the worthy Ministers of the Province of *London*, and of the Commissioners of the General Assembly of the Church of *Scotland*, in their free and faithful Testimonies against the Insolencies of the *Sectarian* Party in *England*. Considering also the Dependency of this Kingdom upon the Kingdom of *England*, and remembering how against strong Oppositions we were assisted by the Lord the last year in discharge of the like Duty, and how he punish'd the Contempt of our Warning upon the Despisers thereof: We find our selves as necessitated, so the more encourag'd to cast in our Mite in the Treasury, lest our Silence should involve us in the Guilt of Unfaithfulness, and our People in Security and neglect of Duties.

In this Discharge of the Trust put upon us by God, we would not be looked upon as Sowers of Sedition, or Broachers of National and divisive Motions; our Record is in Heaven, that nothing is more hateful unto us, nor less intended by us, and therefore we shall not fear the malicious and wicked Aspersions which we know Satan by his Instruments is ready to cast, not only upon us, but on all who sincerely endeavour the Advancement of Reformation.

What of late have been, and now are, the insolent and presumptuous Practices of the *Sectaries* in *England*, is not unknown to the World: For, *First*, notwithstanding their specious Pretences for Religion and Liberties, yet their late and present Actings being therewith compar'd, do clearly evidence that they love a rough Garment to deceive; since they have with a high Hand despis'd the OATH, in breaking the Covenant, which is so strong a Foundation to both, whilst they loaden it with slighting Reproaches, calling it a bundle of particular and contrary Interests, and a Snare to the People; and likewise labour to establish by Laws an universal Toleration of all Religions, which is an Innovation overturning of Unity in Religion, and so directly repugnant to the Word of God, the two first Articles of our solemn Covenant, which is the greatest Wickedness in them to violate, since many of the chiefest of themselves have, with their hands testify'd to the most High God, sworn and seal'd it.

Moreover, their great Disaffection to the Settlement of Religion, and so their future breach of Covenant, doth more fully appear by their strong oppositions to *Presbyterial* Government (the Hedge and Bulwark of Religion) whilst they express their hatred to it more then to the worst of Errors, by excluding it under the name of Compulsion; when they embrace even *Paganism* and *Judaism* in the Arms of Toleration. Not to speak of their Aspersions upon it, and the Assertors thereof as Antichristian and *Papish*, though they have deeply sworn

sworn to maintain the same Government in the first Article of the Covenant, as it is established in the Church of *SCOTLAND*, which they now so despite and fully blaspheme.

Again, It is more than manifest, that they seek not the Vindication, but the Extirpation of Laws and Liberties, as appears by their seizing on the Person of the King, and at their pleasures removing him from place to place, not only without the Consent, but (if we mistake not) against a direct Ordinance of Parliament: Their violent surprising, imprisoning and secluding many of the most worthy Members of the Honorable House of Commons, directly against a declared Privilege of Parliament, (an Action certainly without Parallel in any Age) and their Purposes of abolishing Parliamentary Power for the future, and establishing of a Representative (as they call it) instead thereof. Neither hath their Fury stay'd here, but without all Rule or Example, being but private Men, they have proceeded to the Trial of the King, against both the Interest and Protestation of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and the former public Declarations of both Kingdoms (besides the violent haste, rejecting the hearing of any Defences) with cruel Hands have put him to Death; an Act so horrible, as no History, divine or human, hath laid a Precedent of the like.

These and many other their detestable Insolencies, may abundantly convince every unbiass'd Judgment, that the present Practice of the *Sectaries* and their Abettors, do directly overturn the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdoms, root out lawful and supream Magistracy (the just Privileges whereof we have sworn to maintain) and introduce a fearful Confusion and lawless Anarchy.

The Spirit of God by *Solomon* tells us, *Prov. 30. 21. That a Servant to reign, is one of the four things for which the Earth is disquieted, and which it cannot bear*: We wonder nothing that the Earth is disquieted for these things; but we wonder greatly, if the Earth can bear them. And albeit the Lord so permit, that Folly be set in great Dignity, and they which sit in low place; *That Servants ride upon Horses, and Princes walk as Servants upon the Earth, Eccles. 10. ver. 6, 7.* Yet the same Wise Man saith, *Prov. 19. 10. Delight is not seemly for a Fool, much less for a Servant to have Rule over Princes.*

When we consider these things, we cannot but declare and manifest our utter dislike and detestation of such unwarrantable Practices, directly subverting our Covenant, Religion, Laws and Liberties. And as Watchmen in *SION* warn all the Lovers of Truth and well-affected to the Covenant, carefully to avoid Compliance with, or not bearing witness against horrid Insolencies, lest partaking with them in their Sins, they also be Partakers of their Plagues. Therefore in the Spirit of Meekness, we earnestly intreat, and in the Authority of Jesus Christ (whose Servants we are) charge and obtest all who resolve to adhere unto Truth and the Covenant, diligently to observe and conscientiously to perform these following Duties.

First, That according to our solemn Covenant, every one study more to the Power of Godliness and personal Reformation of themselves and Families; because for the great Breach of this part of the Covenant, God is highly offended with these Lands; and justly provoked to permit Men to be the Instruments of our Misery and Afflictions.

Secondly, That every one in their Station and Calling earnestly contend for the Faith which was once delivered to the Saints, *Jude 3.* And seek to have their Hearts established with Grace, that they be not unstable and wavering, carried about with every Wind of Doctrine; but that they receive the Truth in Love, avoiding the Company of such as withdraw from and vilify the public Ordinances; speak evil of Church-Government; invent damnable Errors, under the specious Pretence of a Gospel-way and new Light; and highly extol the Persons and Courses of notorious Sectaries, lest God give them over to strong Delusions (the Plague of these Times) that they may believe Lies, and be damned.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, That they would not be drawn by Counsel, Command or Example, to shake off the antient and fundamental Government of these Kingdoms by King and Parliament, which we are so deeply engaged to preserve by our solemn Covenant, as they would not be found guilty of the great Evil of these Times (condemned by the Holy Ghost) the despising of Dominion, and speaking Evil of Dignities.

Fourthly, That they do cordially endeavour the Preservation of the Union amongst the well-affected in the Kingdoms, not being swayed by any National Respect: Remembring that part of the Covenant; *That we shall not suffer our selves directly nor indirectly, by whatsoever Combination, Perswasion, or Terror, to be divided, or withdrawn from this blessed Union and Conjunction.*

And *Finally*, Albeit there be more present Hazard from the Power of Sectaries (as were from Malignants the last year) yet we are not ignorant of the evil Purposes of Malignants, even at this time, in all the Kingdoms, and particularly in this; and for this Cause, we exhort every one with equal Watchfulness to keep themselves free from associating with such, or from swerving in their Judgments to malignant Principles; and to avoid all such Persons as have been from the beginning known Opposers of Reformation, Refusers of the Covenant, combining themselves with Papists and other notorious Malignants, especially such who have been chief Promoters of the late Engagement against *England*, Calumniators of the Work of Reformation, in reporting the Miseries of the present Times unto the Advancers thereof; and that their just hatred to Sectaries incline not their Minds to favour Malignants, or to think, that because of the Power of Sectaries, the Cause of God needs the more to fear the Enmity, or to stand in need of the help of Malignants.

OBSERVA-

OBSERVATIONS

UPON

The Articles of Peace with the *Irish* Rebels,
on the Letter of *Ormond* to Col. *Jones*, and the
Representation of the Presbytery at *Belfast*.

Although it be a Maxim much agreeable to wisdom, that just deeds are the best answer to injurious words, and actions, of whatever sort, thir own plainest Interpreters; yet since our enemies can find the leisure both ways to offend us, it will be requisite we should be found in neither of those ways neglectfull of our just defence. To let them know, that sincere and upright intentions can certainly with as much ease deliver themselves into words as into deeds.

Having therefore seen of late those Articles of Peace granted to the Papist Rebels of *Ireland*, as speciall graces and favours from the late King, in reward, most likely, of thir work don, and in his name and authority confirm'd and ratifi'd by *James* Earl of *Ormond*; together with his Letter to Col. *Jones*, Governour of *Dublin*, full of contumely and dishonour, both to the Parliament and Army: And on the other side, an insolent and seditious Representation from the *Scotch* Presbytery at *Belfast* in the North of *Ireland*, no less dishonourable to the State, and much about the same time brought hither; there will be needfull as to the same slanderous aspersions but one and the same Vindication against them both. Nor can we sever them in our notice and resentment, though one part intitl'd a *Presbytery*, and would be thought a Protestant Assembly, since thir own unexamp'l'd virulence hath wrapt them into the same guilt, made them accomplices and assistants to the abhorred *Irish* Rebels, and with them as present to advance the same interest: if we consider both thir calumnies, thir hatred, and the pretended Reasons of thir hatred to be the same; the time also, and the place concurring, as that there lacks nothing but a few formall words, which may be easily dissembl'd, to make the perfectest conjunction; and between them to divide that Island.

As for these Articles of Peace made with those inhuman Rebels and Papists of *Ireland* by the late King, as one of his last Master-pieces, We may be confidently perswaded, that no true born *English-man* can so much as barely read them without indignation and disdain, that those bloody Rebels, and so proclaim'd and judg'd of by the King himself, after the merciless and barbarous Massacre of so many thousand *English*, (who had us'd thir right and title to that Country with such tenderness and moderation, and might otherwise have secur'd themselves with ease against thir Treachery) should be now grac'd and rewarded with such freedoms and enlargements, as none of thir Ancestors could ever merit by thir best obedience, which at best was alwaies treachrous; to be infranchiz'd with full liberty equall to thir Conquerours, whom the just revenge of antient Pyracies, cruel Captivities, and the causeless infestation of our Coast, had warrantably call'd over, and the long prescription of many hundred years; besides what other titles are acknowledg'd by thir own *Irish* Parliaments, had fixt and seated in that soile with as good a right as the meere Natives.

These therefore, by thir own foregoing demerits and provocations justly made our vassalls, are by the first Article of this Peace advanc'd to a Condition of freedom superior to what any *English* Protestants durst have demanded. For what else can be the meaning to discharge them the Common Oath of Supremacy, especially being Papists (for whom principally that Oath was intended) but either to resign them the more into thir own power, or to set a mark of dishonour upon the British Loyalty; by trusting *Irish* Rebels for one single Oath of Allegiance, as much as all his Subjects of *Brittaine* for the double swearing both of Allegiance and Supremacy?

The second Article puts it into the hands of an *Irish* Parliament to repeale, or to suspend, if they think convenient, that act usually call'd *Poynings Act*, which was the main, and yet the civilest and most moderate acknowledgment impos'd of thir dependance on the Crown of *England*; whereby no Parliament could be summond there, no Bill be pass'd, but what was first to be transmitted and allow'd under the great Seal of *England*. The recalling of which Act, tends openly to invest them with a Law-giving power of thir own, enables them by degrees to throw off all subjection to this Realm, and renders them, who by thir endless treasons and revolts have deserv'd to hold no Parliament at all, but to be govern'd by Edicts and Garisons, as absolute and supream in that Assembly as the People of *England* in thir own Land. And the 12th Article grants them in expresse words, that the *Irish* Parliament shall be no more dependent on the Parliament of *England*, then the *Irish* themselves shall declare agreeable to the Laws of *Ireland*.

The two and twentieth Article, more ridiculous then dangerous, coming especially from such a serious knot of Lords and Politicians, obtains that those Acts prohibiting to plow with Horses by the Tayl, and burn Oates in the Straw, be repeal'd; anough, if nothing else, to declare in them a disposition not only sottish, but indocible, and averse from all Civility and Amendment: and what hopes they give for the future, who rejecting the ingenuity of all other Nations to improve and wax more civill by a civilizing Conquest, though all these many years better shown and taught, preferr thir own absurd and savage Customs before the most convincing evidence of reason and demonstration: a Testimony of thir true Barbarism and obdurate wilfulness, to be expected no less in other matters of greatest moment.

Yet such as these and thus affected, the ninth Article entrusts with the Militia; a Trust which the King swore by God at *New-Market*, he would not commit to his Parliament of *England*, no not for an hour. And well declares the confidence he had in *Irish* Rebels, more then in his Loyallest Subjects. He grants them moreover, till the performance of all these Articles, that 15000 Foot and 2500 Horse, shall remain a standing Army of Papists at the beck and command of *Dillon*, *Muskery* and other Arch-Rebels, with power also of adding to that number as they shall see cause. And by other Articles allows them the constituting of Magistrates and Judges in all Causes, whom they think fit: and till a settlement to thir own minds, the possession of all those Townes and Countries within thir now Quarters, being little less then all the Iland, besides what thir Cruelty hath dispeopl'd and lay'd wast. And lastly, the whole managing both of Peace and War is committed to Papists, and the chief Leaders of that Rebellion.

Now let all men judg what this wants of utter alienating and acquitting the whole Province of *Ireland* from all true fealty and obedience to the Commonwealth of *England*. Which act of any King against the Consent of his Parliament, though no other Crime were layd against him, might of it self strongly conduce to the dis-inthrowing him of all. In *France* Henry the Third, demanding leave in greatest exigencies to make Sale of some Crown-Lands only, and that to his Subjects, was answerd by the Parliament then at *Blois*, that a King in no case, though of extreamest necessity, might alienate the Patrimony of his Crown, whereof he is but only *Usu-fructuary*, as Civilians term it, the propriety remaining ever to the Kingdom, not to the King. And in our own Nation, King *John*, for resigning though unwillingly his Crown to the Popes Legate, with little more hazard to his Kingdom then the payment of 1000 Marks, and the unsightliness of such a Ceremony, was depos'd by his Barons, and *Lewis* the French Kings Son elected in his room. And to have carried only the Jewells, Plate, and Treasure into *Ireland* without consent of the Nobility, was one of those impeachments that condemn'd *Richard* the Second to lose his Crown.

But how petty a Crime this will seem to the alienating of a whole Kingdom, which in these Articles of Peace we see as good as done by the late King, not to Friends, but to mortall Enemies, to the accomplishment of his own interests and ends, wholly separate from the Peoples good, may without aggravation be easily conceiv'd. Nay by the Covenant it self, since that so cavillously is urg'd against us, we are enjoyn'd in the fourth Article, with all faithfulness to endeavour

vour the bringing all such to public Triall and condigne Punishment, as shall divide one Kingdom from another. And what greater dividing then by a pernicious and hostile Peace, to disalliege a whole Feudary Kingdom from the ancient Dominion of *England*? Exception we find thereof no person whatsoever; and if the King who hath actually done this, or any for him claim a Privilege above Justice, it is again demanded by what express Law, either of God or Man, and why he whose office is to execute Law and Justice upon all others, should sit himself like a Demigod in lawless and unbounded *Anarchy*; refusing to be accountable for that Authority over men naturally his Equals, which God himself without a reason giv'n is not wont to exercise over his Creatures? And if God the neerer to be acquainted with mankind and his frailties, and to become our Priest, made himself a man, and subject to the Law, we gladly would be instructed why any mortal man for the good and welfare of his brethren being made a King, should by a clean contrary motion make himself a God, exalted above Law; the readiest way to become utterly unsensible, both of his human condition, and his own duty.

And how securely, how smoothly, with how little touch or sense of any commiseration, either princely or so much as human, he hath sold away that justice so oft demanded, and so oft by himself acknowledg'd to be due for the blood of more then 200000 of his Subjects, that never hurt him, never disobey'd him, assassinated and cut in pieces by those *Irish* Barbarians, to give the first promoting, as is more then thought, to his own tyrannicall designs in *England*, will appear by the 18th Article of his Peace; wherein without the least regard of Justice to avenge the dead, while he thirsts to be aveng'd upon the living, to all the Murders, Massacres, Treasons, Pyracies, from the very fatall day wherein that Rebellion first broke out, he grants an Act of Oblivion. If this can be justified, or not punish in whomsoever, while there is any Faith, any Religion, any Justice upon Earth, there can no reason be alleg'd why all things are not left to Confusion. And thus much be observ'd in brief concerning these Articles of Peace made by the late King with his *Irish* Rebels.

The Letter of *Ormond* sent to Col. *Jones* Governour of *Dublin*, attempting his fidelity, which the discretion and true worth of that Gentleman hath so well answer'd and repulst, and pass'd here without mention, but that the other part of it not content to do the errand of Treason, roves into a long digression of evill and reproachfull language to the Parliament and Army of *England*. Which though not worth thir notice, as from a Crew of Rebels whose inhumanities are long since become the horror and execration of all that hear them, yet in the pursuance of a good endeavour, to give the world all due satisfaction of the present doings, no fit opportunity shall be omitted.

He accused first *That we are the Subverters of true Religion, the Protectors and Inviters not only of all false ones, but of Irreligion and Atheism*. An Accusation that no man living could more unjustly use then our Accuser himself; and which without a strange befottedness, he could not expect but to be retorted upon his own head. All men who are true Protestants, of which number he gives out to be one, know not a more immediate and killing Subverter of all true Religion then Antichrist, whom they generally believe to be the Pope and Church of *Rome*, he therefore who makes Peace with this grand Enemy and Persecutor of the true Church, he who joyns with him, strengthens him, gives him root to grow up and spread his Poyson, removing all Opposition against him, granting him Schools, Abbeys, and Revenues, Garisons, Fortresses, Towns, as in so many of those Articles may be seen, he of all Protestants may be call'd most justly the Subverter of true Religion, the Protector and Inviter of Irreligion and Atheism, whether it be *Ormond*, or his Maister. And if it can be no way prov'd, that the Parliament hath countenanc'd Popery or Papists, but have every where brok'n thir Temporall Power, thrown down thir public Superstitions, and confin'd them to the bare enjoyment of that which is not in our reach, thir Consciences; if they have encourag'd all true Ministers of the Gospel, that is to say, afforded them favour and protection in all places where they preacht, and although they think not Money or Stipend to be the best encouragement of a true Pastor, yet therein also have not bin wanting nor intend to be, they doubt not then to affirm themselves, not the Subverters, but the Maintainers and Defenders of true Religion; which of it self and by Consequence is the surest and the strongest Sub-

version, not only of all false ones, but of Irreligion and Atheism. For the Weapons of that Warfare, as the Apostle testifies who best knew, are not carnall, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds, and all reasonings, and every high thing exalted against the knowledge of God, surprising every thought unto the obedience of Christ, and easily revenging all disobedience, 2 Cor. 10. What Minister or Clergy-man that either understood his high calling, or sought not to erect a secular and carnall Tyranny over spirituall things, would neglect this ample and sublime power conferred upon him, and come a begging to the weak hand of Magistracy for that kind of ayd which the Magistrate hath no Commission to afford him, and in the way he seeks it hath bin alwayes sound helpless and unprofitable. Neither is it unknown, or by wisest Men unobserv'd, that the Church began then most apparently to degenerate, and go to ruin, when she borrow'd of the Civill Power more then fair encouragement and protection; more then which Christ himself and his Apostles never requir'd. To say therefore that We protect and invite all false Religions, with Irreligion also and Atheism, because we lend not, or rather misapply not the temporall power to help out, though in vain, the sloth, the spleen, the insufficiency of Church-men, in the execution of spirituall discipline, over those within thir Charge, or those without, is an imputation that may be layd as well upon the best regulated States and Governments through the World. Who have bin so prudent as never to imploy the Civill Sword further then the edg of it could reach; that is, to Civill Offences only; proving always against objects that were spirituall a ridiculous weapon. Our protection therefore to men in Civill Matters unoffensive we cannot deny; thir Consciences we leave, as not within our Cognisance, to the proper cure of instruction, praying for them. Nevertheless, if any be found among us declar'd Atheists, malicious Enemies of God, and of Christ; The Parliament, I think, professes not to tolerate such, but with all besitting endeavours to suppress them. Otherwaies to protect none that in a larger sense may be tax'd of Irreligion or Atheism, may perhaps be the ready way to exclude none sooner out of protection, then those themselves that most accuse it to be so generall to others. Lastly, that we invite such as these, or encourage them, is a meer slander without proof.

He tells us next, that they have murder'd the King. And they deny not to have justly and undauntedly, as became the Parliament of *England*, for more bloodshed and other hainous Crimes then ever King of this Land was guilty of, after op'n tryall, punisht him with death. A matter which to men whose serious consideration thereof hath left no certain precept, or example undebated, is so farr from giving offence, that we implore and beseech the Divine Majesty so to uphold and support thir spirits with like Fortitude and Magnanimity, that all thir ensuing actions may correspond and prove worthy that impartiall and noble piece of Justice, wherein the Hand of God appear'd so evidently on our side. We shall not then need to feare what all the rout and faction of men basely principl'd can do against us.

The end of our proceedings, which he takes upon him to have discover'd; *The changing forsooth of Monarchy into Anarchy*, sounds so like the smattering of some raw Polititian, and the overworne objection of every triviall Talker, that we leave him in the number. But seeing in that which follows he contains not himself, but contrary to what a Gentleman should know of Civility, proceeds to the contemptuous naming of a Person, whose valour and high merit many enemies more noble then himself have both honour'd and fear'd, to assert his good name and reputation, of whose service the Common-wealth receives so ample satisfaction, 'tis answerd in his behalf, that *Cromwell* whom he couples with a name of scorn, hath done in few years more eminent and remarkable Deeds whereon to found Nobility in his House, though it were wanting, and perpetuall Renown to Posterity, then *Ormond* and all his Aunccestors put together can shew from any Record of thir *Irish* Exploits, the widest Scene of thir Glory.

He passes on his groundless conjectures, that the aim of this Parliament may be perhaps to set up first an elective Kingdom, and after that a perfect Turkish Tyranny. Of the former we suppose the late Act against Monarchy will suffice to acquit them. Of the latter certainly there needed no other pattern then that Tyranny which was so long modelling by the late King himself, with *Strafford*,
and

and that Arch-Prelat of *Canterbury*, his chief Instruments; whose designs God hath dissipated. Neither is it any new project of the Monarchs, and thir Courtiers in these days, though Christians they would be thought, to endeavour the introducing of a plain Turkish Tyranny. Witness that Consultation had in the Court of *France* under *Charles* the Ninth at *Blois*, wherein *Poncet*, a certain Court-projector, brought in secretly by the Chancellor *Biragha*, after many praises of the *Ottoman* Government, proposes means and ways at large in presence of the King, the Queen-Regent, and *Anjou* the Kings Brother, how with best expedition, and least noyse the Turkish Tyranny might be set up in *France*. It appears therefore that the design of bringing in that Tyranny, is a Monarchicall design, and not of those who have dissolv'd Monarchy.

As for Parlements by three Estates, we know that a Parliament signifies no more then the Supream and Generall Councell of a Nation, consisting of whomsoever, chos'n and assembl'd for the public good; which was ever practis'd, and in all sorts of Government, before the word *Parlament*, or the formality, or the possibility of those three Estates, or such a thing as a Titular Monarchy had either name or being in the World. The Originall of all which we could produce to be far newer then those *all Ages* which he vaunts of, and by such first invented and contriv'd, whose authority, tho' it were *Charles Martell*, stands not so high in our repute, either for himself, or the age he liv'd in, but that with as good warrant we may recede from what he ordain'd, as he ordain what before was not.

But whereas besides he is bold to allege that of the three Estates there remains only a small number, and they the *Dreggs and Scum of the House of Commons*; this reproach and in the mouth of an *Irish* Man concerns not them only, but redounds to apparent dishonour of the whole *English* Nation. Doubtless there must be thought a great scarcity in *England* of persons honourable and deserving, or else of Judgment, or so much as Honesty in the People, if those whom they esteem worthy to sit in Parliament be no better then Scum and Dreggs in the *Irish* Dialect. But of such like stuff we meet not any where with more excrescence then in his own lavish Pen; which feeling it self loose without the reins of discretion, rambles for the most part beyond all Soberness and Civility. In which Torrent he goes on negotiating and cheapning the Loyalty of our Faithfull Governour of *Dublin*, as if the known and try'd Constancy of that valiant Gentleman were to be bought with Court fumes.

He lays before him that *there remains now no other liberty in the Subject but to profess blasphemous opinions, to revile and tread under foot Magistracy, to murder Magistrates, to oppress and undo all that are not like minded with us*. Forgetting in the mean while himself to be in the head of a mixt Rabble, part Papists, part Fugitives, and part Savages, guilty in the highest degree of all these Crimes. What more blasphemous, not opinion, but whole Religion, then Popery, plung'd into Idolatrous and Ceremoniall Superstition, the very death of all true Religion; figur'd to us by the Scripture it self in the shape of that Beast, full of the names of Blasphemy, which we mention to him as to one that would be counted Protestant, and had his breeding in the house of a Bishop? And who are those that have trod under foot Magistracy, murder'd Magistrates, oppress'd and undone all that syded not with them, but the *Irish* Rebels, in that horrible Conspiracy, for which *Ormond* himself hath either bin or seem'd to be thir Enemy, though now thir Ringleader. And let him ask the Jesuites about him whether it be not thir known Doctrine and also Practise, not by fair and due process of Justice to punish Kings and Magistrates, which we disavow not, but to murder them in the basest and most assassinous manner, if thir Church-Interest so require. There will not need more words to this Windy Railer, convicted op'nly of all those Crimes which he so confidently, and yet falsely, charges upon others.

We have now to deal, though in the same Country, with another sort of Adversaries, in show far different, in substance much what the same. These write themselves the Presbytery of *Belfast*, a place better known by the name of a late Barony, then by the Fame of these Mens Doctrine or Ecclesiasticall Deeds; whose obscurity till now never came to our hearing. And surely we should think this thir Representation farr beneath considerable, who have neglected and past over the like unadvisedness of thir fellows in other places more neer us, were it not to observe in some particulars the Sympathy, good Intelligence, and joynt pace which they go in the North of *Ireland*, with thir Copartning Rebels in the South,

South, driving on the same Interest to loose us that Kingdom, that they may gain it themselves, or at least share in the spoil : though the other be op'n Enemies, these pretended Brethren.

The Introduction of their Manifest out of doubt must be zealous ; *Their Duty*, they say, *to God and his People, over whom he hath made them Overseers, and for whom they must give account.* What mean these Men ? Is the Presbytery of *Belfast*, a small Town in *Ulster*, of so large extent that thir Voices cannot serve to teach Duties in the Congregation which they oversee, without spreading and divulging to all parts far beyond the Diocess of *Patrick* or *Columba*, thir writt'n Representation, under the subtle pretence of feeding thir own Flock ? Or do they think to oversee or undertake to give an account for all to whom thir Paper sends greeting ? *St. Paul* to the Elders of *Ephesus* thinks it sufficient to give charge, *That they take heed to themselves, and to the Flock*, over which they were made Overseers ; beyond those Bounds he enlarges not thir Commission. . And surely when we put down Bishops, and put up Presbyters, which the most of them have made use of to enrich and exalt themselves, and turn the first heel against their Benefactors, we did not think that one Classick Fraternity so obscure and so remote, should involve us, and all State-Affairs ; within the Censure and Jnrisdiction of *Belfast*, upon pretence of overseeing thir own Charge.

We very well know that Church-Censures are limited to Church-Matters, and these within the compass of thir own Province, or to say more truly of thir own Congregation : that Affairs of State are not for thir meddling, as we could urge ev'n from their own Investives and Protestations against the Bishops, wherein they tell them with much fervency, that Ministers of the Gospel, neither by that by Function, nor any other which they ought accept, have the least Warrant to be Pragmatical in the State.

And surely in vain were Bishops for these and other Causes forbid to sit and vote in the House, if these Men out of the House, and without Vote shall claim and be permitted more license on their Presbyterial Stools, to breed continual disturbance by interposing in the Commonwealth. But seeing that now, since thir heaving out the Prelats to heave in themselves, they devise new ways to bring both ends together which will never meet ; that is to say, their former Doctrine with their present Doings, as *that they cannot else teach Magistrates and Subjects their Duty, and that they have besides a Right themselves to speak as Members of the Commonwealth.* Let them know that there is a wide difference between the general exhortation to Justice and Obedience, which in this point is the utmost of thir Duty, and the State-disputes wherein they are now grown such Busybodies, to preach of Titles, Interests, and Alterations in Government ; more then our Saviour himself, or any of his Apostles ever took upon them, though the Title both of *Cesar* and of *Herod*, and what they did in matters of State, might have then admitted Controversy enough.

Next, for their Civil Capacities, we are sure that Pulpits and Church-Assemblies, whether Classick or Provincial, never were intended or allow'd by wise Magistrates, no nor by him that sent them, to advance such purposes, but that as Members of the Commonwealth they ought to mix with other Commoners, and in that temporal Body to assume nothing above other private Persons, or otherwise then in a usual and legal manner : not by distinct Remonstrances and Representments, as if they were a Tribe and Party by themselves, which is the next immediate way to make the Church lift a Horn against the State, and claim an absolute and undepending Jurisdiction, as from like advantage and occasion (to the trouble of all Christ'ndom) the Pope hath for many Ages done ; and not only our Bishops were climbing after him, but our Presbyters also, as by late Experiment we find. Of this Representation therefore we can esteem and judge no other then of a slanderous and seditious Libel, sent abroad by a sort of Incendiaries, to delude and make the better way under the cunning and plausible name of a Presbytery.

A second Reason of thir Representing is, *that they consider the dependance of that Kingdom upon England*, which is another shameless untruth that ever they consider'd ; as thir own Actions will declare, by conniving, and in thir silence partaking with those in *Ulster*, whose obedience by what we have yet heard, stands dubious, and with an eye of Conformity rather to the North, then to that part where they owe thir subjection ; and this in all likelihood by the inducement

and

and instigation of these Representatives: who are so far from considering their dependence on *England*, as to presume at every word to term proceedings of Parliament, *the Insolencies of a Sectarian party, and of private men*. Despising dominion, and speaking evil of dignities, which hypocritically they would seem to dissuade others from; and not fearing the due correction of their Superiors, that may in fit season overtake them. When as the least consideration of their dependence on *England* would have kept them better in their Duty.

The third Reason which they use, makes against them; The remembrance how God punish'd the contempt of their warning last year upon the Breakers of Covenant, whenas the next year after they forget the warning of that punishment hanging over their own heads for the very same transgression, their manifest breach of Covenant by this seditious Representation accompanied with the doubtful obedience of that Province which represents it.

And thus we have their Preface supported with three Reasons; two of them notorious falsties, and the third against themselves; and two examples, *the Province of London*, and *the Commissioners of the Kirk-Assembly*. But certain, if Canonical Examples bind not, much less do Apocryphal.

Proceeding to avouch the trust put upon them by God, which is plainly prov'd to be none of this nature, *They would not be look'd upon as sowers of Sedition, or Authors of divisive Motions; their Record, they say, is in Heaven*, and their Truth and Honesty no Man knows where. For is not this a shameless Hypocrisie; and of meer Wolves in Sheeps cloathing, to sow Sedition in the Ears of all Men, and to face us down in the very Act, that they are Authors of no such matter? But let the sequel both of their Paper, and the obedience of the place wherein they are, determine.

Nay while we are yet writing these things, and foretelling all men the Rebellion which was even then design'd in the close purpose of these unhallow'd Priestlings, at the very time when with their Lips they disclaim'd all sowing of Sedition, News is brought, and too true, that the *Scottish* Inhabitants of that Province are actually revolted, and have not only besieg'd in *London Derry* those Forces which were to have fought against *Ormond*, and the Irish Rebels; but have in a manner declar'd with them, and begun op'n War against the Parliament; and all this by the incitement and illusions of that unchristian Synagogue at *Belfast*, who yet dare charge the Parliament, *that notwithstanding specious pretences, yet their actions do evidence that they love a rough Garment to deceive*. The Deceit we own not, but the Comparison, by what at first sight may seem alluded, we accept: For that hairy roughness assum'd won *Jacob* the Birthright both Temporal and Eternal; and God we trust hath so dispos'd the mouth of these *Balaams*, that coming to Curse, they have stumbled into a kind of Blessing, and compar'd our actions to the faithful Act of that Patriarch.

But if they mean, as more probably their meaning was, that *rough Garment* spok'n of *Zach. 13 4*. we may then behold the pittiful store of learning and theology, which these deceivers have thought sufficient to uphold their credit with the People, who, though the rancour that leuens them have somewhat quickn'd the common drawling of their Pulpit elocution, yet for want of stock enough in Scripture-pharse to serve the necessary uses of their Malice, they are become so liberall, as to part freely with their own Budg-gowns from off their backs, and bestow them on the Magistrate as a *rough Garment* to deceive; rather than not be furnish'd with a reproach, though never so improper, never so obvious to be turn'd upon themselves. For but with half an eye cast upon that Text, any man will soon discern that *rough Garment* to be their own Coat, their own Livery, the very Badg and Cognisance of such false Prophets as themselves. Who, when they understand, or ever seriously mind the beginning of that 4th verse, may be *asham'd every one of his lying Vision*, and may justly fear that foregoing denouncement to such as *speak Lies in the name of the Lord*, vers. 3. lurking under the *rough Garment* of outward rigor and formality, whereby they cheat the simple. So that *this rough Garment to deceive*, we bring ye once again, Grave Sirs, into your own Vestry; or with *Zachary* shall not think much to fit it to your own Shoulders. To bestow ought in good earnest on the Magistrate, we know your classic Priestship is too gripple, for ye are always begging: and for this rough Gown to deceive, we are confident ye cannot spare it; it is your Sundays Gown, your every day Gown, your only Gown, the Gown of your Faculty;

ty ; your divining Gown ; to take it from ye were Sacrilege. Wear it therefore, and possess it your selves, most grave and reverend Carmelites, that all Men both young and old, as we hope they will shortly, may yet better know ye and distinguish ye by it ; and give to your rough Gown, where ever they meet it, whether in Pulpit, Classis, or Provincial Synod, the precedency, and the preeminence of deceaving.

They charge us next that we have brok'n the Cov'nant, and load'n it with slighting Reproaches. For the reproaching, let them answer that are guilty, whereof the State we are sure cannot be accus'd. For the breaking, let us hear wherein. *In labouring*, say they, *to establish by Law a universal toleration of all Religions*. This touches not the State ; for certainly were they so minded, they need not labour it, but do it, having power in thir hands ; and we know of no act as yet past to that purpose. But suppose it done, wherein is the Covenant broke ? The Covenant enjoyns us to endeavor the extirpation first of Popery and Prelacy, then of Heresy, Schism, and Prophaness, and whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound Doctrin and the power of Godliness. And this we cease not to do by all effectual and proper means : But these Divines might know, that to extirpate all these things can be no work of the Civil Sword, but of the Spiritual, which is the Word of God.

No Man well in his wits, endeavoring to root up Weeds out of his Ground, instead of using the Spade will take a Mallet or a Beetle. Nor doth the *Covenant* any way engage us to extirpate, or to prosecute the Men, but the Heresies and Errors in them, which we tell these Divines and the rest that understand not, belongs chiefly to thir own Function, in the diligent preaching and insisting upon sound Doctrin, in the confuting not the railing down Errors, encountering both in publick and private Conference, and by the power of truth, not of persecution, subduing those Authors of Heretical Opinions, and lastly in the spiritual execution of Church discipline within thir own Congregations. In all these ways we shall assist them, favour them, and as far as appertains to us joyn with them, and moreover not tolerate the free exercise of any Religion, which shall be found absolutely contrary to sound Doctrin or the Power of Godliness ; for the Conscience, we must have patience till it be within our verge. And thus doing we shall believe to have kept exactly all that is requir'd from us by the *Covenant*. Whilst they by thir seditious practises against us, then which nothing for the present can add more assistance or advantage to those bloody Rebels and Papists in the South, will be found most pernicious Covenant-breakers themselves, and as deep in that guilt as those of thir own Nation the last year ; the warning of whose ill success, like men hardn'd for the same Judgment, they miserably pervert to an encouragement in the same offence, if not a far worse : For now they have joyn'd Interest with the *Irish Rebels*, who have ever fought against the *Covenant*, whereas thir Country-men the year before made the *Covenant* thir Plea. But as it is a peculiar Mercy of God to his People, while they remain his, to preserve them from wicked Confederations : so it is a mark and punishment of Hypocrites to be driv'n at length to mix thir Cause, and the Interest of thir *Covenant* with God's Enemies.

And whereas they affirm that the tolerating of all Religions in the manner that we tolerate them, is an innovation ; we must acquaint them that we are able to make it good, if need be, both by Scripture and the Primitive Fathers, and the frequent assertion of whole Churches and Protestant States in thir Remonstrances and Expostulations against the Popish Tyranny over Souls. And what force of argument do these Doctors bring to the contrary ? But we have long observ'd to what pass the bold ignorance and sloth of our Clergy tends no less now then in the Bishops days, to make thir bare sayings and censures authentic with the People, though destitute of any proof or argument. But thanks be to God they are discern'd.

Thir next impeachment is, *that we oppose the Presbyterian Government, the Hedge and Bulwark of Religion*. Which all the Land knows to be a most impudent falsehood, having establish'd it with all freedom, wherever it hath bin desir'd. Nevertheless as we perceive it aspiring to be a compulsive power upon all without exception in Parochial, Clasical, and Provincial Hierarchies, or to require the fleshly arm of Magistracy in the execution of a spiritual Discipline, to punish and amerce by any corporal infliction those whose Consciences cannot be edifi'd

edifi'd by what authority they are compell'd, we hold it no more to be *the Head and Bulwark of Religion*, then the Popish and Prelatical Courts, or the *Spanish Inquisition*.

But we are told, *We imbrace Paganism and Judaism in the arms of Toleration*. A most audacious calumny! And yet while we detest *Judaism*, we know our selves commanded by *St. Paul, Rom. 11.* to respect the *Jews*, and by all means to endeavor thir conversion.

Neither was it ever sworn in the *Covenant* to maintain a universal Presbytery in *England*, as they falsely allege, but in *Scotland* against the Common Enemy, if our aid were call'd for: being left free to reform our own Country according to the Word of God, and the example of best reformed Churches; from which rule we are not yet departed.

But here, utterly forgetting to be Ministers of the Gospel, they presume to op'n thir mouths not in the *Spirit of Meekness*, as like dissemblers they pretend, but with as much devilish malice, impudence and falshood as any Irish Rebel could have utter'd; and from a barbarous nook of *Ireland* brand us with the extirpation of Laws and Liberties; things which they seem as little to understand as ought that belongs to good Letters or Humanity.

That we seiz'd on the Person of the King; who was surrendred into our hands an Enemy and Captive by our own subordinate and paid Army of *Scots* in *England*. Next, *our imprisoning many Members of the House*. As if it were impossible they should deserve it, conspiring and bandying against the publick good; which to the other part appearing, and, with the power they had, not resisting, had bin a manifest desertion of their Trust and Duty. No question but it is as good and necessary to expel rott'n Members out of the House, as to banish Delinquents out of the Land: and the reason holds as well in forty as in five. And if they be yet more, the more dangerous is thir number. They had no privilege to sit there, and vote home the Author, the impenitent Author of all our Miseries to Freedom, Honour and Royalty, for a few fraudulent, if not destructive Concessions. Which that they went about to do, how much more clear it was to all men, so much the more expedient, and important to the Common-wealth was their Speedy seizure and exclusion; and no breach of any just privilege, but a breach of their knotted faction. And here they cry out, *An Action without parallel in any Age*. So heartily we wish all men were unprejudic'd in all our Actions, as these illiterate denouncers never parallel'd so much of any Age as would contribute to the tithe of a Century. *That we abolish Parliamentary Power, and establish a Representative instead thereof*. Now we have the hight of them; these profound Instructors in the midst of thir Representation, would know the English of a Representative, and were perhaps of that Classis, who heretofore were as much stagger'd at *Triennial*.

This grand Accusation is our Justice don on the King, which that they may prove to be *without rule or example*, they venture all the credit they have in divine and human History; and by the same desperate boldness detect themselves to be egregious Liars and Impostors, seeking to abuse the multitude with a show of that gravity and learning which never was thir Portion. Had thir knowledg bin equal to the knowledg of any stupid Monk, or Abbot, they would have known at least, though ignorant of all things else, the life and acts of him, who first instituted thir Order: But these blockish Presbyters of *Clandeboy* know not that *John Knox*, who was the first founder of Presbytery in *Scotland*, taught professedly the Doctrine of deposing, and of killing Kings. And thus while they deny that any such rule can be found, the rule is found in thir own Country, giv'n them by thir own first Presbyterian Institutor; and they themselves, like irregular Friars walking contrary to the rule of thir own Foundation, deserve for so gross an ignorance and transgression to be disciplin'd upon thir own Stools. Or had thir reading in History bin any, which by this we may be confident is none at all, or thir Malice not hightn'd to a blind rage, they never would so rashly have thrown the Dice to a palpable discovery of thir ignorance and want of shame. But wherefore spend we two such pretious things as time and reason upon Priests, the most prodigal mis-spenders of time, and the scarcest owners of reason? 'Tis sufficient we have publish'd our defences, giv'n reasons, giv'n examples of our Justice done; Books also have bin writt'n to the same purpose for Men to look on that will; that no Nation under Heav'n but in one age or other hath don the like. The difference only is, which rather seems to us matter of glory,

that they for the most part have without Form of Law don the deed by a kind of martial Justice, we by the deliberat and well-weigh'd Sentence of a legal Judicature.

But they tell us, *It was against the interest and protestation of the Kingdom of Scotland.* And did exceeding well to joyn those two together: hereby informing us what credit or regard need be giv'n in *England* to a *Scotch* Protestation, usher'd in by a *Scotch* Interest: certainly no more then we see is giv'n in *Scotland* to an *English* Declaration, declaring the Interest of *England*. If then our interest move not them, why should theirs move us? If they say, we are not all *England*; we reply they are not all *Scotland*: nay, were the last year so inconsiderable a part of *Scotland* as were beholding to this which they now term the Sectarian Army, to defend and rescue them at the charges of *England* from a stronger party of thir own Countrymen, in whose esteem they were no better then Sectarians themselves. But they add, *It was against the former Declarations of both Kingdoms*, to seize, or proceed against the King. We are certain that no such Declarations of both Kingdoms, as derive not thir full force from the sense and meaning of the Covenant, can be produc'd.

And if they plead against us the Covenant, *To preserve and defend his Person*; we ask them briefly whether they take the Covenant to be absolute or conditional? If absolute, then suppose the King to have committed all prodigious Crimes and Impieties against God, or Nature, or whole Nations, he must nevertheless be sacred from all violent touch. Which absurd opinion, how it can live in any Mans reason, either natural or rectifi'd, we much marvel: Since God declar'd his anger as impetuous for the saving of King *Benhadad*, though surrendering himself at mercy, as for the killing of *Naboth*. If it be conditional, in the preservation and defence of Religion, and the People's Liberty, then certainly to take away his life, being dangerous, and pernicious to both these, was no more a breach of the Covenant, then for the same reason at *Edinburrow* to behead *Gordon* the Marquess *Huntley*. By the same Covenant we made vow to assist and to defend all those that should enter with us into this League; not absolutely, but in the maintenance and pursuing thereof. If therefore no Man else ever were so mad as to claim from hence an impunity from all Justice, why should any for the King? Whose Life by other Articles of the same Covenant was forfeit. Nay if common sense had not led us to such a clear Interpretation, the *Scotch* Commissioners themselves might boast to have bin our first teachers: who when they drew to the malignance which brought forth that perfidious last years irruption against all the bands of Covenant or Christian Neighbourhood, making thir hollow Plea the defence of His Majesties Person, they were constrain'd by thir own guiltiness to leave out that following morsel that would have choak'd them, the *preservation and defence of true Religion, and our Liberties*. And questionless in the preservation of these, we are bound as well, both by the Covenant, and before the Covenant, to preserve and defend the Person of any private Man, and the Person and Authority of any inferior Magistrate: So that this Article, objected with such vehemence against us, contains not an exception of the Kings Person, and Authority, to do by privilege what wickedness he list, and be defended, as som fancy, but an expresse testification of our Loyalty; and the plain words without wresting will bear as much, that we had no thoughts against his person, or just power, provided they might consist with the preservation and defence of true Religion and our Liberties. But to these how hazardous his life was, will be needless to repeat so oft'n. It may suffice that while he was in Custody, where we expected his Repentance, his remorse at last, and compassion of all the innocent blood shed already, and hereafter likely to be shed for his meer wilfulness, he made no other use of our continual forbearance, our humblest Petitions and Obtestations at his feet, but to sit contriving and fomenting new Plots against us, and as his own phrase was, *playing his own Game* upon the Miseries of his People: Of which we desire no other view at present then these Articles of Peace with the Rebels, and the rare Game likely to ensue from such a cast of his Cards. And then let Men reflect a little upon the flanders and reviles of these wretched Priests, and judg what Modesty, what Truth, what Conscience, what any thing fit for Ministers, or we might say reasonable men, can harbour in them. For what they began in shameflessness and malice, they conclude in frenzy: throwing out a sudden rapsody of Proverbs quite from the purpose; and with as much comeliness as when *Saul* propheci'd.

For casting off, as he did his Garments, all modesty and meekness wherewith the Language of Ministers ought to be cloath'd, speaking especially to thir supreme Magistrate, they talk at random of *Servants reigning, Servants riding, and wonder how the Earth can bear them*. Either these men imagin themselves to be marvellously high set and exalted in the Chair of *Belfast*, to voutsafe the Parliament of *England* no better stile then *Servants*, or else thir high notion, which we rather believe, falls as low as Court-parasitism; supposing all Men to be *Servants*, but the King. And then all thir pains tak'n to seem so wise in proverbing, serves but to conclude them down-right Slaves: and the edg of thir own Proverb falls reverse upon themselves. For as *Delight is not seemly for Fools*, much less high Words to come from base Minds. What they are for Ministers, or how they crept into the fold, whether at the Window, or through the Wall, or who set them there so haughty in the Pontifical See of *Belfast*, we know not. But this we rather have cause to wonder if the Earth can bear this unsufferable insolency of upstarts; who from a ground, which is not thir own, dare send such defiance to the sovran Magistracy of *England*, by whose authority and in whose right they inhabit there. By thir actions we might rather judge them to be a generation of High-land Theeves and Red-shanks, who being neighbourly admitted, not as the *Saxons* by merit of thir Warfare against our Enemies, but by the courtesy of *England* to hold possessions in our Province, a Country better then thir own, have, with worse Faith then those Heathen, prov'd ingrateful and treacherous Guests to thir bests Friends and Entertainers. And let them take heed, lest while thir silence, as to these matters, might have kept them blameless and secure under those proceedings which they so fear'd to partake in, that these thir treasonous attempts and practises have not involv'd them in a far worse guilt of Rebellion; and (notwithstanding that fair dehortatory from joyning with Malignants) in the appearance of a co-interest and partaking with the *Irish* Rebels. Against whom, though by themselves pronounc'd to be the Enemies of God, they go not out to battel, as they ought, but rather by these thir doings assist and become associates.



A
D E F E N C E

O F T H E

People of England,

In A N S W E R to

Salmasius's D E F E N C E of the KING.

The P R E F A C E.

ALTHO I fear, lest, if in defending the People of *England*, I should be as copious in Words, and empty of Matter, as most Men think *Salmasius* has been in his Defence of the King, I might seem to deserve justly to be accounted a verbose and silly Defender; yet since no Man thinks himself obliged to make so much haste, tho in the handling but of any ordinary Subject, as not to premise some Introduction at least, according as the weight of his Subject requires; if I take the same course in handling almost the greatest Subject that ever was, (without being too tedious in it) I am in hopes of attaining two things, which indeed I earnestly desire. The one, not to be at all wanting, as far as in me lies, to this most Noble Cause, and most worthy to be recorded to all future Ages: The other, That I may appear to have avoided my self, that frivolousness of Matter, and redundancy of Words, which I blame in my Antagonist. For I am about to discourse of Matters, neither inconsiderable nor common, but how a most Potent King, after he had trampled upon the Laws of the Nation, and given a shock to its Religion, and begun to rule at his own Will and Pleasure, was at last subdu'd in the Field by his own Subjects, who had undergone a long Slavery under him; how afterwards he was cast into Prison, and when he gave no ground, either by Words or Actions, to hope better things of him, he was finally by the Supreme Council of the Kingdom condemned to dye, and beheaded before the very Gates of the Royal Palace. I shall likewise relate, (which will much conduce to the easing mens minds of a great Superstition) by what Right, especially according to our Law, this Judgment was given, and all these Matters transacted; and shall easily defend my Valiant and Worthy Countrymen (who have extremely well deserved of all Subjects and Nations in the World) from the most wicked Calumnies both of Domestick and Foreign Railers, and especially from the Reproaches of this most vain and empty Sophister, who sets up for a Captain and Ringleader to all the rest. For what King's Majesty sitting upon an Exalted Throne, ever shone so brightly, as that of the People of *England* then did, when shaking off that old Superstition, which had prevailed a long time, they gave Judgment upon the King himself, or rather upon an Enemy who had been their King, caught as it were in a Net by his own Laws (who alone of all Mortals challenged to himself impunity by a Divine Right) and scrupled not to inflict the same punishment upon him, being guilty, which he would have inflicted upon any other. But why do I mention these things as performed by the People, which almost open their Voice themselves, and testify the Presence of God throughout? Who, as often as it seems good to his Infinite Wisdom, uses to throw down proud and unruly Kings, exalting themselves above the Condition

of Humane Nature, and utterly to extirpate them and all their Family. By his manifest Impulse being set on work to recover our almost lost Liberty, following him as our Guide, and adoring the impresses of his Divine Power manifested upon all occasions, we went on in no obscure, but an illustrious Passage, pointed out and made plain to us by God himself. Which things, if I should so much as hope by any diligence or ability of mine, such as it is, to discourse of as I ought to do, and to commit them so to writing, as that perhaps all Nations and all Ages may read them, it would be a very vain thing in me. For what stile can be august and magnificent enough, what man has parts sufficient to undertake so great a Task? Since we find by Experience, that in so many Ages as are gone over the World, there has been but here and there a man found, who has been able worthily to recount the Actions of Great Heroes, and Potent States; Can any man have so good an opinion of his own Talents, as to think himself capable to reach these glorious and wonderful Works of Almighty God, by any Language, by any Stile of his? Which Enterprize, though some of the most Eminent Persons in our Commonwealth have prevailed upon me by their Authority to undertake, and would have it be my business to vindicate with my Pen against Envy and Calumny (which are proof against Arms) those Glorious Performances of theirs (whose opinion of me I take as a very great honour, that they should pitch upon me before others to be serviceable in this kind to those most Valiant Deliverers of my Native Countrey; and true it is, that from my very youth I have been bent extremely upon such sort of Studies, as inclin'd me, if not to do great things my self, at least to celebrate those that did) yet as having no confidence in any such Advantages, I have recourse to the Divine Assistance; and invoke the Great and Holy God, the Giver of all good Gifts, that I may as substantially, and as truly, discuss and refute the Sawciness and Lies of this Foreign Declamator, as our Noble Generals piously and successfully by force of Arms broke the King's Pride, and his unruly Domincering, and afterwards put an end to both by inflicting a memorable Punishment upon himself, and as thoroughly as a single person did with ease but of late confute and confound the King himself, rising as it were from the Grave, and recommending himself to the People in a Book publish'd after his death, with new Artifices and Allurements of Words and Expressions. Which Antagonist of mine, though he be a Foreigner, and, though he deny it a thousand times over, but a poor Grammarian; yet not contented with the Salary due to him in that Capacity, chose to turn a Pragmatical Coxcomb; and not only to intrude in State-Affairs, but into the Affairs of a Foreign State: tho he brings along with him neither Modesty, nor Understanding, nor any other Qualification requisite in so great an Arbitrator, but Sawciness, and a little Grammar only. Indeed, if he had publish'd here, and in English, the same things that he has now wrote in Latin such as it is, I think no man would have thought it worth while to return an Answer to them, but would partly despise them as common, and exploded over and over already, and partly abhor them as sordid and tyrannical Maxims, not to be endured even by the most abject of Slaves: Nay, Men that have sided with the King, would have had these thoughts of his Book. But since he has swoll'n it to a considerable bulk, and dispers'd it amongst Foreigners, who are altogether ignorant of our Affairs and Constitution; it's fit that they who mistake them, should be better informed; and that he, who is so very forward to speak ill of others, should be treated in his own kind. If it be asked, why we did not then attack him sooner, why we suffered him to triumph so long, and pride himself in our silence? For others I am not to answer; for my self I can boldly say, That I had neither Words nor Arguments long to seek for the defence of so good a Cause, if I had enjoyed such a measure of health, as would have endur'd the fatigue of writing. And being but yet weak in Body, I am forced to write by piece-meal, and break off almost every hour, though the Subject be such as requires an unintermitted study and intenseness of mind. But though this bodily Indisposition may be a hindrance to me in setting forth the just Praises of my most worthy Countreymen, who have been the Saviours of their Native Country, and whose Exploits, worthy of Immortality, are already famous all the World over; yet I hope it will be no difficult matter for me to defend them from the Insolence of this silly little Scholar, and from that sawcy Tongue of his, at least. Nature and Laws would be in an ill case, if

Slavery

Slavery should find what to say for it self, and Liberty be mute: and if Tyrants should find men to plead for them, and they that can master and vanquish Tyrants, should not be able to find Advocates. And it were a deplorable thing indeed, if the Reason Mankind is endu'd withal, and which is the gift of God, should not furnish more Arguments for mens Preservation, for their Deliverance, and, as much as the nature of the thing will bear, for making them equal to one another, than for their oppression, and for their utter ruine under the Domineering Power of One single Person. Let me therefore enter upon this Noble Cause with a chearfulness, grounded upon this Assurance, That my Adversary's Cause is maintain'd by nothing but Fraud, Fallacy, Ignorance and Barbarity; whereas mine has Light, Truth, Reason, the Practice and the Learning of the best Ages of the World, of its side.

But now, having said enough for an Introduction, since we have to do with Criticks; let us in the first place consider the Title of this Choice Piece: *Defensio Regia pro Car. Primo, ad Car. Secundum.* A Royal Defence (or the King's Defence) for Charles the First to Charles the Second. You undertake a wonderful piece of work, whoever you are; to plead the Father's Cause before his own Son: a hundred to one but you carry it. But I summon you, *Salmasius*, who heretofore sculk'd under a wrong name, and now go by no name at all, to appear before another Tribunal, and before other Judges, where perhaps you may not hear those little Applauses, which you use to be so fond of in your School. But why this Royal Defence dedicated to the King's own Son? We need not put him to the torture; he confesses why. *At the King's charge*, says he. O mercenary and chargeable Advocate! could you not afford to write a Defence for *Charles* the Father, whom you pretend to have been the best of Kings, to *Charles* the Son, the most indigent of all Kings, but it must be at the poor King's own Charge? But though you are a Knave, you would not make your self ridiculous, incalling it *the King's Defence*; for you having sold it, it is no longer yours, but the King's indeed: who bought it at the price of a hundred *Jacobusses*, a great Sum for a poor King to disburse. I know very well what I say: and 'tis well enough known who brought the Gold, and the Purse wrought with Beads: We know who saw you reach out greedy fists, under pretence of embracing the King's Chaplain, who brought the Present, but indeed to embrace the Present it self, and by accepting it to exhaust almost all the King's Treasury.

But now the man comes himself, the Door creaks; the Actor comes upon the Stage.

*In silence now, and with attention wait,
That ye may learn what th' Eunuch has to prate.* Terent.

For whatever the matter's with him, he blusters more than ordinary. A horrible message had lately struck our Ears, but our Minds more, with a heinous wound concerning a Parricide committed in England in the Person of a King, by a wicked Conspiracy of Sacrilegious men. Indeed that horrible Message must either have had a much longer Sword than that which *Peter* drew, or those Ears must have been of a wonderful length, that it could wound at such a distance; for it could not so much as in the least offend any Ears but those of an Ass. For what harm is it to you, that are Foreigners? are any of you hurt by it, if we amongst our selves put our own Enemies, our own Traytors to death, be they Commoners, Noble-men, or Kings? Do you, *Salmasius*, let alone what does not concern you: for I have a horrible Message to bring of you too; which I'm mistaken if it strike not a more heinous wound into the Ears of all Grammarians and Criticks, provided they have any Learning and Delicacy in them, to wit, your crowding so many barbarous Expressions together in one period in the person of (*Aristarchus*) a Grammarian; and that so great a Critick as you, hired at the King's charge to write a Defence of the King his Father, should not only set so fulsome a Preface before it, much like those lamentable Ditties that used to be sung at Funerals, and which can move compassion in none but a Coxcomb; but in the very first sentence should prevoke your Readers to laughter with so many Barbarisms all at once. *Persona Regis*, you cry. Where do you find any such *Latin*? Or are you telling us some tale or other of a *Perkin Warbeck*, who taking
upon

upon him the *Person of a King*, has, forsooth, committed some horrible Parricide in *England*? Which expression, though dropping carelessly from your Pen, has more truth in it, than you are aware of. For a Tyrant is but like a King upon a Stage, a man in a Vizor, and acting the part of a King in a Play; he is not really a King. But as for these *Gallicisms*, that are so frequent in your Book, I won't lash you for them my self; for I am not at leisure; but shall deliver you over to your fellow-Grammarians, to be laught to scorn and whipt by them. What follows is much more *heinous*, that what was decreed by our Supreme Magistrates to be done to the King, should be said by you to have been done by a wicked Conspiracy of *Sacrilegious persons*. Have you the impudence, you Rogue, to talk at this rate of the Acts and Decrees of the chief Magistrates of a Nation, that lately was a most Potent Kingdom, and is now a more Potent Commonwealth? Whose proceedings no King ever took upon him by word of mouth, or otherwise, to vilifie and set at nought. The Illustrious States of *Holland* therefore, the Genuine Off-spring of those Deliverers of their Country, have deservedly by their Edict condemn'd to utter darkness this *Defence* of Tyrants, so pernicious to the Liberty of all Nations; the Author of which every free State ought to forbid their Country, or to banish out of it; and that State particularly that feeds with a Stipend so ungrateful and so savage an Enemy to their Commonwealth, whose very Fundamentals, and the causes of their becoming a free State, this Fellow endeavours to undermine as well as ours, and at one and the same time to subvert both; loading with Calumnies the most worthy Asserters of Liberty there, under our Names. Consider with your selves, ye most Illustrious States of the *United Netherlands*, who it was that put this Asserter of Kingly Power upon setting Pen to Paper? who it was, that but lately began to play *Rex* in your Country? what Counsels were taken, what endeavours used, and what disturbances ensued thereupon in *Holland*? and to what pass things might have been brought by this time? how Slavery and a new Master were ready prepar'd for you; and how near expiring that Liberty of yours, asserted and vindicated by so many years War and Toil, would have been e're now, if it had not taken breath again by the timely death of a certain rash young GENTLEMAN. But our Author begins to strut again, and to feign wonderful Tragedies; *Whomsoever this dreadful news reacht* (to wit, the news of *Salmasius's* Parricidal Barbarisms) *all of a sudden, as if they had been struck with lightning, their hair stood an end, and their tongues clove to the roof of their mouth.* Which let Natural Philosophers take notice of (for this secret in nature was never discovered before) that lightning makes mens hair stand an end. But who knows not that little effeminate minds are apt to be amaz'd at the news of any extraordinary great Action; and that then they show themselves to be, what they really were before, no better than so many Stocks? Some could not refrain from tears; some little Women at Court, I suppose, or if there be any more effeminate than they, of whose number *Salmasius* himself being one, is by a new *Metamorphosis* become a Fountain near a-kin to his Name (*Salmacis*) and with his counterfeit flood of tears prepared over night, endeavours to emasculate generous minds: I advise therefore, and wish them to have a care;

————— *Infamis ne quem malè fortibus undis*
Salmacis Enervet. —————

————— *Ne, si vir cum venerit, exeat inde*
Semivir, & tactis subito mollescat in undis.

Abstain, as Manhood you esteem,
From *Salmacis* pernicious Stream:
If but one moment there you stay,
Too dear you'l for your Bathing pay. —————
Depart nor Man nor Woman, but a Sight
Disgracing both, a loath'd Hermaphrodite.

They that had more courage (which yet he expresses in miserable bald *Latin*, as if he could not so much as speak of Men of Courage and Magnanimity in proper words) *were set on fire with indignation to that degree, that they could hardly contain them-*

themselves. Those furious Hectors we value not of a rush. We have been accustomed to rout such Gallies in the Field with a true sober courage; a courage becoming men that can contain themselves, and are in their right Wits. *There were none that did not curse the Authors of so horrible a Villany.* But yet, you say, their tongues clove to the roof of their mouths; and if you mean this of our Fugitives only, I wish they had clove there to this day; for we know very well that there's nothing more common with them, than to have their mouths full of Curses and Imprecations, which indeed all good men abominate, but withal despise. As for others, it's hardly credible, that when they heard the news of our having inflicted a Capital Punishment upon the King, there should any be found, especially in a Free State, so naturally adapted to Slavery as either to speak ill of us, or so much as to censure what we had done. Nay, 'tis highly probable that all good men applauded us, and gave God thanks for so illustrious, so exalted a piece of Justice; and for a Caution so very useful to other Princes. In the mean time, as for those *fierce, those steel-hearted men*, that, you say, take on for, and bewail so pitifully, *the lamentable and wonderful death* of I know not who; them, I say, together with their tinkling Advocate, the dullest that ever appeared *since the name of a King was born and known in the World*, we shall e'en let whine on, till they cry their eyes out. But in the mean time, what School-boy, what little insignificant Monk could not have made a more elegant Speech for the King, and in better *Latin* than this Royal Advocate has done? But it would be folly in me to make such particular Animadversions upon his Childishness and Frenzies throughout his Book, as I do here upon a few in the beginning of it; which yet I would be willing enough to do (for we hear that he is swell'd with Pride and Conceit to the utmost degree imaginable) if the undigested and immethodical bulk of his Book did not protect him. He was resolved to take a course like the Soldier in *Terence*, to save his Bacon; and it was very cunning in him to stuff his Book with so much Puerility, and so many silly Whimsies, that it might nauseate the smartest man in the World to death to take notice of 'em all. Only I thought it might not be amiss to give a Specimen of him in the Preface; and to let the serious Reader have a taste of him at first, that he might guess by the first dish that's serv'd up, how noble an Entertainment the rest are like to make; and that he may imagine with himself what an infinite number of Fooleries and Impertinencies must needs be heaped up together in the body of the Book, when they stand so thick in the very Entrance into it, where of all other places they ought to have been shunned. His tittle-tattle that follows, and his Sermons fit for nothing but to be worm-eaten, I can easily pass by; as for any thing in them relating to us, we doubt not in the least, but that what has been written and published by Authority of Parliament, will have far greater weight with all wise and sober men, than the Calumnies and Lies of one single impudent little Fellow: who being hired by our Fugitives, their Countrey's Enemies, has scrap'd together, and not scrupled to publish in Print, whatever little Story any one of them that employed him, put into his head. And that all men may plainly see how little conscience he makes of setting down any thing right or wrong, good or bad, I desire no other Witness than *Salmasius* himself. In his book, entituled, *Apparatus contra Primatum Papæ*, he says, 'There are most weighty Reasons why the Church ought to lay aside Episcopacy, and return to the Apostolical Institution of Presbyters: That a far greater mischief has been introduced into the Church by Episcopacy, than the Schisms themselves were, which were before apprehended: That the Plague which Episcopacy introduced, depressed the whole body of the Church under a miserable Tyranny; nay, had put a yoke even upon the necks of Kings and Princes: That it would be more beneficial to the Church, if the whole Hierarchy it self, were extirpated, than if the Pope only, who is the Head of it, were laid aside, *page 160.* 'That it would be very much for the good of the Church, if Episcopacy were taken away, together with the Papacy: That if Episcopacy were once taken down, the Papacy would fall of it self, as being founded upon it, *page 171.* He says, 'he can shew very good reasons why Episcopacy ought to be put down in those Kingdoms that have renounced the Pope's Supremacy; but that he can see no reason for retaining it there: That a Reformation is not entire, that is defective in this point: That no reason can be alledged, no probable cause assigned, why the Supremacy of the Pope being once disowned, Episcopacy should notwithstanding

' be retained, *page 197*. Tho he had wrote all this, and a great deal more to this effect, but four years ago, he is now become so vain and so impudent withal, as to accuse the Parliament of *England*, ' for not only turning the Bishops out of the House of Lords, but for abolishing Episcopacy it self. Nay, he persuades us to receive Episcopacy, and defends it by the very same Reasons and Arguments, which with a great deal of earnestness he had confuted himself in that former Book; to wit, ' That Bishops were necessary, and ought to have been retained, to prevent the springing up of a Thousand pernicious Sects and Heresies. Crafty Turn-coat! Are you not ashamed to shift hands thus in things that are Sacred, and (I had almost said) to betray the Church; whose most solemn Institutions you seem to have asserted and vindicated with so much noise, that when it should seem for your interest to change sides, you might undo and subvert all again with the more disgrace and infamy to your self? It's notoriously known, That when both Houses of Parliament, being extremely desirous to reform the Church of *England* by the pattern of other Reformed Churches, had resolved to abolish Episcopacy, the King first interposed, and afterwards waged War against them chiefly for that very cause; which proved fatal to him. Go now and boast of your having defended the King; who, that you might the better defend him, do now openly betray and impugn the Cause of the Church, whose Defence you your self had formerly undertaken; and whose severest Censures ought to be inflicted upon you. As for the present form of our Government, since such a Foreign insignificant Professor as you, having laid aside your Boxes and Desks stufft with nothing but Trifles, which you might have spent your time better in putting into order, will needs turn busie-body, and be troublesome in other mens matters, I shall return you this answer, or rather not to you, but to them that are wiser than your self, *viz.* That the Form of it is such as our present distractions will admit of; not such as were to be wish'd, but such as the obstinate Divisions that are amongst us, will bear. What State soever is pestered with Factions, and defends it self by Force of Arms, is very just in having regard to those only that are sound and untainted, and in overlooking or secluding the rest, be they of the Nobility or the Common People; nay, though profiting by experience, they should refuse to be governed any longer either by a King or a House of Lords. But in railing at that *Supreme Council*, as you call it, and at the *Chair-man* there, you make your self very ridiculous; for that Council is not the Supreme Council, as you dream it is, but appointed by Authority of Parliament, for a certain time only; and consisting of forty Persons, for the most part Members of Parliament, any one of whom may be President, if the rest vote him into the Chair. And there is nothing more common, than for our Parliaments to appoint Committees of their own Members; who, when so appointed, have Power to meet where they please, and hold a kind of little Parliament amongst themselves. And the most weighty Affairs are often referred to them, for Expedition and Secresie; the care of the Navy, the Army, the Treasury; in short, all things whatsoever relating either to War or Peace. Whether this be called a Council, or any thing else, the thing is ancient, though the name may be new; and it is such an Institution, as no Government can be duly administered without it. As for our putting the King to death, and changing the Government, forbear your bawling, don't spit your Venom, till, going along with you through every Chapter, I show, whether you will or no, *by what Law, by what Right and Justice* all that was done. But if you insist to know *by what Right, by what Law*; by that Law, I tell you, which God and Nature have enacted, *viz.* that whatever things are for the Universal Good of the Whole State, are for that reason lawful and just. So wise Men of old used to answer such as you. You find fault with us for *Repealing Laws that had obtained for so many years*; but you do not tell us whether those Laws were good or bad, nor, if you did, should we heed what you said; for, you busy Puppy, what have you to do with our Laws? I wish our Magistrates had repealed more than they have, both Laws and Lawyers; if they had, they would have consulted the Interest of the Christian Religion, and that of the People better then they have done. It frets you, That *Hob-goblins, Sons of the Earth, scarce Gentlemen at home, scarce known to their own Countrymen, should presume to do such things*. But you ought to have remembred, what not only the Scriptures, but *Horace* would have taught you,

viz.

— *Valer*

*Valet ima summis
Mutare, & insignem attenuat Deus,
Obscura promens, &c.*

The Power that did create, can change the Scene
Of things ; make mean of great, and great of mean :
The brightest Glory can eclipse with Night ;
And place the most obscure in dazzling Light.

But take this into the bargain. Some of those who, you say, be scarce Gentlemen, are not at all inferior in birth to any of your party. Others, whose Ancestors were not Noble, have taken a course to attain to true Nobility by their own Industry and Vertue, and are not inferior to men of the Noblest Descent. They had rather be called *Sons of the Earth*, provided it be their own Earth (their own Native Country) and act like Men at home, then, being destitute of House or Land, to relieve the necessities of Nature in a Foreign Country by selling of Smoke, as thou dost, an inconsiderable Fellow and a Jack-straw, and who dependest upon the good will of thy Masters for a poor Stipend ; for whom it were better to dispense with thy labors, and return to thy own Kindred and Country-men, if thou hadst not this one piece of Cunning, to babble out some silly Prelections and Fooleries at so good a rate amongst Foreigners. You find fault with our Magistrates for admitting such a *Common-shore of all sorts of Sects*. Why should they not ? It belongs to the Church to cast them out of the Communion of the faithful ; not to the Magistrate to banish them the Country, provided they do not offend against the Civil Laws of the State. Men at first united into Civil Societies, that they might live safely, and enjoy their Liberty, without being wrong'd or oppress'd ; and that they might live Religiously and according to the Doctrine of Christianity, they united themselves into Churches. Civil Societies have Laws, and Churches have a Discipline peculiar to themselves, and far differing from each other. And this has been the occasion of so many Wars in *Christendom* ; to wit, because the Civil Magistrate and the Church confounded their Jurisdictions. Therefore we do not admit of the Popish Sect, so as to tolerate Papists at all ; for we do not look upon that as a Religion, but rather as an Hierarchical Tyranny, under a Cloak of Religion, cloth'd with the Spoils of the Civil Power, which it has usurp'd to it self contrary to our Saviour's own Doctrine. As for the *Independents*, we never had any such amongst us, as you describe ; they that we call *Independents* are only such as hold that no Classis or Synods have a Superiority over any particular Church, and that therefore they ought all to be pluckt up by the Roots, as Branches, or rather as the very Trunk of Hierarchy it self ; which is your own opinion too. And from hence it was that the name of *Independents* prevailed amongst the Vulgar. The rest of your Preface is spent in endeavouring not only to stir up the hatred of all Kings and Monarchs against us, but to perswade them to make a General War upon us. *Mithridates* of old, though in a different cause, endeavoured to stir up all Princes to make War upon the *Romans*, by laying to their charge almost just the same things that you do to ours : *viz.* that the *Romans* aim'd at nothing but the Subversion of all Kingdoms, that they had no regard to any thing whether Sacred or Civil, that from their very first rise they never enjoy'd any thing but what they had acquir'd by force, that they were Robbers, and the greatest Enemies in the world to Monarchy. Thus *Mithridates* express'd himself in a Letter to *Arfaces* King of the *Parthians*. But how came you, whose business it is to make silly Speeches from your Desk, to have the confidence to imagine, that by your perswasions to take up Arms, and *sounding an Alarm* as it were, you should be able so much as to influence a King amongst Boys at play ; especially, with so shrill a Voice, and unfavoury Breath, that I believe, if you were to have been the Trumpeter, not so much as *Homer's* Mice would have waged War against the Frogs ? So little do we fear, you Slug you, any War or Danger from Foreign Princes through your silly Rhetorick, who accusest us to them, just as if you were at play, *That we toss Kings heads like Balls ; play at Bowls with Crowns ; and regard Scepters no more then if they were Fools Staves with heads on* : But you in the mean

time, you silly Logerhead, deserve to have your Bones well-thrash'd with a Fool's staff, for thinking to stir up Kings and Princes to War by such Childish Arguments. Then you cry aloud to all Nations, who, I know full well, will never heed what you say. You call upon that wretched and barbarous Crew of *Irish* Rebels too, to assert the King's Party. Which one thing is sufficient evidence how much you are both a Fool and a Knave, and how you out-do almost all Mankind in Villany, Impudence, and Madnefs; who scruple not to implore the Loyalty and Aid of an execrable People, devoted to the Slaughter, whom the King himself always abhor'd, or so pretended, to have any thing to do with, by reason of the guilt of so much innocent Blood, which they had contracted. And that very Perfidiousness and Cruelty, which he endeavoured as much as he could to conceal, and to clear himself from any suspicion of, you the most villainous of Mortals, as fearing neither God nor Man, voluntarily and openly take upon your self. Go on then, undertake the Kings Defence at the Encouragement, and by the Assistance of the *Irish*. You take care, and so you might well, lest any should imagine that you were about to bereave *Cicero* or *Demosthenes* of the praise due to their Eloquence, by telling us before hand, that *you conceive you ought not to speak like an Orator*. 'Tis wisely said of a Fool; you conceive you ought not to do what is not in your power to do: and who that knows you never so little, ever expects any thing like an Orator from you? Who neither uses, nor is able to publish any thing that's Elaborate, Distinct, or has so much as Sense in it; but like a second *Crispin*, or that little Grecian *Tzetzes*, you do but write a great deal, take no pains to write well; nor could write any thing well, though you took never so much pains. *This Cause shall be argued (say you) in the hearing, and as it were before the Tribunal of all Mankind.* That's what we like so well, that we could now wish we had a discreet and intelligent Adversary, and not such a hair-brain'd Blunderbuss, as you, to deal with. You conclude very Tragically, like *Ajax* in his Raving; *I will proclaim to Heaven and Earth the Injustice, the Villany, the Perfidiousness and Cruelty of these Men, and will deliver them over convicted to all Posterity.* O Flowers! that such a witless, senseless Bawler, one that was born but to spoil or transcribe good Authors, should think himself able to write any thing of his own, that will reach Posterity, whom together with his frivolous Scribbles the very next Age will bury in oblivion; unless this Defence of the King perhaps may be beholden to the Answer I give to it, for being looked into now and then. And I would entreat the Illustrious States of *Holland* to take off their Prohibition, and suffer the Book to be publickly sold. For when I have detected the Vanity, Ignorance, and Falshood, that it is full of, the farther it spreads, the more effectually it will be suppress'd. Now let us hear how he *convicts* us.

A
D E F E N C E
O F T H E
People of England.

C H A P. I.

I Perswade my self, *Salmasius*, that you being a vain flashy man, are not a little proud of being the King of *Great Britain's* Defender, who himself was stil'd the *Defender of the Faith*. For my part, I think you deserve your Titles both alike; for the King defended the Faith, and you have defended him so, that betwixt you, you have spoiled both your Causes: which I shall make appear throughout the whole ensuing Discourse, and particularly in this very Chapter. You told us in the 12th Page of your Preface, That *so good and so just a Cause ought not to be embelish'd with any flourishes of Rhetorick; That the King needed no other Defence than by a bare Narrative of his Story;* and yet in your first Chapter, in which you had promised us that bare Narrative, you neither tell the Story right, nor do you abstain from making use of all the skill you have in Rhetorick to set it off. So that, if we must take your own judgment, we must believe the King's Cause to be neither good nor just. But by the way I would advise you not to have so good an Opinion of your self (for no body else has so of you) as to imagin that you are able to speak well upon any Subject, who can neither play the part of an Orator, nor an Historian, nor express your self in a Stile that would not be ridiculous even in a Lawyer; but like a Mountebank's Jugler, with big swelling words in your Preface, you rais'd our expectation, as if some mighty matter were to ensue: in which your design was not so much to introduce a true Narrative of the King's Story, as to make your own empty intended florishes go off the better. For *being now about to give us an account of the matter of Fact, you find your self encompassed and affrighted with so many Monsters of Novelty, that y^e are at a loss what to say first, what next, and what last of all.* I'll tell you what the matter is with you. In the first place you find your self affrighted and astonish'd at your own monstrous Lies, and then you find that empty head of yours not encompass'd, but carried round with so many trifles and fooleries, that you not only now do not, but never did know what was fit to be spoken, and in what method. *Among the many Difficulties that you find in expressing the heinousness of so incredible a piece of Impiety, this one offers it self, you say, which is easily said, and must often be repeated; to wit, That the Sun it self never beheld a more outrageous action.* But by your good leave, Sir, the Sun has beheld many things, that blind *Bernard* never saw. But we are content you should mention the Sun over and over. And it will be a piece of Prudence in you so to do. For though our wickedness does not require it, the coldness of the defence that you are making, does. *The Original of Kings*, you say, *is as ancient, as that of the Sun.* May the Gods and Goddesses, *Damaspippus*, bless thee with an everlasting Solstice; that thou mayst always be warm, thou that canst not stir a foot without the Sun. Perhaps you would avoid the imputation of being called a Doctor *Umbraticus*. But alas! you are in perfect darkness, that make no difference betwixt a Paternal Power, and a Regal: and that when you had called Kings Fathers of their Country, could fancy that with that Metaphor you had perswaded us that whatever is applicable to a Father, is so to a King. Alas! there's a great difference betwixt them. Our Fathers begot us.

Our

Our King made not us, but we him. Nature has given Fathers to us all, but we our selves appointed our own King. So that the People is not for the King, but the King for them. *We bear with a Father, though he be harsh and severe; and so we do with a King.* But we do not bear with a Father, if he be a Tyrant. If a Father murder his Son, he himself must die for't; and why should not a King be subject to the same Law, which certainly is a most just one? Especially considering that a Father cannot by any possibility divest himself of that Relation, but a King easily may make himself neither King nor Father of his People. If this action of ours be considered according to *its quality*, as you call it, I, who am both an English-man born, and was an Eye-witness of the Transactions of these Times, tell you, who are both a Foreigner and an utter Stranger to our Affairs; That we have put to death neither *a good, nor a just, nor a merciful, nor a devout, nor a godly, nor a peaceable King*, as you stile him; but an Enemy, that has been so to us almost ten years to an end; nor one that was a Father, but a Destroyer of his Country. You confess that *such things have been practis'd*; for your self have not the impudence to deny it: *but not by Protestants upon a Protestant King.* As if he deserv'd the name of a Protestant, that in a Letter to the Pope, could give him the title of *Most Holy Father*; that was always more favourable to the Papists than to those of his own Profession. And being such, he is not the first of his own Family that has been put to death by Protestants. Was not his Grand-mother deposed and banish'd, and at last beheaded by Protestants? And were not her own Countrymen, that were Protestants too, well enough pleas'd with it? Nay, if I should say they were Parties to it, I should not lie. But there being so few Protestant Kings, it is no great wonder, if it never happened that one of them has been put to death. But that it is lawful to depose a Tyrant, and to punish him according to his deserts; nay, that this is the opinion of very eminent Divines, and of such as have been most instrumental in the late Reformation, do you deny it if you dare. You confess that many Kings have come to an unnatural Death: *Some by the Sword, some poison'd, some strangled, and some in a Dungeon; but for a King to be arraign'd in a Court of Judicature, to be put to plead for his Life, to have Sentence of Death pronounc'd against him, and that Sentence executed;* this you think a more lamentable Instance than all the rest, and make it a prodigious piece of impiety. Tell me, thou superlative Fool, Whether it be not more just, more agreeable to the Rules of Humanity, and the Laws of all Humane Societies, to bring a Criminal, be his Offence what it will, before a Court of Justice, to give him leave to speak for himself; and, if the Law condemn him, then to put him to death as he has deserv'd, so as he may have time to repent or to recollect himself; than presently, as soon as ever he is taken, to butcher him without more ado? D'ye think there's a Malefactor in the World, that if he might have his choice, would not chuse to be thus dealt withal? and if this sort of proceeding against a private Person be accounted the fairer of the two, why should it not be counted so against a Prince? nay, why should we not think that himself liked it better? You would have had him kill'd privately, and none to have seen it, either that future Ages might have lost the advantage of so good an Example; or that they that did this glorious Action, might seem to have avoided the Light, and to have acted contrary to Law and Justice. You aggravate the matter by telling us, that it was not done in an uproar, or brought about by any Faction amongst Great Men, or in the heat of a Rebellion, either of the People, or the Soldiers: that there was no hatred, no fear, no ambition, no blind precipitate rashness in the Case; but that it was long consulted on, and done with deliberation. You did well in leaving off being an *Advocate*, and turn *Grammarian*, who from the Accidents and Circumstances of a thing, which in themselves considered sway neither one way nor other, argue in dispraise of it, before you have proved the thing it self to be either good or bad. See how open you lie: If the Action you are discoursing of, be commendable and praise-worthy, they that did it deserve the greater Honour, in that they were prepossessed with no Passions, but did what they did for Vertue's sake. If there were great difficulty in the enterprize, they did well in not going about it rashly, but upon Advice and Consideration. Tho for my own part, when I call to mind with how unexpected an importunity and fervency of Mind, and with how unanimous a Consent, the whole Army, and a great

Salmastius was
once an Advocate,
that is a
Counsellor at
Law.

great part of the People from almost every County in the Kingdom, cried out with one Voice for Justice against the King, as being the sole Author of all their Calamities : I cannot but think that these things were brought about by a Divine impulse. Whatever the matter was, whether we consider the Magistrates, or the Body of the People, no Men ever undertook with more Courage, and, which our Adversaries themselves confess, in a more sedate temper of Mind, so brave an Action, an Action that might have become those famous Heroes of whom we read in former Ages ; an Action, by which they enobled not only Laws, and their Execution, which seem for the future equally restor'd to high and low against one another ; but even Justice, and to have rendred it after so signal a Judgment, more illustrious and greater than in its own self. We are now come to an end of the 3d Page of the first Book, and have not the bare Narrative he promis'd us yet. He complains that our Principles are, That a King whose Government is *burdensome and odious*, may lawfully be deposed : And by this Doctrine, says he, *if they had had a King a thousand times better than they had, they would not have spared his Life*. Observe the Man's subtle way of arguing. For I would willingly be inform'd what Consequence there is in this, unless he allows, that a King's Government may be *burdensome and odious*, who is a thousand times better than our King was. So, that now he has brought things to this pass, to make the King that he defends, a thousand times worse than some whose Government notwithstanding is *burdensome and odious*, that is, it may be, the most monstrous Tyrant that ever reign'd. I wish ye Joy, O ye Kings, of so able a Defender. Now the Narrative begins. *They put him to several sorts of Torments*. Give an instance. *They remov'd him from Prison to Prison* ; and so they might lawfully do ; for having been a Tyrant, he became an open Enemy, and was taken in War. *Often changing his Keepers*. Left they themselves should change. *Sometimes they gave him hopes of Liberty, nay, and sometimes even of restoring him to his Crown, upon Articles of Agreement*. It seems then the taking away his Life, was not done upon so much premeditation, as he talked of before ; and that we did not lay hold on all opportunities and means, that offer'd themselves, to renounce our King. Those things that in the beginning of the War we demanded of him, when he had almost brought us under, which things if they were denied us, we could enjoy no Liberty, nor live in any Safety ; those very things we petitioned him for when he was our Prisoner, in a humble, submissive way, not once, nor twice, but thrice, and oftner, and were as often denied. When we had now lost all hopes of the King's complying with us, then was that noble Order of Parliament made, That from that time forward, there should no Articles be sent to the King ; so that we left off applying our selves to him, not from the time that he began to be a Tyrant, but from the time that we found him incurable. But afterward some Parliament-men set upon a new Project, and meeting with a convenient opportunity to put it in practice, pass a Vote to send further Proposals once more to the King. Whose Wickedness and Folly nearest resembles that of the Roman Senate, who contrary to the Opinion of *M. Tullius*, and all honest Men, voted to send Embassadors to *M. Anthony* ; and the Event had been the same, but that it pleased God Almighty in his Providence to order it otherwise, and to assert our Liberty, tho he suffer'd them to be enslav'd : For tho the King did not agree to any thing that might conduce to a firm Peace, and Settlement of things more than he had before, they go and vote themselves satisfied. Then the sounder part of the House finding themselves and the Commonwealth betray'd, implore the aid of that Valiant and always Faithful Army to the Commonwealth. Upon which occasion I can observe only this, which yet I am loth to utter ; to wit, that our Soldiers understood themselves better than our Senators, and that they saved the Commonwealth by their Arms, when th' other by their Votes had almost ruined it. Then he relates a great many things in a doleful, lamentable Strain ; but he does it so senselessly, that he seems rather to beg of his Readers that they would be sorrowful, than to stir up any such Passion in them. It grieves him to think that the King should undergo a Capital Punishment after such a manner as no other King ever had done. Tho he had often told us before, that there never was a King that underwent a Capital Punishment at all. Do you use to compare ways and manners, ye Coxcomb, when you have no Things, nor Actions to compare with one another ? He suffer'd Death, says he, *as a Robber, as a Murderer, as a Parricide, as a Traytor, as a Tyrant*. Is this

this defending the King? Or is it not rather giving a more severe Sentence against him than that that we gave? How came you so all on a sudden to be of our mind? He complains that Executioners in Vizars [personati Carnifices] cut off the King's Head. What shall we do with this Fellow? He told us before, of a Murder committed on one in the disguise of a King: [in Personâ Regis.] Now he says, 'twas done in the disguise of an Executioner. 'Twere to no purpose to take particular notice of every silly thing he says. He tells Stories of Boxes on the Ear, and Kicks, that, he says, were given the King by Common Soldiers, and that 'twas four Shillings a piece to see his dead Body. These and such like Stories which partly are false, and partly impertinent, betray the Ignorance and Childishness of our poor Scholar; but are far from making any Reader ever a whit the sadder. In good faith, his Son Charles had done better to have hired some Ballad-singer to have bewailed his Fathers Misfortunes, than this doleful, shall I call him, or rather most ridiculous Orator, who is so dry and insipid, that there's not the least Spirit in any thing he says. Now the Narrative's done, and 'tis hard to say what he does next, he runs on so sordidly and irregular. Now he's angry, then he wonders; he neither cares what he talks, nor how; repeats the same things ten times over, that could not but look ill, tho he had said them but once. And I perswade my self, the extemporary Rimes of some antick Jack-pudding may deserve printing better; so far am I from thinking ought he says worthy of a serious Answer. I pass by his stiling the King a *Protector of Religion*, who chose to make war upon the Church, rather than part with those Church-Tyrants, and Enemies of all Religion, the Bishops; and how is it possible that he should maintain Religion in its Purity, that was himself a Slave to those impure Traditions, and Ceremonies of theirs? And for our *Sectaries*, whose *Sacrilegious Meetings*, you say, have publick Allowance; instance in any of their Principles, the Profession of which is not openly allow'd of, and countenanced in *Holland*? But in the mean, there's not a more Sacrilegious Wretch in Nature than your self, that always took liberty to speak ill of all sorts of People. *They could not wound the Commonwealth more dangerously than by taking off its Master.* Learn, ye abject, home-born Slave; unless ye take away the Master, ye destroy the Commonwealth. That that has a Master, is one Man's Property. The word Master denotes a private, not a publick Relation. *They persecute most unjustly those Ministers that abhor'd this Action of theirs.* Lest you should not know what Ministers he means, I'll tell you in a few words what manner of Men they were; they were those very Men, that by their Writings and Sermons justified taking up Arms against the King, and stirr'd the People up to it. That daily cursed, as *Deborah* did *Meroz*, all such as would not furnish the Parliament either with Arms, or Men, or Money. That taught the People out of their Pulpits, that they were not about to fight against a King, but a greater Tyrant than either *Saul* or *Ahab* ever were; nay, more a *Nero* than *Nero* himself. As soon as the Bishops, and those Clergy-men, whom they daily inveighed against, and branded with the odious Names of Pluralists and Non-residents, were taken out of their way, they presently jump, some into two, some into three of their best Benefices; being now warm themselves, they soon unworthily neglected their Charge. Their Covetousness broke through all restraints of Modesty and Religion, and themselves now labour under the same Infamy, that they had loaded their Predecessors with; and because their Covetousness is not yet satisfied, and their Ambition has accustomed them to raise Tumults, and be Enemies to Peace, they can't rest at quiet yet, but preach up Sedition against the Magistracy, as it is now establish'd, as they had formerly done against the King. They now tell the People that he was cruelly murdered; upon whom themselves having heap'd all their Curses, had devoted him to Destruction, whom they had delivered up as it were to the Parliament to be dispos'd of his Royalty, and pursu'd with a Holy War. They now complain that the Sectaries are not extirpated; which is a most absurd thing to expect the Magistrates should be able to do, who never yet were able, do what they could, to extirpate Avarice and Ambition, those two most pernicious Heresies, and more destructive to the Church than all the rest, out of the very order and tribe of the Ministers themselves. For the Sects which they inveigh against, I confess there are such amongst us, but they are obscure, and make no noise in the world: The Sects that they are of, are publick and notorious, and much more dange-

dangerous to the Church of God. *Simon Magus* and *Diotrephes* were the Ring-leaders of 'em. Yet are we so far from persecuting these men, tho they are pestilent enough, that tho we know them to be ill-affected to the Government, and desirous of, and endeavouring to work a change, we allow them but too much Liberty. You, that are both a *French-man*, and a Vagabond, seem pleas'd that the *English*, more fierce and cruel than their own *Mastiffs*, as your barking Eloquence has it, have no regard to the lawful Successor and Heir of the Crown: Take no care of the King's Youngest Son, nor of the Queen of Bohemia I'll make ye no answer; you shall answer your self. When the frame of a Government is changed from a Monarchy to any other, the new Modellers have no regard to succession: the Application is easy; it's in your Book de primatu Papæ. The great change throughout Three Kingdoms, you say, was brought about by a small number of men in one of them. If this were true, that small number of men would have deserved to have Dominion over the rest; Valiant men over faint hearted Cowards. These are they that presumptuously took upon them to change antiquum Regni Regimen, in alium qui à pluribus Tyrannis teneatur. 'Tis well for them that you cannot find fault with them, without committing a barbarous Solocism; you shame all Grammarians. The English will never be able to wash out this stain. Nay you, though a blot and a stain to all Learned men, were never yet able to stain the Renown and everlasting Glory of the English Nation, that with so great a Resolution, as we hardly find the like recorded in any History, having struggled with, and overcome, not only their Enemies in the Field, but the superstitious Perswasions of the common People, have purchas'd to themselves in general amongst all posterity the name of Deliverers: The Body of the people having undertook and performed an enterprize, which in other Nations is thought to proceed only from a magnanimity that's peculiar to Heroes. What the Protestants and Primitive Christians have done, or would do upon such an occasion, I'll tell ye hereafter, when we come to debate the merits of the Cause: In discoursing it before, I should be guilty of your fault, who outdo the most impertinent Talkers in Nature: You wonder how we'll be able to answer the Jesuits. Meddle with your own matters, you Runagate, and be asham'd of your actions, since the Church is asham'd of you; who, though but of late you set your self so fiercely and with so much Ostentation against the Pope's Supremacy and Episcopal Government, are now become your self a very Creature of the Bishops. You confess that some Protestants whom you do not name, have asserted it lawful to depose a Tyrant: But though you do not think fit to name them, I will, because you say they are far worse than the very Jesuits themselves; they are no other than Luther, and Zuinglius, and Calvin, and Bucer, and Pareus, and many others. But then, you say, they refer it to the Judgment of Learned and Wise Men, who shall be accounted a Tyrant. But what for men, were these? Were they wise men, were they men of Learning? Were they anywise remarkable, either for Vertue or Nobility? You may well allow a People that has felt the heavy Yoke of Slavery, to be Wise, and Learned, and Noble enough to know what is fit to be done to the Tyrant that has oppress'd them; though they neither consult with Foreigners nor Grammarians. But that this man was a Tyrant, not only the Parliaments of England and Scotland have declared by their actions and expresse words; but almost all the People of both Nations assented to it, till such time as by the Tricks and Artifices of the Bishops they were divided into two Factions: and what if it has pleased God to chuse such men, to execute his Vengeance upon the greatest Potentates on Earth, as he chose to be made partakers of the benefit of the Gospel? Not many Wise, not many Learned, not many Powerful, not many Noble: That by those that are not, he might bring to nought those that are; and that no flesh might glory in his sight. And who are you that babble to the contrary? Dare you affect the Reputation of a Learned Man? I confess you are pretty well vers'd in Phrase-Books, and Lexicons, and Glossaries; insomuch that you seem to have spent your time in nothing else. But you do not make appear that you have read any good Authors with so much Judgment as to have benefited by them. Other Copies and various Lectiōns and Words omitted, and corruptions of Texts and the like, these you are full of; but no foot-step of any solid Learning appears in all you have writ: Or do ye think your self a wise man, that quarrel and contend about the meanest Trifles that may be? That being altogether ignorant in Astronomy and Physick, yet are always railing at the Pro-

fellors of both, whom all men credit in what things belong to their own Sciences, that would be ready to curse them to the Pit of Hell, that should offer to deprive you of the Vain-glory of having corrected or supply'd the least word or letter in any Copy you've criticiz'd upon. And yet y^e are mad to hear your self call'd a *Grammarians*. In a certain trifling Discourse of yours, you call Dr. *Hammond* Knave in plain terms, who was one of this King's Chaplains, and one that he valu'd above all the rest, for no other reason but because he had call'd you a *Grammarians*. And I don't question but you would have been as ready to have thrown the same reproach upon the King himself, if you had heard that he had approv'd his Chaplain's Judgment of ye. Take notice now, how much I (who am but one of those many *English*, that you have the impudence to call Mad-men, and unlearned, and ignoble, and wicked) slight and despise you, (for that the *English* Nation in general should take any notice in publick of such a worm as you are, would be an infinite undervaluing of themselves) who though one should turn you topsie-turvy, and in-side out, are but a *Grammarians*: Nay, as if you had made a foolisher wist than *Midas* did, what ever you meddle with, except when you make Solæcisms, is *Grammar* still. Whosoever therefore he be, though from among the Dregs of that common People that you are so keen upon (for as for those men of Eminency amongst us, whose great Actions evidenced to all men their Nobility, and Vertue, and Conduct, I won't disgrace them so much, as to compare you to them, or them to you) but whosoever, I say, among the Dregs of that common People has but suck'd in this Principle, That he was not born for his Prince, but for God and his Countrey; he deserves the reputation of a Learned, and an Honest, and a Wise Man more, and is of greater use in the world than your self. For such a one is Learned without Letters; you have Letters, but no Learning, that understand so many Languages, turn over so many Volumes, and yet are but a sheep when all is done.

C H A P. II.

THE Argument that *Salmasius*, toward the conclusion of his first Chapter, urg'd as irrefragable, to wit, that it was really so, because all men unanimously agreed in it; That very Argument, than which, as he appli'd it, there is nothing more false, I, that am now about to discourse of the Right of Kings, may turn upon himself with a great deal of Truth. For, whereas he defines a *King* (if that may be said to be defin'd which he makes infinite) to be a *Person in whom the Supream Power of the Kingdom resides, who is answerable to God alone, who may do whatsoever pleases him, who is bound by no Law*; I will undertake to demonstrate, not by mine, but by his own Reasons and Authorities, that there never was a Nation or People of any account (for to ransack all the unciviliz'd parts of the World were to no purpose) that ever allow'd this to be their King's Right, or put such exorbitant Power into his hand, as that he should not be bound by any Law, that he might do what he would, that he should judg all, but be judg'd of none. Nor can I perswade my self, that there ever was any one Person besides *Salmasius* of so slavish a Spirit, as to assert the outrageous Enormities of Tyrants to be the Rights of Kings. Those amongst us that were the greatest Royalists, always abhorr'd this sordid Opinion: And *Salmasius* himself, as appears by some other Writings of his before he was brib'd, was quite of another mind. Inasmuch, that what he here gives out, does not look like the Dictates of a free Subject under a free Government, much less in so famous a Commonwealth as that of *Holland*, and the most eminent University there; but seems to have been penn'd by some despicable Slave that lay rotting in a Prison, or a Dungeon. If whatever a King has a mind to do, the Right of Kings will bear him out in (which was a Lesson that the bloody Tyrant *Antoninus Caracalla*, thio his Step-mother *Julia* preach'd it to him, and endeavour'd to inure him to the practice of it, by making him commit incest with her self, yet could hardly suck in) then there neither is, nor ever was that King that deserv'd the name of a Tyrant. They may safely violate all the Laws of God

God and Man : their very being Kings keeps them innocent. What Crime was ever any of them guilty of? they did but make use of their own Right upon their own Vallals. No King can commit such horrible Cruelties and Outrages, as will not be within this Right of Kings. So that there's no Pretence left for any Complaints or Expostulations with any of them. And dare you assert, That *this Right of Kings*, as you call it, *is grounded upon the Law of Nations, or rather upon that of Nature*, you Brute Beast? for you deserve not the name of a Man, that are so cruel and unjust towards all those of your own kind; that endeavour, as much as in you lies, so to bear down and villify the whole race of Mankind, that were made after the Image of God, as to assert and maintain that those cruel and unmerciful Taskmasters, that through the superstitious whimsies, or sloth, or treachery of some persons, get into the Chair, are provided and appointed by Nature her self, that mild and gentle Mother of us all, to be the Governours of those Nations they enslave. By which pestilent Doctrine of yours, having rendred them more fierce and untractable, you not only enable them to make havock of, and trample under foot their miserable Subjects; but endeavour to arm them for that very purpose with the Law of Nature, the Right of Kings, and the very Constitutions of Government, than which nothing can be more impious or ridiculous. By my consent, as *Dionysius* formerly of a Tyrant became a Schoolmaster, so you of a Grammarian, should become a Tyrant; not that you may have that Regal License of doing other people harm, but a fair opportunity of perishing miserably your self: That, as *Tiberius* complain'd, when he had confin'd himself to the Island *Caprea*, you may be reduced into such a condition, as to be sensible that you perish daily. But let us look a little more narrowly into this Right of Kings that you talk of. *This was the sense of the Eastern, and of the Western part of the World.* I shall not answer you with what *Aristotle* and *Cicero*, (who are both as credible Authors as any we have) tell us, *viz.* That the people of *Asia* easily submit to slavery, but the *Syrians* and the *Jews* are even born to it from the womb. I confess there are but few, and those men of great wisdom and courage, that are either desirous of Liberty, or capable of using it. The greatest part of the world chuse to live under Masters; but yet they would have them just ones. As for such as are unjust and tyrannical, neither was God ever so much an enemy to Mankind as to enjoin a necessity of submitting to them; nor was there ever any people so destitute of all sense, and sunk into such a depth of despair, as to impose so cruel a Law upon themselves and their posterity. First, you produce *the words of King Solomon in his Ecclesiastes*. And we are as willing to appeal to the Scripture as you. As for *Solomon's* authority, we'll consider that hereafter, when perhaps we shall be better able to understand it. First, let us hear God himself speak, *Deut. 17. 14. When thou art come into the Land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and shalt say, I will set a King over me, like as the Nations that are round about me.* Which passage I could wish all men would seriously consider: for hence it appears by the testimony of God himself; First, that all Nations are at liberty to erect what form of Government they will amongst themselves, and to change it when and into what they will. This God affirms in express terms concerning the *Hebrew Nation*; and it does not appear but that other Nations are, as to this respect, in the same condition. Another remark that this place yields us, is, That a Commonwealth is a more perfect form of Government than a Monarchy, and more suitable to the condition of Mankind, and in the opinion of God himself, better for his own People; for himself appointed it, and could hardly be prevail'd withal a great while after, and at their own importunate desire, to let 'em change it into a Monarchy. But to make it appear that he gave 'em their choice to be govern'd by a single person, or by more, so they were justly govern'd, in case they should in time to come resolve upon a King, he prescribes Laws for this King of theirs to observe, whereby he was forbidden to multiply to himself Horses and Wives, or to heap up Riches: whence he might easily infer, that no power was put into his hands over others, but according to Law, since even those actions of his life, which related only to himself, were under a Law. He was commanded therefore to transcribe with his own hand all the Precepts of the Law, and having writ 'em out, to observe and keep 'em, that his mind might not be lifted up above his Brethren. 'Tis evident from hence, that as well the Prince as the

People was bound by the Law of *Moses*. To this purpose *Josephus* writes, a proper and an able Interpreter of the Laws of his own Country, who was admirably well vers'd in the Jewish Policy, and infinitely preferable to a thousand obscure ignorant Rabbins : He has it thus in the fourth Book of his *Antiquities*. Ἀριστοκρατία μὲν ἐν κρείττεον, &c. " An Aristocracy is the best form of Government ; wherefore do not you endeavour to settle any other, 'tis enough for you that God presides over ye. But if you will have a King, let him guide himself by the Law of God, rather than by his own wisdom ; and lay a restraint upon him, if he offer at more power than the state of your affairs will allow of. Thus he expresses himself upon this place in *Deuteronomy*. Another Jewish Author, *Philo Judæus*, who was *Josephus's* Contemporary, a very studious man in the Law of *Moses*, upon which he wrote a large Commentary ; when in his Book concerning the Creation of the King, he interprets this Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, he sets a King loose from the Law no otherwise than as an enemy may be said to be so : " They, says he, that to the prejudice and destruction of the people acquire great power to themselves, deserve not the name of Kings, but that of Enemies : For their actions are the same with those of an irreconcilable enemy. Nay, they, that under a pretence of Government are injurious, are worse than open enemies. We may fence our selves against the latter ; but the malice of the former is so much the more pestilent, because it is not always easie to be discovered. But when it is discover'd, why should they not be dealt with as enemies ? The same Author in his second Book, *Allegoriar. Legis*, " A King, says he, and a Tyrant are Contraries. And a little after, " A King ought not only to command, but also to obey. All this is very true, you'll say, a King ought to observe the Laws, as well as any other man. But what if he will not, what Law is there to punish him ? I answer, the same Law that there is to punish other men ; for I find no exceptions. There is no express Law to punish the Priests or any other inferior Magistrates, who all of 'em, if this opinion of the exemption of Kings from the Penalties of the Law would hold, might by the same reason claim impunity, what guilt soever they contract, because there is no positive Law for their punishment ; and yet I suppose none of them ever challeng'd such a Prerogative, nor would it ever be allow'd 'em, if they should. Hitherto we have learn'd from the very Text of God's own Law, that a King ought to obey the Laws, and not lift himself up above his Brethren. Let us now consider whether *Solomon* preach'd up any other Doctrine, *Ch. 8. v. 2. I counsel thee to keep the King's Commandment, and that in regard of the Oath of God. Be not hasty to go out of his sight ; stand not in an evil thing, for he doth whatsoever pleaseth him. Where the word of a King is, there is power ; and who may say unto him, what dost thou ?* It is well enough known that here the Preacher directs not his Precepts to the Sanhedrim, or to a Parliament, but to private persons ; and such he commands to keep the King's Commandment, and that in regard of the Oath of God. But as they swear Allegiance to Kings, do not Kings likewise swear to obey and maintain the Laws of God, and those of their own Country ? So the *Benbenites* and *Gadites* promise obedience to *Joshua*, *Josh. 1. 17. According as we harkned unto Moses in all things, so will we harken unto thee ; only the Lord thy God be with thee, as he was with Moses.* Here's an express condition. Hear the Preacher else, *Chap. 9. v. 17. The words of wise men are heard in quiet, more than the cry of him that ruleth among fools.* The next caution that *Solomon* gives us, is, *Be not hasty to go out of his sight ; stand not in an evil thing ; for he doth whatsoever pleaseth him.* That is, he does what he will to Malefactors, whom the Law authorizes him to punish, and against whom he may proceed with mercy or severity, as he sees occasion. Here's nothing like Tyranny ; nothing that a good man needs be afraid of. *Where the word of a King is, there is power ; and who may say to him, What dost thou ?* And yet we read of one that not only said to a King, *What dost thou ?* but told him, *Thou hast done foolishly.* But *Samuel*, you may say, was an extraordinary Person. I answer you with your own words, which follow in the 49th Page of your Book, *What was there extraordinary, say you, in Saul or in David ?* And so say I, what was there in *Samuel* extraordinary ? He was a Prophet, you'll say ; so are they that now follow his example ; for they act according to the will of God, either his reveal'd, or his secret will, which your self grant in your 50th Page. The Preacher therefore in this place

place prudently advises private persons not to contend with Princes ; for it is even dangerous to contend with any man that's either rich or powerful. But what then ? must therefore the Nobility of a Nation, and all the inferior Magistrates, and the whole body of the people not dare to mutter when a King raves and acts like a mad-man ? Must they not oppose a foolish, wicked, outrageous Tyrant, that perhaps seeks the destruction of all good men ? Must they not endeavour to prevent his turning all Divine and Humane things upside down ? Must they suffer him to massacre his People, burn their Cities, and commit such Outrages upon them daily ; and finally, to have perfect liberty to do what he lists without controul ?

O de Cappadocis eques catastis !

Thou slavish Knight of Cappadocia !

Whom all free People, if you can have the confidence hereafter to set your foot within a free Countrey, ought to cast out from amongst them, and send to some remote parts of the World, as a Prodigy of dire portent ; or to condemn to some perpetual drudgery, as one devoted to slavery, solemnly obliging themselves, if they ever let you go, to undergo a worse slavery under some cruel, silly Tyrant : No man living can either devise himself, or borrow from any other, Expressions so full of Cruelty and Contempt, as may not justly be apply'd to you. But go on. *When the Israelites asked a King of God, they said, they would set up a King that should have the same Rule and Dominion over them, that the Kings of their neighbour Countries exercis'd over their Subjects. But the Kings of the East we know had an unlimited Power : as Virgil testifies,*

——— *Regem non sic Ægyptus & ingens*
Lydia, nec Populi Parthorum, & Medus, Hydaspes
Observant. ———

No Eastern Nation ever did adore
The Majesty of Sovereign Princes more.

First, What is that to us, what sort of Kings the *Israelites* desired ? especially since God was angry with them, not only for desiring such a King as other Nations had, and not such a King as his own Law describes, but barely for desiring a King at all ? Nor is it credible that they should desire an unjust King, and one that should be out of the reach of all Laws, who could not bear the Government of *Samuel's* Sons, though under the power of Laws ; but from their Covetousness sought refuge in a King. And lastly, The Verse that you quote out of *Virgil*, does not prove that the Kings of the *East* had an absolute unlimited Power ; for those Bees, that he there speaks of, and who reverence their Kings, he says, more than the *Egyptians* or *Medes* do theirs, by the Authority of the same Poet,

——— *Magnis agitant sub legibus ævum.*

Live under certain Fundamental Laws.

They do not live under a King then, that's tyed to no Law. But now I'll let you see how little reason you have to think I bear you an ill will. Most People think you are a Knave ; but I'll make it appear that you have only put on a Knave's Vizor for the present. In your Introduction to your Discourse of the Pope's Supremacy, you say, that some Divines in the Council of *Trent* made use of the Government, that is said to be amongst Bees, to prove the Pope's Supremacy. This fancy you borrow from them, and urge it here with the same malice that they did there. Now that very same answer that you gave them, whilst you were an honest Man, now that you are become a Knave, you shall give your self, and pull off with your own hand that Vizor you've now put on : *The Bees*, say you, *are a State, and so Natural Philosophers call them ; they have a King, but a harmless one ; he is a Leader, or Captain, rather than a King ; he never beats, nor pulls,*

pulls, nor kills his subject Bees. No wonder they are so observant of him then : But in good Faith, you had but ill luck to meddle with these Bees ; for though they are Bees of *Trent*, they show you to be a Drone. *Aristotle*, a most exact writer of Politicks, affirms that the *Asiatic* Monarchy, which yet himself calls barbarous, was according to Law, *Politie*. 3. And whereas he reckons up five several sorts of Monarchies, four of those five he makes Governments according to Laws, and with the consent of the People ; and yet he calls them Tyrannical Forms of Government, because they lodg so much power in one man's hand. But the Kingdom of the *Lacedemonians* he says is most properly a Kingdom, because there all Power is not in the King. The fifth sort of Monarchy, which he calls *παρωσιαλεια*, that is, where the King is all in all ; and to which he refers that, that you call the Right of Kings, which is a Liberty to do what they list ; he neither tells us when, nor where any such Form of Government ever obtain'd. Nor seems he to have mention'd it for any other purpose than to shew how unjust, absurd, and tyrannical a Government it is. You say, that when *Samuel* would deter the People from chusing a King, he propounded to them *this Right of Kings*. But whence had *Samuel* it ? Had he it from the written Law of God ? That can't be. We have observ'd already, that the Scriptures afford us a quite other Scheme of Sovereignty. Had *Samuel* it then immediately from God himself by Revelation ? That's not likely neither ; for God dislikes it, discommends it, finds fault with it : So that *Samuel* does not expound to the People any Right of Kings appointed by God ; but a corrupt and depraved manner of governing, taken up by the Pride and Ambition of Princes. He tells not the People what their Kings ought to do, but what they would do. He told them the *manner* of their King, as before he told us of the *manner* of the Priests, the Sons of *Eli* ; for he uses the same word in both places ; (which you in the 33^d Page of your Book, by an Hebrew Solæcism too, call *משפּט*). That manner of theirs was wicked, and odious, and tyrannical : It was no right, but great wrong. The Fathers have commented upon this place too : I'll instance in one, that may stand for a great many ; and that's *Sulpitius Severus*, a contemporary and intimate Friend of *St. Jerom*, and, in *St. Augustin's* opinion, a Man of great Wisdom and Learning. He tells us in his sacred History, that *Samuel* in that place acquaints the People with the imperious Rule of Kings, and how they use to lord it over their Subjects. Certainly it cannot be the Right of Kings to domineer and be imperious. But according to *Salust*, that lawful Power and Authority that Kings were entrusted with, for the preservation of the publick Liberty, and the good of the Commonwealth, quickly degenerated into Pride and Tyranny : And this is the sense of all Orthodox Divines, and of all Lawyers upon that place of *Samuel*. And you might have learnt from *Sichardus*, that most of the *Rabbins* too were of the same mind ; at least, not any one of them ever asserted that the absolute inherent Right of Kings is there discoursed of. Your self in your 5th Chapter, Page 106. complain, That *not only Clemens Alexandrinus, but all other Expositors mistake themselves upon this Text* : And you, I'll warrant ye, are the only Man that have had the good luck to hit the Mark. Now what a piece of folly and impudence is this in you to maintain, in opposition to all Orthodox Expositors, that those very Actions which God so much condemns, are the Right of Kings, and to pretend Law for them ? Though your self confess, that that Right is very often exercis'd in committing Outrages, being injurious, contumelious and the like. Was any Man ever to that degree *sui juris*, so much his own Master, as that he might lawfully prey upon Mankind, bear down all that stood in his way, and turn all things up-side down ? Did the *Romans* ever maintain, as you say they did, That any man might do these things *suo jure*, by virtue of some inherent Right in himself ? *Salust* indeed makes *C. Memmius*, a Tribune of the People, in an invective Speech of his against the Pride of the Nobility, and their escaping unpunish'd, howsoever they misbehaved themselves, to use these words, *viz.* : “ To do whatever one has a mind to, without fear of Punishment, is to be a King. This Saying you catch'd hold of, thinking it would make for your purpose ; but consider it a little better, and you'll find your self deceived. Does he in that place assert the Right of Kings ? Or does he not blame the Common People, and chide them for their Sloth, in suffering their Nobility to lord it over them, as if they were out of the reach of all Law, and in submitting again to that Kingly Tyranny, which together with their

Kings themselves, their Ancestors had lawfully and justly rejected and banish'd from amongst them? If you had consulted *Tully*, you would have understood both *Salust* and *Samuel* better. In his Oration *pro C. Rabirio*, "There is none of us ignorant, says he, of the manner of Kings. These are their Lordly Dictates: Mind what I say, and do accordingly. Many Passages to this purpose he quotes out of Poets, and calls them not the Right, but the Custom or the Manner of Kings; and he says, We ought to read and consider them, not only for curiosity sake, but that we may learn to beware of 'em and avoid 'em. You perceive how miserably you're come off with *Salust*, who, though he be as much an Enemy to Tyranny as any other Author whatsoever, you thought would have patroniz'd this tyrannical Right that you are establishing. Take my word for it, the Right of Kings seems to be tottering, and even to further its own ruin, by relying upon such weak Props for its support; and by endeavouring to maintain it self by such Examples and Authorities, as would hasten its down-fall, if it were further off than it is. *The extremity of Right or Law*, you say, *is the height of injury*, *Summum jus summa injuria*; this saying is verified most properly in Kings, who when they go to the utmost of their Right, fall into those courses, in which *Samuel* makes the Right of Kings to consist. And 'tis a miserable Right, which, when you have said all you can for, you can no otherwile defend, than by confessing, that it is the greatest injury that may be. The extremity of Right or Law is said to be, when a man ties himself up to Niceties, dwells upon Letters and Syllables, and in the mean time neglects the intent and equity of the Law; or when a written Law is cunningly and maliciously interpreted; this *Cicero* makes to have been the rise of that common saying. But since 'tis certain that all Right flows from the fountain of Justice, so that nothing can possibly be any man's right that is not just, 'tis a most wicked thing in you to affirm that for a King to be unjust, rapacious, tyrannical, and as ill as the worst of 'em ever were, is according to the right of Kings; and to tell us that a Holy Prophet would have perswaded the People to such a senseless thing. For whether written or unwritten, whether extreme or remiss, what Right can any Man have to be injurious? Which lest you should confess to be true of other Men, but not of Kings, I have one Man's Authority to object to you, who I think was a King likewise, and professes that that Right of Kings that you speak of, is odious both to God and himself: It is in the 94th Psalm, *Shall the Throne of Iniquity have fellowship with thee, that frameth mischief by a Law?* Be not therefore so injurious to God, as to ascribe this Doctrine to him, viz. that all manner of wicked and flagitious Actions are but the Right of Kings; since himself tells us, that he abhors all fellowship with wicked Princes for this very reason, Because under pretence of Sovereignty they create Misery and Vexation to their Subjects. Neither bring up a false Accusation against a Prophet of God; for by making him to teach us in this place what the Right of Kings is, you do not produce the right *Samuel*, but such another empty Shadow as was raised by the Witch of *Endor*. Tho for my own part, I verily believe that that infernal *Samuel* would not have been so great a Lyar, but that he would have confess'd, that what you call the Right of Kings, is Tyranny. We read indeed of Impieties countenanced by Law, *Jus datum sceleris*: you your self confess, that they are bad Kings that have made use of this boundless License of theirs to do every thing. Now this Right that you have introduc'd for the Destruction of Mankind, not proceeding from God, as I have prov'd it does not, must needs come from the Devil; and that it does really so, will appear more clearly hereafter. By virtue of this Liberty, say you, *Princes may if they will*. And for this, you pretend to have *Cicero's* Authority. I'm always willing to mention your Authorities, for it generally happens that the very Authors you quote them out of, give you an Answer themselves. Hear else what *Cicero* says in his 4th *Philippick*, 'What cause of War can be more just and warrantable than to avoid 'Slavery? For tho a People may have the good fortune to live under a gentle 'Master, yet those are in a miserable Condition whose Prince may tyrannize 'over them if he will. May, that is, can; has Power enough so to do. If he meant it of his Right, he would contradict himself, and make that an unjust Cause of War, which himself had affirm'd with the same breath to be a most just one. It is not therefore the Right of all Kings that you describe, but the Injuriousness, and Force, and Violence of some. Then you tell us what private

men may do. *A private Man*, say you, *may Lie, may be Ungrateful*; and so may Kings, but what then? May they therefore Plunder, Murder, Ravish without controul? 'Tis equally prejudicial and destructive to the Commonwealth, whether it be their own Prince, or a Robber, or a Foreign Enemy that Spoils, Massacres, and Enslaves them. And questionless, being both alike Enemies of Humane Society, the one as well as the other may lawfully be oppos'd and punish'd; and their own Prince the rather, because he, tho' raised to that Dignity by the Honours that his People have conferr'd upon him, and being bound by his Oath to defend the Publick Safety, betrays it notwithstanding all. At last you grant, That *Moses prescribes Laws, according to which the King that the People of Israel should chuse, ought to govern, tho' different from this Right that Samuel proposes*; which words contain a double Contradiction to what you have said before. For whereas you had affirm'd, That a King was bound by no Law, here you confess he is. And you set up two contrary Rights, one described by *Moses*, and another by *Samuel*, which is absurd. But, says the Prophet, *you shall be Servants to your King*. Tho' I should grant that the *Israelites* were really so, it would not presently follow, that it was the Right of their Kings to have them so; but that by the Usurpation and Injustice of most of them, they were reduc'd to that Condition. For the Prophet had foretold them, that that importunate Petition of theirs would bring a Punishment from God upon them; not because it would be their King's Right so to harass them, but because they themselves had deserved it should be so. If Kings are out of the reach of the Law, so as that they may do what they list, they are more absolute than any Masters, and their Subjects in a more despicable Condition than the worst of Slaves. The Law of God provided some redress for them, tho' of another Nation, if their Masters were cruel and unreasonable towards them. And can we imagine that the whole Body of the People of a free Nation, tho' oppress'd and tyranniz'd over, and prey'd upon, should be left remediless? That they had no Law to protect them, no Sanctuary to betake themselves to? Can we think that they were delivered from the Bondage that they were under to the *Egyptian Kings*, to be reduced into a worse to one of their own Brethren? All which being neither agreeable to the Law of God, nor to common Sense, nothing can be more evident than that the Prophet declares to the People the *Manner*, and not the Right of Kings; nor the *Manner* of all Kings, but of most. Then you come to the *Rabbins*, and quote two of them, but you have as bad luck with them here, as you had before. For it is plain, that that other Chapter that *Rabbi Joses* speaks of, and which contains, he says, the Right of Kings, is that in *Deuteronomy*, and not in *Samuel*. For *Rabbi Judas* says very truly, and against you, that that Discourse of *Samuel's* was intended only to frighten the People. 'Tis a most pernicious Doctrine to maintain that to be any ones Right, which in it self is flat Injustice, unless you have a mind to speak by contraries. And that *Samuel* intended to affrighten them, appears by the 18th Verse, *And ye shall cry out in that day because of your King, which ye shall have chosen you, and I will not hear you in that day, saith the Lord*. That was to be their Punishment for their Obstinacy in persisting to desire a King against the Mind and Will of God, and yet they are not forbidden here either to pray against him, or to endeavour to rid themselves of him. For if they might lawfully pray to God against him, without doubt they might use all lawful means for their own Deliverance. For what man living, when he finds himself in any Calamity, betakes himself to God, so as to neglect his own Duty in order to a Redress, and rely upon his lazy Prayers only? But be it how it will, what is all this to the Right of Kings, or of the *English People*? who neither asked a King against the Will of God, nor had one appointed us by God, but by the Right that all Nations have to appoint their own Governours, appointed a King over us by Laws of our own, neither in Obedience to, nor against any Command of God? And this being the Case, for ought I see, we have done well in deposing our King, and are to be commended for it, since the *Israelites* sinned in asking one. And this the Event has made appear; for we, when we had a King, prayed to God against him, and he heard us, and delivered us: But the *Jews* (who not being under a Kingly Government, desired a King) he suffered to live in Slavery under one, till, at last, after their return from the *Babylonish Captivity*, they betook themselves to their former Government again.

Then

Then you come to give us a display of your Talmudical Learning, but you have as ill success with that, as you have had with all the rest. For whilst you are endeavouring to prove that Kings are not liable to any Temporal Judicature, you quote an Authority out of the Treatise of the *Sanhedrim*, *That the King neither is judged of others, nor does himself judge any*. Which is against the Peoples own Petition in *Samuel*; for they desired a King that might judge them. You labour in vain to save this, by telling us, that it is to be understood of those Kings that reigned after the *Babylonish Captivity*. For then, what say ye to *Maimonides*? He makes this difference betwixt the Kings of Israel, and those of Judah; *that the Kings of the Posterity of David judge, and are judged; but the Kings of Israel do neither*. You contradict and quarrel with your self or your Rabbins, and still do my work for me. This, say you, is not to be understood of the Kings of Israel in their first Institution; for in the 17th Verse 'tis said, *You shall be his Servants*; that is, he shall use ye to it, not that he shall have any Right to make you so. Or if you understand it of their Kings Right, 'tis but a Judgment of God upon them for asking a King; the effects of which they were sensible of under most of their Kings, tho not perhaps under all. But you need no Antagonists, you are such a perpetual Adversary to your self. For you tell us now a Story, as if you were arguing on my side, how that first *Aristobulus*, and after him *Jannaeus*, surnamed *Alexander*, did not receive that Kingly right that they pretended to, from the *Sanhedrim*, that great Treasury and Oracle of the Laws of that Nation, but usurped it by degrees against the Will of the Senate. For whose sake, you say, that childish Fable of the principal Men of that Assembly being struck dead by the Angel Gabriel, was first invented. And thus you confess that this magnificent Prerogative, upon which you seem mainly to rely, viz. *That Kings are not to be judged by any upon Earth*, 'Was grounded upon this worse than an old Wives Tale, that is, upon a Rabbinical Fable. But that the Hebrew Kings were liable to be call'd in question for their Actions, and to be punished with stripes, if they were found faulty, *Sichardus* shows at large out of the Writings of the Rabbins, to which Author you are indebted for all that you employ of that sort of Learning, and yet you have the Impudence to be thwarting with him. Nay, we read in the Scripture that *Saul* thought himself bound by a Decree of his own making; and in Obedience thereunto, that he cast Lots with his Son *Jonathan* which of them two should die. *Uzziah* likewise, when he was thrust out of the Temple by the Priests as a Leper, submitted as every private Person in such a Case ought to do, and ceas'd to be a King. Suppose he should have refused to go out of the Temple, and lay down the Government, and live alone, and had resolved to assert that Kingly Right of not being subject to any Law; do you think the Priests, and the People of the Jews would have suffered the Temple to be defiled, the Laws violated, and live themselves in danger of the Infection? It seems there are Laws against a leprous King, but none against a Tyrant. Can any Man possibly be so mad and foolish as to fancy that the Laws should so far provide for the Peoples Health, as tho some noisome Distemper should seize upon the King himself, yet to prevent the Infection's reaching them, and make no Provision for the Security of their Lives and Estates, and the very being of the whole State, against the Tyranny of a cruel, unjust Prince, which is incomparably the greater mischief of the two? But, say you, *there can be no precedent shewn of any one King, that has been arraigned in a Court of Justice, and condemn'd to dye*. *Sichardus* answers that well enough. 'Tis all one, says he, as if one should argue on this manner. The Emperor of Germany never was summoned to appear before one of the Prince-Electors; therefore if the Prince Elector *Palatine* should impeach the Emperor, he were not bound to plead to it; tho it appears by the Golden Bull, that *Charles* the Fourth subjected himself and his Successors to that Cognizance and Jurisdiction. But no wonder if Kings were indulged in their Ambition, and their Exorbitances passed by, when the times were so corrupt and depraved, that even private Men, if they had either Money or Interest, might escape the Law, tho guilty of Crimes of never so high a Nature. That ἀντισυνοικον, that you speak of, that is to be wholly independent upon any other, and accountable to none upon Earth, which you say is peculiar to the Majesty of Sovereign Princes, *Aristotle* in the 4th Book of his *Pol. Ch. 10.* calls a most Tyrannical Form of Government, and not in the least to be endured by a free People. And that Kings are not liable

to be question'd for their Actions, you prove by the Testimony of a very Worthy Author, that Barbarous Tyrant *Mark Anthony*, one of those that subverted the Commonwealth of *Rome*: And yet he himself, when he undertook an Expedition against the *Parthians*, summon'd *Herod* before him, to answer to a Charge of Murder, and would have punished him, but that *Herod* brib'd him. So that *Anthony's* asserting this Privilege Royal, and your *Defence of King Charles*, come both out of one and the same Spring. And 'tis very reasonable, say you, that it should be so; for Kings derive their Authority from God alone. What Kings are those, I pray, that do so? For I deny that there ever were any such Kings in the World, that derived their Authority from God alone. Saul the first King of *Israel* had never reign'd, but that the People desired a King, even against the Will of God; and tho he was proclaimed King once at *Mizpah*, yet after that he lived a private Life, and look'd to his Fathers Cattel, till he was created so the second time by the People at *Gilgal*. And what think ye of *David*? Tho he had been anointed once by God, was he not anointed the second time in *Hebron* by the Tribe of *Judah*, and after that by all the People of *Israel*, and that after a mutual Covenant betwixt him and them? *2 Sam. 5. 1 Chron. 11.* Now a Covenant lays an Obligation upon Kings, and restrains them within Bounds. *Solomon*, you say, succeeded him in the Throne of the Lord, and was acceptable to all men: *1 Chron. 29.* So, that 'tis something to be well-pleasing in the Eyes of the People. *Jehoiadab* the Priest made *Joash* King, but first he made him and the People enter into a Covenant to one another, *2 Kings 11.* I confess that these Kings, and all that reign'd of *David's* Posterity, were appointed to the Kingdom both by God and the People; but of all other Kings of what Country soever, I affirm, that they are made so by the People only; nor can you make it appear, that they are appointed by God any otherwise than as all other things, great and small, are said to be appointed by him, because nothing comes to pass without his Providence. So that I allow the Throne of *David* was in a peculiar manner call'd, *The Throne of the Lord*; whereas the Thrones of other Princes are no otherwise God's, than all other things in the World are his; which if you would, you might have learnt out of the same Chapter, *Ver. 11, 12. Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, &c. for all that is in the Heaven, and in the Earth is thine. Both riches and honour come of thee, and thou reignest over all.* And this is so often repeated, not to puff up Kings, but to put them in mind, tho they think themselves Gods, that yet there is a God above them, to whom they owe whatever they are and have. And thus we easily understand what the Poets, and the *Essenes* among the *Jews* mean, when they tell us, That 'tis by God that Kings reign, and that they are of *Jupiter*; for so all of us are of God, we are all his Off-spring. So that this universal Right of Almighty God's, and the Interest that he has in Princes, and their Thrones, and all that belongs to them, does not at all derogate from the Peoples Right; but that notwithstanding all this, all other Kings, not particularly and by name appointed by God, owe their Sovereignty to the People only, and consequently are accountable to them for the management of it. The truth of which Doctrine, tho the Common People are apt to flatter their Kings, yet they themselves acknowledg, whether good ones, as *Sarpedon* in *Homer* is described to have been; or bad ones, as those Tyrants in the Lyrick Poet:

Γλαῦκε, πῇ δὴ νῶϊ τιτιμήμεθα μάλιστα, &c.

Glaucus, in Lycia we're ador'd like Gods:
What makes 'twixt us and others so great odds?

He resolves the Question himself: "Because, says he, we excel others
" in Heroical Vertues: Let us fight manfully then, says he, lest our Country-
" men tax us with Sloth and Cowardice. In which words he intimates to us, both that Kings derive their Grandeur from the People, and that for their Conduct and Behaviour in War, they are accountable to them. Bad Kings indeed, tho to cast some Terror into Peoples minds, and beget a Reverence of themselves, they declare to the World, that God only is the Author of Kingly Government; in their Hearts and Minds they reverence no other Deity but that of Fortune, according to that passage in *Horace*:

*Te Dacus asper, te profugi Scythæ,
Regumque matres barbarorum, &
Purpurei metuunt Tyranni.*

*Injurioso ne pede proruas
Stantem columnam, neu populus frequens
Ad arma cessantes, ad arma
Concitet, imperiumque frangat.*

“ All barb’rous People, and their Princes too
“ All Purple Tyrants honour you ;
“ The very wandring *Scythians* do.

“ Support the Pillar of the *Roman State*,
“ Lest all Men be involv’d in one Mans fate.
“ Continue us in Wealth and Peace ;
“ Let Wars and Tumults ever cease.

So that if ’tis by God that Kings now adays reign, ’tis by God too that the People assert their own Liberty ; since all things are of him, and by him. I’m sure the Scripture bears witness to both ; that by him Kings reign, and that by him they are cast down from their Thrones. And yet experience teaches us, that both these things are brought about by the People, oftner than by God. Be this Right of Kings therefore what it will, the Right of the People is as much from God as it. And when ever any People, without some visible Designation of God himself, appoint a King over them, they have the same Right to put him down, that they had to set him up at first. And certainly ’tis a more God-like Action to depose a Tyrant, than to set up one : And there appears much more of God in the People, when they depose an unjust Prince, than in a King that oppresses an innocent People. Nay, the People have a Warrant from God to judg wicked Princes ; for God has conferr’d this very honour upon those that are dear to him, that celebrating the praises of Christ their own King, ‘they shall bind in Chains the Kings of the Nations, (under which Appellation all Tyrants under the Gospel are included) and execute the Judgments written upon them that challenge to themselves an Exemption from all ‘written Laws, *Psalms* 149. So that there’s but little reason left for that wicked and foolish Opinion, that Kings who commonly are the worst of Men, should be so high in God’s account, as that he should have put the World under them, to be at their beck, and be govern’d according to their humour ; and that for their sakes alone he should have reduced all Mankind, whom he made after his own Image, into the same condition with Brutes. After all this, rather than say nothing, you produce *M. Aurelius*, as a Countenancer of Tyranny ; but you had better have let him alone. I can’t say whether he ever affirm’d that Princes are accountable only before God’s Tribunal. But *Xiphiline* indeed, out of whom you quote those Words of *M. Aurelius*, mentions a certain Government, which he calls an *Autarchy*, of which he makes God the only Judg : *περὶ αὐταρχίας ὁ θεὸς μόνος κρῖναι δύναται*. But that this word *Autarchy* and *Monarchy* are Synonymous, I cannot easily perswade my self to believe. And the more I read what goes before, the less I find my self inclinable to think so. And certainly whoever considers the Context, will not easily apprehend what coherence this Sentence has with it, and must needs wonder how it comes so abruptly into the Text ; especially since *Marcus Aurelius*, that Mirror of Princes, carried himself towards the People, as *Capitolinus* tells us, just as if *Rome* had been a Commonwealth still. And we all know that when it was so, the Supreme Power was in the People. The same Emperor honoured the memory of *Tharseus*, and *Helvidius*, and *Cato*, and *Dio*, and *Brutus* ; who all were Tyrant-slayers, or affected the reputation of being thought so. In the first Book that he writes of his own Life, he says that he propos’d to himself a form of Government, under which all men might equally enjoy the benefit of the Law, and Right and Justice be equally administred to all. And in his fourth Book he says, The Law is Master, and not he. He acknowledged the right of the Senate and the People, and their Interest in all things : We are

so far, says he, from having any thing of our own, that we live in your Houses. These things *Xiphiline* relates of him. So little did he arrogate ought to himself by virtue of his *Sovereign Right*. When he died, he recommended his Son to the *Romans* for his Successor, if they should think he deserv'd it. So far was he from pretending to a Commission from Heaven to exercise that absolute and imaginary Right of Sovereignty, that Autarchy, that you tell us of. *All the Latin and Greek Books are full of Authorities of this nature*. But we have heard none of 'em yet. So are the *Jewish Authors*. And yet, you say, *The Jews in many things allow'd but too little to their Princes*. Nay, you'll find that both the *Greeks* and the *Latins* allow'd much lets to Tyrants. And how little the *Jews* allow'd them, would appear, if that Book that *Samuel* wrote of the manner of the Kingdom were extant; which Book the *Hebrew Doctors* tell us their Kings tore in pieces and burnt, that they might be more at liberty to tyrannize ever the People without controul or fear of punishment. Now look about ye again, and catch hold of somewhat or other. In the last place you come to wrest *David's* words in the 17th Psalm, *Let my sentence come forth from thy presence*. Therefore, says *Barnachmoni*, *God only can judge the King*. And yet it's most likely that *David* penn'd this Psalm when he was persecuted by *Saul*, at which time, though himself were anointed, he did not decline being judged even by *Jonathan*: *Notwithstanding if there be iniquity in me, slay me thy self*, 1 Sam. 20. At least in this Psalm he does no more than what any person in the world would do upon the like occasion; being falsely accus'd by Men, he appeals to the judgment of God himself, *Let thine eyes look upon the thing that is right; thou hast proved and visited mine heart, &c.* What relation has this to a Temporal Judicature? Certainly they do no good office to this right of Kings, that thus discover the weakness of its foundation. Then you come with that thredbare argument, which of all others is most in vogue with our Courtiers, *Against thee, thee only have I sinned*, Psal. 51. 6. As if *David* in the midst of his Repentance, when overwhelm'd with sorrow, and almost drown'd in tears, he was humbly imploring God's Mercy, had any thoughts of this Kingly right of his when his heart was so low, that he thought he deserv'd not the right of a slave. And can we think that he despis'd all the People of God, his own Brethren, to that degree, as to believe that he might murder 'em, plunder 'em, and commit Adultery with their Wives, and yet not sin against them all this while? So Holy a Man could never be guilty of such insufferable Pride, nor have so little knowledg either of himself, or of his duty to his Neighbour. So without doubt, when he says, *Against thee only*, he meant, against thee chiefly have I sinned, &c. But whatever he means, the words of a Psalm are too full of Poetry, and this Psalm too full of Passion, to afford us any exact definitions of Right and Justice; nor is it proper to argue any thing of that nature from 'em.

• But *David* was never question'd for this, nor made to plead for his life before the *Sanhedrim*. What then? How should they know that any such thing had been, which was done so privately, that perhaps for some years after not above one or two were privy to it, as such secrets there are in most Courts? 2 Sam. 12. *Thou hast done this thing in secret*. Besides, what if the Senate should neglect to punish private persons? Would any infer that therefore they ought not to be punish'd at all? But the reason why *David* was not proceeded against as a Malefactor, is not much in the dark: He had condemn'd himself in the 5th verse, *The man that hath done this thing shall surely die*. To which the Prophet presently replies, *Thou art the man*. So that in the Prophet's judgment as well as his own, he was worthy of death; but God by his Sovereign Right over all things, and of his great Mercy to *David*, absolves him from the guilt of his Sin, and the sentence of death which he had pronounc'd against himself; verse 13th, *The Lord hath put away thy sin, thou shalt not die*. The next thing you do is to rail at some bloody Advocate or other, and you take a deal of pains to refute the conclusion of his Discourse. Let him look to that; I'll endeavour to be as short as I can in what I've undertaken to perform. But some things I must not pass by without taking notice of; as first and foremost your notorious Contradictions; for in the 30th Page you say, *The Israelites do not deprecate an unjust, rapacious, tyrannical King, one as bad as the worst of Kings are*. And yet, Page 42. you are very smart upon your Advocate, for maintaining that the *Israelites* asked for a Tyrant: *Would they have leap'd out of the Frying-pan into the*

Fire, say you, and groan under the Cruelty of the worst of Tyrants, rather than live under bad Judges, especially being us'd to such a Form of Government? First you said the Hebrews would rather live under Tyrants than Judges, here you say they would rather live under Judges than Tyrants; and that they desired nothing less than a Tyrant. So that your Advocate may answer you out of your own Book. For according to your Principles 'tis every King's Right to be a Tyrant. What you say next is very true, *The Supreme Power was then in the People, which appears by their own rejecting their Judges, and making choice of a Kingly Government.* Remember this when I shall have occasion to make use of it. You say, that God gave the Children of Israel a King, as a thing good and profitable for them, and deny that he gave them one in his anger, as a Punishment for their Sin. But that will receive an easy answer; for to what purpose should they cry to God because of the King that they had chosen, if it were not because a Kingly Government is an evil thing; not in it self, but because it most commonly does, as Samuel forewarns the People that theirs would, degenerate into Pride and Tyranny? If y're not yet satisfied, hark what you say your self; acknowledg your own hand, and blush; 'tis in your *Apparatus ad Primatum: God gave them a King in his anger, say you, being offended at their Sin in rejecting him from ruling over them; and so the Christian Church, as a Punishment for its forsaking the pure Worship of God, has been subjected to the more than Kingly Government of one mortal Head.* So that if you own Comparison holds, either God gave the Children of Israel a King as an evil thing, and as a punishment; or he has set up the Pope for the good of the Church. Was there ever any thing more and light mad than this Man is? Who would trust him in the smallest matters, that in things of so great concern says and unsays without any consideration in the World? You tell us in your 29th Page, *That by the Constitution of all Nations, Kings are bound by no Law.* That this had been the judgment both of the Eastern and Western part of the World. And yet pag. 43. you say, *That all the Kings of the East ruled κατὰ νόμον, according to Law, nay that the very Kings of Egypt in all matters whatsoever, whether great or small, were tied to Laws.* Tho in the beginning of this Chapter you had undertook to demonstrate, *That Kings are bound by no Laws, that they give Laws to others, but have none prescribed to themselves.* For my part I've no reason to be angry with ye, for either y're mad, or of our side. You do not defend the King's Cause, but argue against him, and play the fool with him: Or if y're in earnest, that Epigram of Catullus:

*Tantò pessimus omnium Poeta,
Quantò tu optimus omnium Patronus.*

The worst of Poets, I my self declare,
By how much you the best of Patrons are.

That Epigram, I say, may be turn'd, and very properly applied to you; for there never was so good a Poet, as you are a bad Patron. Unless that stupidity, that you complain your Advocate is *immers'd over head and ears in*, has blinded the eyes of your own understanding too, I'll make ye now sensible that y're become a very Brute your self. For now you come and confess that *the Kings of all Nations have Laws prescribed to them.* But then you say again, *They are not so under the power of them, as to be liable to censure or punishment of death, if they break them.* Which yet you have proved neither from Scripture, nor from any good Author. Observe then in short; to prescribe Municipal Laws to such as are not bound by them, is silly and ridiculous; and to punish all others, but leave some one man at liberty to commit all sort of Impieties without fear of punishment, is most unjust; the Law being general, and not making any exception; neither of which can be suppos'd to hold place in the Constitutions of any wise Law-maker, much less in those of God's own making. But that all may perceive how unable you are to prove out of the writings of the Jews, what you undertook in this Chapter to make appear by 'em, you confess of your own accord, *That there are some Rabbins, who affirm that their Forefathers ought not to have had any other King than God himself; and that he set other Kings over them for their punishment.* And of those mens opinion, I declare my self to be. It is not fitting nor decent that any Man should be a King that does not far excel all his Subjects.

But

But where Men are Equals, as in all Governments very many are, they ought to have an equal interest in the Government, and hold it by turns. But that all Men should be Slaves to one that is their Equal, or (as it happens most commonly) far inferior to 'em, and very often a Fool, who can so much as entertain such a thought without Indignation? Nor does it make for the Honour of a Kingly Government, that our Saviour was of the Posterity of some Kings, more than it does for the commendation of the worst of Kings, that he was the Offspring of some of them too. *The Messias is a King.* We acknowledg him so to be, and rejoice that he is so; and pray that his Kingdom may come, for he is worthy: Nor is there any other either equal, or next to him. And yet a Kingly Government being put into the hands of unworthy and undeserving Persons, as most commonly it is, may well be thought to have done more harm than good to Mankind. Nor does it follow for all this that all Kings, as such, are Tyrants. But suppose it did, as for argument-sake I'll allow it does, lest you should think I'm too hard with ye; make you the best use of it you can. Then, say you, *God himself may properly be said to be the King of Tyrants, nay, himself the worst of all Tyrants.* If the first of these conclusions does not follow, another does, which may be drawn from most parts of your Book, viz. That you perpetually contradict, not only the Scriptures, but your own self. For in the very last foregoing Period you had affirmed, that *God was the King of all things, having himself created them.* Now he created Tyrants and Devils, and consequently by your own reason, is the King of such. The second of these Conclusions we detest, and wish that blasphemous Mouth of yours were slopt up, with which you affirm God to be the worst of Tyrants, if he be, as you often say he is; the King and Lord of such. Nor do you much advantage your Cause by telling us that *Moses was a King, and had the absolute and supreme Power of a King.* For we could be content that any other were so, that could refer our matters to God, as *Moses* did, and consult with him about our affairs, *Exod. 18. v. 19.* But neither did *Moses*, notwithstanding his great familiarity with God, ever assume a Liberty of doing what he would himself. What says he of himself? *The people come unto me to enquire of God.* They came not then to receive *Moses's* own Dictates and Commands. Then says *Jethro*, ver. 19. *Be thou for the people to Godward, that thou mayst bring their causes unto God.* And *Moses* himself says, *Deut. 4. v. 5. I have taught you Statutes and Judgments, even as the Lord my God commanded me.* Hence it is that he is said to have been faithful in all the House of God, *Numb. 12. v. 7.* So that the Lord *Jehovah* himself was the People's King, and *Moses* no other than as it were an Interpreter or a Messenger betwixt him and them. Nor can you without Impiety and Sacrilege, transfer this absolute Supream Power and Authority from God to a Man; (not having any Warrant from the Word of God so to do) which *Moses* used only as a Deputy or Substitute to God; under whose Eye, and in whose Presence, himself and the People always were. But now, for an aggravation of your wickedness, though here you make *Moses* to have exercis'd an absolute and unlimited Power, in your *Apparat. ad Primat.* Page 230. you say that *he together with the seventy Elders ruled the people, and that himself was the chief of the people, but not their Master.* If *Moses* therefore were a King, as certainly he was, and the best of Kings, and had a Supream and Legal Power, as you say he had, and yet neither was the People's Master nor govern'd them alone; then according to you, Kings, tho' indued with the Supream Power, are not by virtue of that Sovereign and Kingly Right of theirs Lords over the People, nor ought to govern them alone; much less, according to their own Will and Pleasure. After all this, you have the impudence to feign a Command from God to that People, to set up a King over them, as soon as they should be possessed of the Holy Land, *Deut. 17.* For you craftily leave out the former words, and shalt say, *I will set a King over me, &c.* And now call to mind what you said before, Page 42. and what I said I should have occasion to make use of, viz. *That the Power was then in the People, and that they were entirely free.* What follows argues you either mad or irreligious; take whether you list: *God, say you, having so long before appointed a Kingly Government, as best and most proper for that People; What shall we say to Samuel's opposing it, and God's own acting, as if himself were against it? How do these things agree?* He finds himself caught, and observe now with how great malice against the Prophet, and impiety against God, he endeavours to disentangle himself.

himself. *We must consider*, says he, *that Samuel's own Sons then judged the People, and the People-rejected them because of their corruption; now Samuel was loth his Sons should be laid aside, and God to gratify the Prophet, intimated to him, as if himself were not very well pleased with it.* Speak out ye Wretch, and never mince the matter: You mean, God dealt deceitfully with Samuel, and he with the People. It is not your Advocate, but your self that are *frantick and distracted*; who cast off all reverence to God Almighty, so you may but seem to honour the King. Would Samuel prefer the Interest of his Sons and their Ambition, and their Covetousness, before the general good of all the People, when they asked a thing, that would be good and profitable for them? Can we think that he would impose upon them by cunning and subtilty, and make them believe things that were not? Or if we should suppose all this true of Samuel, would God himself countenance and gratify him in it; would he dissemble with the People? So that either that was not the Right of Kings which Samuel taught the People; or else that Right by the Testimony, both of God and the Prophet, was an evil thing, was burdensom, injurious, unprofitable, and chargeable to the Commonwealth: Or *Lastly*, (which must not be admitted) God and the Prophet deceiv'd the People. God frequently protests that he was extremely displeas'd with them for asking a King. V. 7th. *They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them.* As if it were a kind of Idolatry to ask a King, that would even suffer himself to be ador'd, and assume almost Divine Honour to himself. And certainly, they that subject themselves to a worldly Master, and set him above all Laws, come but a little short of chusing a strange God: And a strange one it commonly is; brutish, and void of all sense and reason. So 1st of Sam. Chap. 10th. v. 19th. *And ye have this day rejected your God, who himself saved you out of all your adversities and your tribulation, and ye have said unto him, Nay, but set a King over us, &c.* and Chap. 12th v. 12th. *Ye said unto me, Nay, but a King shall reign over us; when the Lord your God was your King:* and v. the 17th. *See that your wickedness is great, that ye have done in the sight of the Lord, in asking you a King.* And Hosea speaks contemptibly of the King, Chap. 13. v. 10, 11. *I will be thy King; where is any other that may save in all thy Cities, and thy Judges of whom thou saidest, Give me a King and Princes? I gave thee a King in mine anger, and took him away in my wrath.* And Gideon that warlike Judg, that was greater than a King; *I will not rule over you*, says he, *neither shall my Son rule over you; the Lord shall rule over you*, Judges, Chap. the 8. Intimating thereby, that it is not fit for a Man, but for God only to exercise Dominion over Men. And hence Josephus in his Book against Appion, an Egyptian Grammarian, and a foul-mouth'd fellow, like you, calls the Commonwealth of the Hebrews a Theocracy, because the principality was in God only. In *Isaiab*, Chap. 26. v. 13. the People in their Repentance, complain that it had been mischievous to them, *that other Lords besides God himself, had had Dominion over them.* All which places prove clearly, that God gave the Israelites a King in his anger; but now who can forbear laughing at the use you make of Abimelech's Story? Of whom it is said, when he was kill'd, partly by a Woman that hurl'd a piece of a Mill-stone upon him, and partly by his own Armour-Bearer, that God rendred the wickedness of Abimelech. *This History*, say you, *proves strongly that God only is the Judg and Avenger of Kings.* Yea, if this Argument holds, he is the only Judg and Punisher of Tyrants, Villanous Rascals and Bastards. Whoever can get into the Saddle, whether by right or by wrong, has thereby obtain'd a Sovereign Kingly Right over the People, is out of all danger of punishment, all inferior Magistrates must lay down their Arms at his feet, the People must not dare to mutter. But what if some great notorious Robber had perished in War, as Abimelech did, would any Man infer from thence, That God only is the Judg and Punisher of High-way-men? Or what if Abimelech had been condemn'd by the Law, and died by an Executioner's hand, would not God then have rendred his wickedness? You never read that the Judges of the Children of Israel were ever proceeded against according to Law: And yet you confess, That *where the Government is an Aristocracy, the Prince, if there be any, may and ought to be call'd in question, if he break the Laws.* This in your 47th Page. And why may not a Tyrant as well be proceeded against in a Kingly Government? Why, because God rendred the wickedness of Abimelech. So did the Women, and so did his own Armour-Bearer; over both which he pretended

pretended to a right of Sovereignty. And what if the Magistrates had rendred his wickedness ? Do not they bear the Sword for that very purpose, for the punishment of Malefactors ? Having done with his powerful argument from the History of *Abimelech's* death, he betakes himself, as his custom is, to Slanders and Calumnies ; nothing but Dirt and Filth comes from him : but for those things that he promis'd to make appear, he hath not prov'd any one of them, either from the Scriptures, or from the Writings of the *Rabbins*. He alledges no reason why Kings should be above all Laws, and they only of all mortal Men exempt from punishment, if they deserve it. He falls foul upon those very Authors and Authorities that he makes use of, and by his own Discourse demonstrates the truth of the opinion that he argues against. And perceiving that he is like to do but little good with his arguments, he endeavours to bring an *odium* upon us, by loading us with slanderous Accusations, as having put to death the most Vertuous innocent Prince that ever reign'd. *Was King Solomon*, says he, *better than King Charles the First* ? I confess some have ventur'd to compare his Father King *James* with *Solomon* ; nay to make King *James* the better Gentleman of the two. *Solomon* was *David's* Son, *David* had been *Saul's* Musitian ; but King *James* was the Son of the Earl of *Darby*, who as *Buchanan* tells us, because *David* the Musitian got into the Queen's Bed-Chamber at an unreasonable time, kill'd him a little after ; for he could not get to him then, because he had bolted the Door on the inside. So that King *James* being the Son of an Earl, was the better Gentleman ; and was frequently called a second *Solomon*, though it is not very certain that himself was not the Son of *David* the Musitian too. But how could it ever come into your head to make a comparison betwixt King *Charles* and *Solomon* ? For that very King *Charles* whom you praise thus to the Sky, that very Man's Obstinacy, and Covetousness, and Cruelty, his hard usage of all good and honest Men, the Wars that he rais'd, the Spoilings and Plunderings and Conflagrations that he occasioned, and the death of innumerable of his Subjects that he was the cause of, does his Son *Charles*, at this very time whilst I'm a writing, confess and bewail in the Stool of Repentance in *Scotland*, and renounces there that Kingly Right that you assert. But since you delight in Parallels, let's compare King *Charles* and King *Solomon* together a little : *Solomon* began his reign with the death of his Brother, who had justly deserved it ; King *Charles* began his with his Father's Funeral, I do not say with his Murder : and yet all the marks and tokens of Poyson that may be, appeared in his dead body ; but that suspicion lighted upon the Duke of *Buckingham* only, whom the King notwithstanding cleared to the Parliament, though he had killed the King, and his Father ; and not only so, but he dissolved the Parliament, lest the matter should be enquired into. *Solomon* oppressed the people with heavy Taxes ; but he spent that Money upon the Temple of God, and in raising other publick Buildings : King *Charles* spent his in Extravagances. *Solomon* was enticed to Idolatry by many Wives : This Man by one. *Solomon* though he were seduced himself, we read not that he seduced others ; but King *Charles* seduced and enticed others not only by large and ample rewards to corrupt the Church, but by his Edicts and Ecclesiastical Constitutions he compell'd them to set up Altars, which all Protestants abhor, and to bow down to Crucifixes painted over them on the Wall. But yet for all this, *Solomon* was not condemned to die. Nor does it follow, because he was not, that therefore he ought not to have been. Perhaps there were many Circumstances that made it then not expedient. But not long after the People both by words and actions made appear what they took to be their right, when Ten Tribes of Twelve revolted from his Son ; and if he had not saved himself by flight, it is very likely they would have stoned him, notwithstanding his Threats and big swelling words.

C H A P. III.

HAVING proved sufficiently that the Kings of the *Jews* were subject to the same Laws that the People were; That there are no exceptions made in their favour in Scripture; That 'tis a most false assertion grounded upon no Reason, nor warranted by any Authority, to say, That Kings may do what they list with Impunity; That God has exempted them from all humane Jurisdiction, and reserved them to his own Tribunal only: Let us now consider, whether the Gospel preach up any such Doctrine, and enjoyn that blind Obedience which the Law was so far from doing, that it commanded the contrary; let us consider, whether or no the Gospel, that Heavenly Promulgation, as it were, of Christian Liberty, reduce us to a condition of Slavery to Kings and Tyrants, from whose imperious rule even the old Law, that Mistress of Slavery, discharged the People of God, when it obtained. Your first argument you take from the Person of Christ himself. But, alas! who does not know that he put himself into the condition, not of a private person only, but even of a Servant, that we might be made free? Nor is this to be understood of some internal spiritual Liberty only; how inconsistent else would that Song of his Mothers be with the design of his coming into the World, *He hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their heart, he hath put down the mighty from their seat, and hath exalted the humble and meek?* How ill suited to their occasion would these expressions be, if the coming of Christ rather established and strengthened a Tyrannical Government, and made a blind subjection the duty of all Christians? He himself having been born, and lived and died under a Tyrannical Government, has thereby purchased Liberty for us. As he gives us his Grace to submit patiently to a condition of Slavery, if there be a necessity of it; so if by any honest ways and means we can rid our selves and obtain our Liberty, he is so far from restraining us, that he encourages us so to do. Hence it is that St. Paul not only of an Evangelical, but also of a Civil Liberty, says thus, *1 Cor. 7. 21. Art thou called being a Servant? care not for it; but if thou maiest be made free, use it rather; you are bought with a price, be not ye Servants of Men.* So that you are very impertinent in endeavouring to argue us into Slavery by the example of our Saviour; who by submitting to such a condition himself, has confirmed even our Civil Liberties. He took upon him indeed in our stead the form of a Servant, but he always retained his purpose of being a Deliverer; and thence it was that he taught us a quite other notion of the Right of Kings, than this that you endeavour to make good. You, I say, that preach up not Kingship, but Tyranny, and that in a Commonwealth; by enjoyning not only a necessary, but a Religious Subjection to whatever Tyrant gets into the Chair, whether he come to it by Succession, or by Conquest, or Chance, or any how. And now I'll turn your own Weapons against you; and oppose you, as I use to do, with your own Authorities. When the Collectors of the Tribute-Money came to Christ for Tribute in Galilee, he asked Peter, Mat. 17. *Of whom the Kings of the Earth took custom or tribute, of their own Children, or of Strangers?* Peter saith unto him, *Of Strangers;* Jesus saith unto him, *then are the Children free; notwithstanding lest we should offend them, &c. give unto them for thee and for me.* Expositors differ upon this place, whom this Tribute was paid to; some say it was paid to the Priests, for the use of the Sanctuary; others that it was paid to the Emperour. I am of opinion that it was the Revenue of the Sanctuary, but paid to Herod, who perverted the Institution of it, and took it to himself. Josephus mentions divers sorts of Tribute which he and his Sons exacted, all which Agrippa afterwards remitted. And this very Tribute, though small in it self, yet being accompanied with many more, was a heavy burden. The *Jews*, even the poorest of them in the time of their Commonwealth, paid a Poll, so that it was some considerable oppression that our Saviour spoke of; and from hence he took occasion to tax Herod's Injustice (under whose Government, and within whose Jurisdiction he then was) in that, whereas the Kings of the Earth, who affect usually the Title of Fathers of their Country, do not use to oppress their own Children, that is, their own natural born Subjects with heavy and unreasonable Exactions, but lay such burdens upon strangers, and conquer'd ene-

mies ; he, quite contrary, oppressed not strangers, but his own people. But let what will be here meant by Children, either natural born Subjects, or the Children of God, and those the Elect only, or Christians in general, as St. *Augustine* understands the place ; this is certain, that if *Peter* was a Child, and therefore free, then by consequence we are so too, by our Saviour's own Testimony, either as *Englishmen*, or as Christians, and that it therefore is not the Right of Kings to exact heavy Tributes from their own Countrymen, and those freeborn Subjects. Christ himself professes, that he paid not this Tribute as a thing that was due, but that he might not bring trouble upon himself by offending those that demanded it. The work that he came into this World to do, was quite of another nature. But if our Saviour deny, that it is the Right of Kings to burden their Free-born Subjects with grievous Exactions ; he would certainly much less allow it to be their Right to Spoil, Massacre, and Torture their own Countrymen, and those Christians too. He discoursed after such a manner of the Right of Kings, that those to whom he spoke, suspected his Principles, as laying too great a restraint upon Sovereignty, and not allowing the License that Tyrants assume to themselves to be the Rights of Kings. It was not for nothing that the *Pharisees* put such Questions to him, tempting him ; and that at the same time they told him, that he regarded not the Person of any Man : nor was it for nothing that he was angry when such Questions were proposed to him, *Matth. 22*. If one should endeavour to ensnare you with little Questions, and catch at your Answers, to ground an Accusation against you upon your own Principles concerning the Right of Kings, and all this under a Monarchy, would you be angry with him ? You'd have but very little reason. 'Tis evident, That our Saviour's Principles concerning Government, were not agreeable to the Humour of Princes. His Answer too implies as much ; by which he rather turn'd them away, than instructed them. He asked for the Tribute-Money. *Whose Image and Supercription is it*, says he ? They tell him it was *Cesar's*. Give then to *Cesar*, says he, *the things that are Cesar's* ; and to God, *the things that are God's*. And how comes it to pass, that the People should not have given to them the things that are theirs ? *Render to all Men their dues*, says St. Paul, *Rom. 13*. So that *Cesar* must not ingross all to himself. Our Liberty is not *Cesar's* ; 'tis a Blessing we have received from God himself ; 'tis what we are born to ; to lay this down at *Cesar's* feet, which we derive not from him, which we are not beholden to him for, were an unworthy Action, and a degrading of our very Nature. If one should consider attentively the Countenance of a Man, and enquire after whose Image so noble a Creature were framed ; would not any one that heard him, presently make answer, That he was made after the Image of God himself ? Being therefore peculiarly God's own, and consequently things that are to be given to him ; we are intirely free by Nature, and cannot without the greatest Sacrilege imaginable be reduced into a Condition of Slavery to any Man, especially to a wicked, unjust, cruel Tyrant. Our Saviour does not take upon him to determine what things are God's, and what *Cesar's* ; he leaves that as he found it. If the piece of Money which they shewed him, was the same that was paid to God, as in *Vespasian's* time it was ; then our Saviour is so far from having put an end to the Controversy, that he has but entangl'd it, and made it more perplex than it was before : for 'tis impossible the same thing should be given both to God, and to *Cesar*. But, you say, he intimates to them what things were *Cesar's* ; to wit, that piece of Money because it bore the Emperor's Stamp ; and what of all that ? How does this advantage your Cause ? You get not the Emperor, or your self a Penny by this Conclusion. Either Christ allowed nothing at all to be *Cesar's*, but that piece of Money that he then had in his hand, and thereby asserted the Peoples Interest in every thing else ; or else, if (as you would have us understand him) he affirms all Money that has the Emperor's stamp upon it, to be the Emperor's own, he contradicts himself, and indeed gives the Magistrate a property in every Man's Estate, when as he himself paid his Tribute-Money with a Protestation, that it was more than what either *Peter*, or he were bound to do. The ground you rely on, is very weak ; for Money bears the Prince's Image, not as a token of its being his, but of its being good Metal, and that none may presume to counterfeit it. If the writing Princes Names, or setting their Stamps upon a thing, vest the property of it in them, 'twere a good ready way for them to invade all

Property. Or rather, if whatever Subjects have, be absolutely at their Princes disposal, which is your Assertion, that piece of Money was not *Cæsar's*, because his Image was stamp'd on it, but because of Right it belonged to him before 'twas coyn'd. So that nothing can be more manifest, than that our Saviour in this place never intended to teach us our Duty to Magistrates (he would have spoke more plainly if he had) but to reprehend the Malice and Wickedness of the hypocritical *Pharisees*. When they told him that *Herod* laid wait to kill him; did he return an humble, submissive Answer? Go, tell that *Fox*, says he, &c. intimating, that Kings have no other Right to destroy their Subjects, than *Foxes* have to devour the things they prey upon. Say you, 'He suffered Death under a Tyrant. How could he possibly under any other? But from hence you conclude, that he asserted it to be the Right of Kings to commit Murder, and act Injustice. You'd make an excellent Moralist. But our Saviour, tho he became a Servant, not to make us so, but that we might be free; yet carried he himself so with relation to the Magistracy, as not to ascribe any more to them than their due. Now, let us come at last to enquire what his Doctrine was upon this Subject. The Sons of *Zebedee* were ambitious of Honour and Power in the Kingdom of *Christ*, which they perswaded themselves he would shortly set up in the World; he reproves them so, as withal to let all Christians know what Form of Civil Government he desires they should settle amongst themselves. 'Ye know, says he, that the Princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them; and they that are great, exercise authority upon them: but it shall not be so among you; but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your Minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your Servant. Unless you'd been distracted, you could never have imagined that this place makes for you: and yet you urge it, and think it furnishes you with an Argument to prove that our Kings are absolute Lords and Masters over us and ours. May it be our fortune to have to do with such Enemies in War, as will fall blindfold and naked into our Camp instead of their own: as you constantly do, who alledg that for your self, that of all things in the World makes most against you. The *Israelites* asked God for a King, such a King as other Nations round about them had. God dissuaded them by many Arguments, whereof our Saviour here gives us an Epitome; You know that the Princes of the Gentiles exercise Dominion over them. But yet, because the *Israelites* persisted in their desire of a King, God gave them one, tho in his Wrath. Our Saviour, lest Christians should desire a King, such a one at least as might rule, as he says the Princes of the Gentiles did, prevents them with an Injunction to the contrary; but it shall not be so among you. What can be said plainer than this? That stately, imperious Sway and Dominion that Kings use to exercise, shall not be amongst you; what specious Titles soever they may assume to themselves, as that of Benefactors, or the like. But he that will be great amongst you (and who is greater than the Prince?) let him be your Servant. So that the Lawyer, whoever he be, that you are so smart upon, was not so much out of the way, but had our Saviour's own Authority to back him, when he said that Christian Princes were indeed no other than the People's Servants; 'tis very certain that all good Magistrates are so. Inasmuch that Christians either must have no King at all, or if they have, that King must be the People's Servant. Absolute Lordship and Christianity are inconsistent. *Moses* himself, by whose Ministry that servile Oeconomy of the old Law was instituted, did not exercise an arbitrary, haughty Power and Authority, but bore the burden of the People, and carried them in his Bosom, as a Nursing Father does a sucking Child, *Numb. 11.* and what is that of a Nursing Father, but a Ministerial Employment? *Plato* would not have the Magistrates called Lords, but Servants and Helpers of the People; nor the People Servants, but Maintainers of their Magistrates, because they give Meat, Drink, and Wages to their Kings themselves. *Aristotle* calls the Magistrates, Keepers and Ministers of the Laws. *Plato*, Ministers and Servants. The Apostle calls them Ministers of God; but they are Ministers and Servants of the People, and of the Laws, nevertheless for all that; the Laws and the Magistrates were both created for the good of the People: And yet this is it, that you call the Opinion of the Fanatick Mastiffs in England. I should not have thought the People of England were Mastiff-dogs, if such a Mungril-Cur as thou art, **Lupus in La-* did not bark at them so curiously. The Master, if it shall please ye, of St. tin, signifies a *Lupus* *, complains it seems that the Mastiffs are mad (*Fanaticks*). *Germanus* wolf.

heretofore, whose Colleague that *Lupus* of *Triers* was, deposed our Incestuous King *Vortigern* by his own Authority. And therefore *St. Lupus* despises thee, the Master not of a *Holy Wolf* but of some hunger-starv'd thieving little Wolf or other, as being more contemptible than that Master of Vipers, of whom *Martial* makes mention, who hast by relation a barking She-Wolf at home too, that domineers over thee most wretchedly; at whose Instigations, as I am informed, thou hast wrote this stuff. And therefore it is the less wonder that thou shouldst endeavour to obtrude an absolute Regal Government upon others, who hast been accustomed to bear a Female Rule so fervilely at home thy self. Be therefore, in the Name of God, the Master of a Wolf, lest a She-Wolf be thy Mistress; be a Wolf thy self, be a Monster made up of a Man, and a Wolf; whatever thou art, the *English* Mastiffs will but make a laughing-stock of thee. But I am not now at leisure to hunt for Wolves, and will put an end therefore to this Digression. You that but a while ago wrote a Book against all manner of superiority in the Church, now call *St. Peter* the Prince of the Apostles. How inconstant you are in your Principles! But what says *Peter*? *Submit your selves to every ordinance of Man, for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the King as Supream, or to Governours, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and the praise of them that do well: for so is the will of God, &c.* This Epistle *Peter* wrote, not only to private Persons, but those Strangers scatter'd and dispers'd through *Asia*; who in those places where they sojourned, had no other Right, than what the Laws of Hospitality intitled them to. Do you think such Mens case to be the same with that of Natives, Free-born Subjects, Nobility, Senates, Assemblies of Estates, Parliaments? Nay, is not the case far different of private Persons, tho' in their own Countrey; and Senators, or Magistrates, without whom, Kings themselves cannot possibly subsist? But let us suppose that *St. Peter* had directed his Epistle to the Natural-born Subjects, and those not private persons neither; suppose he had writ to the Senate of *Rome*, What then? No Law that is grounded upon a reason, expressly set down in the Law it self, obligeth further than the reason of it extends. *Be subject*, says he, *ὑποτάγητε*: That is, according to the genuine sense and import of the word, *be subordinate, or legally subject*. For the Law, *Aristotle* says, is Order. *Submit for the Lord's sake*. Why so? Because a King is an Officer appointed by God for the punishment of evil doers, and the praise of them that do well; For so is the will of God: To wit, that we should submit and yield Obedience to such as are here described. There is not a word spoken of any other. You see the ground of this Precept, and how well 'tis laid. The Apostle adds in the 16th vers. as *Free*; therefore not as *Slaves*. What now? if Princes pervert the design of Magistracy, and use the power, that is put into their Hands, to the ruin and destruction of good Men, and the praise and encouragement of evil doers; Must we all be condemn'd to perpetual Slavery, not private persons only, but our Nobility, all our inferior Magistrates, our very Parliament it self? Is not temporal Government call'd a humane Ordinance? How comes it to pass then, that Mankind should have power to appoint and constitute, what may be good and profitable for one another; and want power to restrain or suppress things that are universally mischievous and destructive? That Prince, you say, to whom *St. Peter* enjoyns Subjection, was *Nero* the Tyrant: And from thence you infer, that it is our Duty to submit and yield Obedience to such. But it is not certain that this Epistle was writ in *Nero's* Reign: 'Tis as likely to have been writ in *Claudius's* time. And they that are commanded to submit, were private Persons and Strangers; they were no Consuls, no Magistrates: 'Twas not the *Roman Senate*, that *St. Peter* directed his Epistle to. Now let us hear what use you make of *St. Paul* (for you take a freedom with the Apostles, I find, that you will not allow us to take with Princes; you make *St. Peter* the chief of them to day, and to morrow put another in his place) *St. Paul* in his 13th Chap. to the *Romans*, has these words: *Let every Soul be subject unto the higher Powers, for there is no power but of God; the powers that be, are ordained of God*. I confess he writes this to the *Romans*, not to Strangers dispers'd, as *Peter* did; but however he writes to private persons, and those of the meaner rank: And yet he gives us a true, and a clear account of the reason, the original, and the design of Government; and shows us the true and proper ground of our Obedience, that it's far from imposing a necessity upon us of being Slaves. " Let every

" Soul.

" Soul, says he; that is, let every Man submit. *Chrysostom* tells us, " That St. Paul's design in this Discourse, was to make it appear, that our Saviour did not go about to introduce Principles inconsistent with the Civil Government, but such as strengthened it, and settled it upon the surest Foundations. He never intended then by setting *Nero*, or any other Tyrant out of the reach of all Laws, to enslave Mankind under his Lust and Cruelty. " He intended too, *says the same Author*, to dissuade from unnecessary and causeless Wars. But he does not condemn a War taken up against a Tyrant, a Bosom-Enemy of his own Countrey, and consequently the most dangerous that may be. " 'Twas commonly said in those days, that the Doctrine of the Apostles was seditious, themselves Persons that endeavour'd to shake the settled Laws and Government of the World; that this was what they aimed at in all they said and did. The Apostle in this Chapter stops the mouths of such Gainsayers: So that the Apostles did not write in defence of Tyrants, as you do; but they asserted such things as made them suspected to be Enemies to the Government they liv'd under, things that stood in need of being explained and interpreted, and having another sense put upon them than was generally receiv'd. St. *Chrysostom* has now taught us what the Apostle's design was in this Discourse; let us now examine his Words: *Let every Soul be subject to the Higher Powers*. He tells us not what those Higher Powers are, nor who they are; for he never intended to overthrow all Governments, and the several Constitutions of Nations, and subject all to some one Man's will. Every good Emperour acknowledged that the Laws of the Empire, and the Authority of the Senate was above himself: and the same principle and notion of Government has obtained all along in civiliz'd Nations. *Pindar*, as he is cited by *Herodotus*, calls the Law *πάντων ἑσπερία*, King over all. *Orpheus* in his Hymns calls it the King both of Gods and Men: And he gives the reason why it is so; *Because*, says he, 'tis that that sits at the helm of all humane affairs. *Plato* in his Book *De Legibus*, calls it *τὸ κρατύνειν ἐν τῇ πόλει*: that that ought to have the greatest sway in the Commonwealth. In his Epistles he commends that Form of Government, in which the Law is made Lord and Master, and no scope given to any Man to tyrannize over the Laws. *Aristotle* is of the same opinion in his *Politicks*; and so is *Cicero* in his Book *de Legibus*, That the Laws ought to govern the Magistrates as they do the People. The Law therefore having always been accounted the highest Power on Earth, by the judgment of the most learned and wise men that ever were, and by the Constitutions of the best ordered States; and it being very certain that the Doctrine of the Gospel is neither contrary to Reason nor the Law of Nations, that Man is truly and properly subject to the higher Powers who obeys the Law and the Magistrates, so far as they govern according to Law. So that St. Paul does not only command the People, but Princes themselves to be in subjection; who are not above the Laws, but bound by them, *For there is no Power but of God*: that is no Form, no lawful Constitution of any Government. The most ancient Laws that are known to us, were formerly ascribed to God as their Author. For the Law, says *Cicero* in his *Philippicks*, is no other than a rule of well-grounded reason, derived from God himself, enjoining whatever is just and right, and forbidding the contrary. So that the institution of Magistracy is *Jure Divino*, and the end of it is, that Mankind might live under certain Laws, and be govern'd by them. But what particular Form of Government each Nation would live under, and what Persons should be entrusted with the Magistracy, without doubt, was left to the choice of each Nation. Hence St. Peter calls Kings and Deputies, *Humane Ordinances*. And *Hosea* in the 8th Chapter of his Prophecy, *They have set up Kings, but not by me; they have made Princes, and I knew it not*. For in the Commonwealth of the *Hebrews*, where upon matters of great and weighty importance they could have access to God himself, and consult with him, they could not chuse a King themselves by Law, but were to refer the matter to him. Other Nations have received no such Command. Sometimes the very Form of Government, if it be amiss, or at least those Persons that have the Power in their hands, are not of God, but of Men, or of the Devil, Luke 4. *All this Power will I give unto thee, for it is delivered unto me, and I give it to whom I will*. Hence the Devil is called the Prince of this World; and in the 12th of the *Revelations*, the Dragon gave to the Beast his Power, and his Throne, and great Authority. So that we must not understand St. Paul, as if he spoke of all sorts of Magistrates in general,

but of lawful Magistrates; and so they are described in what follows. We must also understand him of the Powers themselves; not of those Men always, in whose hands they are lodged. *St. Chrysostom* speaks very well, and clearly upon this occasion. *What?* says he, *is every Prince then appointed by God to be so?* *I say no such thing,* says he. *St. Paul speaks not of the Person of the Magistrate, but of the Magistracy it self. He does not say, there is no Prince but who is of God. He says there is no Power but of God.* Thus far *St. Chrysostom*; for what Powers are, are ordained of God: So that *St. Paul* speaks only of a lawful Magistracy. For what is evil and amiss, cannot be said to be ordain'd, because 'tis disorderly; Order and Disorder cannot consist together in the same Subject. The Apostle says, *The Powers that be*; and you interpret his words as if he had said, *The Powers that now be*; that you may prove that the *Romans* ought in Conscience to obey *Nero*, who you take for granted was then Emperor. I'm very well content you should read the words so, and draw that Conclusion from them. The Consequence will be, that *English* Men ought to yield Obedience to the present Government, as 'tis now establish'd according to a new Model; because you must needs acknowledg that it is the *present* Government, and ordain'd of God, as much at least as *Nero's* was. And lest you should object that *Nero* came to the Empire by a Lawful Succession, it's apparent from the *Roman* History that both he and *Tiberius* got into the Chair by the Tricks and Artifices of their Mothers, and had no right at all to the Succession. So that you are inconsistent with your self, and retract from your own Principles, in affirming that the *Romans* owed Subjection to the Government that then was; and yet denying that *Englishmen* owe Subjection to the Government that now is. But 'tis no wonder to hear you contradict your self. There are no two things in the World more directly opposite and contrary to one another, than you are to your self. But what will become of you, poor Wretch? You have quite undone the young King with your Witticisms, and ruin'd his Fortunes utterly; for according to your own Doctrine you must needs confess, that this *present* Government in *England*, is ordain'd of God, and that all *Englishmen* are bound in Conscience to submit to it. Take notice all ye Criticks and Textuaries; Do not you presume to meddle with this Text. Thus *Salmasius* corrects that Passage in the Epistle to the *Romans*: He has made a discovery, that the Words ought not to be read, *The Powers that are*; but, *The Powers that now are*: And all this to prove that all Men owed Subjection and Obedience to *Nero* the Tyrant, whom he supposed to have been then Emperor. This Epistle, which you say was writ in *Nero's* time, was writ in his Predecessor's time, who was an honest well-meaning Man: And this learned Men evince by undeniable Arguments. But besides, the five first years of *Nero's* reign were without exception. So that this thredbare Argument, which so many Men have at their Tongues end, and have been deceived by, to wit, that Tyrants are to be obeyed, because *St. Paul* enjoyns a Subjection to *Nero*, is evident to have been but a cunning Invention of some ignorant Parson. He that resists the Powers, to wit, a lawful Power, resists the Ordinance of God. Kings themselves come under the Penalty of this Law, when they resist the Senate, and act contrary to the Laws. But do they resist the Ordinance of God, that resist an unlawful Power, or a Person that goes about to overthrow and destroy a lawful one? No Man living in his right Wits can maintain such an Assertion. The words immediately after make it as clear as the Sun, that the Apostle speaks only of a lawful power; for he gives us in them a Definition of Magistrates, and thereby explains to us who are the Persons thus authoriz'd, and upon what account we are to yield Obedience, lest we should be apt to mistake and ground extravagant Notions upon his Discourse. *The Magistrates,* says he, *are not a Terror to good Works, but to evil; Wilt thou then not be afraid of the Power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same: For he is the Minister of God to thee for good. He beareth not the Sword in vain; for he is the Minister of God, a Revenger to execute Wrath upon him that doth Evil.* What honest Man would not willingly submit to such a Magistracy as is here described? And that not only to avoid Wrath, and for fear of Punishment, but for Conscience sake. Without Magistrates, and some Form or other of Civil Government, no Commonwealth, no Humane Society can subsist; there were no living in the World. But whatever Power enables a Man, or whatsoever Magistrate takes upon him to act contrary to what *St. Paul* makes the Duty of those that are

are in Authority ; neither is that Power, nor that Magistracy ordain'd of God. And consequently to such a Magistracy no Subjection is commanded, nor is any due, nor are the People forbidden to resist such Authority ; for in so doing they do not resist the Power, nor the Magistracy, as they are here excellently well described ; but they resist a Robber, a Tyrant, an Enemy ; who if he may notwithstanding in some sense be called a Magistrate, upon this account only, because he has Power in his hands, which perhaps God may have invested him with for our punishment ; by the same reason the Devil may be called a Magistrate. This is most certain, that there can be but one true Definition of one and the same thing. So that if *St. Paul* in this place define what a Magistrate is, which he certainly does, and that accurately well ; He cannot possibly define a *Tyrant*, the most contrary thing imaginable, in the same words. Hence I infer, that he commands us to submit to such Magistrates only as he himself defines and describes, and not to *Tyrants*, which are quite other things. *For this Cause you pay Tribute also* : He gives a Reason, together with a Command. Hence *St. Chrysostom* ; *Why do we pay Tribute to Princes ? Do we not*, adds he, *thereby reward them for the care they take of our Safety ? We should not have paid them any Tribute if we had not been convinc'd that it was good for us to live under a Government*. So that I must here repeat what I have said already, That since Subjection is not absolutely enjoined, but on a particular Reason, that Reason must be the rule of our Subjection : where that Reason holds, we are Rebels if we submit not ; where it holds not, we are Cowards and Slaves if we do. But, say you, *the English are far from being Freeman ; for they are wicked and flagitious*. I will not reckon up here the Vices of the *French*, tho they live under a Kingly Government ; neither will I excuse my own Countrey-men too far : but this I may safely say, whatever Vices they have, they have learnt them under a Kingly Government ; as the *Israelites* learnt a great deal of Wickedness in *Egypt*. And as they, when they were brought into the Wilderness, and lived under the immediate Government of God himself, could hardly reform, just so 'tis with us. But there are good hopes of many amongst us ; that I may not here celebrate those Men who are eminent for their Piety and Virtue, and Love of the Truth ; of which sort I perswade my self we have as great a number, as where you think there are most such. But *they have laid a heavy yoke upon the English Nation* : What if they have, upon those of them that endeavoured to lay a heavy Yoke upon all the rest ? Upon those that have deserved to be put under the hatches ? As for the rest, I question not but they are very well content to be at the expence of maintaining their own Liberty, the Publick Treasury being exhausted by the Civil Wars. Now he betakes himself to the Fabulous *Rabbins* again : He asserts frequently, that Kings are bound by no Laws ; and yet he proves, That according to the sense of the *Rabbins*, a King may be guilty of Treason, by suffering an Invasion upon the Rights of his Crown. So Kings are bound by Laws, and they are not bound by them ; they may be Criminals, and yet they may not be so. This Man contradicts himself so perpetually, that Contradiction and he seem to be of kin to one another. You say that God himself put many Kingdoms under the yoke of *Nebuchadnezzar*, King of *Babylon*. I confess he did so for a time, *Jer. 27. 7.* but do you make appear if you can, that he put the *English* Nation into a condition of Slavery to *Charles Stuart* for a minute. I confess he suffered them to be enslaved by him for some time ; but I never yet heard that himself appointed it so to be. Or if you will have it so, that God shall be said to put a Nation under Slavery, when a Tyrant prevails ; why may he not as well be said to deliver them from his Tyranny, when the People prevail and get the upper hand ? Shall his Tyranny be said to be of God, and not our Liberty ? There is no evil in the City, that the Lord hath not done, *Amos 3.* So that Famine, Pestilence, Sedition, War, all of them are of God ; and is it therefore unlawful for a People afflicted with any of these Plagues, to endeavour to get rid of them ? Certainly they would do their utmost, tho they know them to be sent by God, unless himself miraculously from Heaven should command the contrary : And why may they not by the same reason rid themselves of a Tyrant, if they are stronger than he ? Why should we suppose his weakness to be appointed by God for the ruin and destruction of the Commonwealth, rather than the Power and Strength of all the People for the good of the State ? Far be it from all Commonwealths, from all Societies of free-born men to maintain not only such per-

icious, but such stupid and senseless Principles ; Principles that subvert all Civil Society, that to gratify a few Tyrants, level all Mankind with Brutes ; and by setting Princes out of the reach of humane Laws, give them an equal power over both. I pass by those foolish *Dilemma's* that you now make, which that you might take occasion to propose, you feign some or other to assert that the *superlative power of Princes is derived from the People* ; though for my own part I do not at all doubt but that all the power that any Magistrates have, is so. Hence *Cicero* in his *Orat. pro Flacco*, 'Our wise and holy Ancestors, *says he*, appointed those things to obtain for Laws, that the People enacted. And hence it is that *Lucius Crassus*, an Excellent *Roman Orator*, and at that time President of the Senate, when in a Controversie betwixt them and the common People, he asserted their Rights, 'I beseech you, *says he*, suffer not us to live in subjection to any, but your selves, to the entire body of whom we can and ought to submit. For though the *Roman Senate* govern'd the People, the People themselves had appointed them to be their Governours, and had put that power into their hands. We read the term of *Majesty* more frequently applied to the People of *Rome*, than to their Kings. *Tully* in *Orat. pro Plancio*, 'It is the condition of all free People, (*says he*) and especially of this People, the Lord of all Nations, by their Votes to give or take away, to or from any as themselves see cause. 'Tis the duty of the Magistrates patiently to submit to what the body of the People enact. Those that are not ambitious of Honour, have the less obligation upon them to court the People ; those that affect Preferment, must not be weary of entreating them. Should I scruple to call a King the Servant of his People, when I hear the *Roman Senate*, that reign'd over so many Kings, profess themselves to be but the Peoples Servants ? You'll object perhaps, and say, that all this is very true in a popular State ; but the case was altered afterwards, when the Regal Law transferr'd all the People's Right into *Augustus* and his Successors. But what think you then of *Tiberius*, whom your self confesses to have been a very great Tyrant, as he certainly was ? *Suetonius* says of him, that when he was once called *Lord* or *Master*, though after the enacting of that *Lex Regia*, he desired the Person that gave him that appellation, to forbear abusing him. How does this sound in your ears ? a Tyrant thinks one of his Subjects abuses him in calling him *Lord*. The same Emperor in one of his Speeches to the Senate, 'I have said, *says he*, frequently heretofore, and now I say it again, that a good Prince, whom you have invested with so great power as I am entrusted with, ought to serve the Senate, and the body of the People, and sometimes even particular Persons ; nor do I repent of having said so : I confess that you have been good, and just, and indulgent Masters to me, and that you are yet so. You may say that he dissembled in all this, as he was a great Proficient in the art of Hypocrisie ; but that's all one. No man endeavours to appear otherwise than he ought to be. Hence *Tacitus* tells us, that it was the custom in *Rome* for the Emperours in the *Circus*, to worship the People ; and that both *Nero* and other Emperours practised it. *Claudian* in his Panegyrick upon *Honorius* mentions the same custom. By which sort of Adoration what could possibly be meant, but that the Emperours of *Rome*, even after the enacting of the *Lex Regia*, confessed the whole body of the People to be their Superiors ? But I find, as I suspected at first, and so I told ye, that you have spent more time and pains in turning over Glossaries, and criticising upon Texts, and propagating such like laborious Trifles, than in reading sound Authors so as to improve your knowledg by them. For had you been never so little versed in the Writings of learned Men in former Ages, you would not have accounted an opinion new, and the product of some Enthusiastick Heads, which has been asserted and maintained by the greatest Philosophers, and most famous Politicians in the World. You endeavour to expose one *Martin*, who you tell us was a *Taylor*, and one *William* a *Tanner* ; but if they are such as you describe them, I think they and you may very well go together ; though they themselves would be able to instruct you, and unfold those Mysterious Riddles that you propose : as, *whether or no they that in a Monarchy would have the King but a Servant to the Commonwealth, will say the same thing of the whole body of the People in a popular State ? And whether all the People serve in a Democracy, or only some part or other serve the rest ?* And when they have been an *Oedipus* to you, by my consent you shall be a *Sphinx*

to them in good earnest, and throw your self headlong from some precipice or other, and break your neck ; for else I'm afraid you'll never have done with your Riddles and Fooleries. You ask, *Whether or no, when St. Paul names Kings, he meant the People ?* I confess St. Paul commands us to pray for Kings, but he had commanded us to pray for the People before, *vers. 1.* But there are some for all that, both among Kings and common People, that we are forbidden to pray for ; and if a man must not so much as be prayed for, may he not be punished ? What should hinder ? But, *when Paul wrote this Epistle, he that reigned was the most profligate Person in the World.* That's false. For *Ludovicus Capellus* makes it evident, that this Epistle likewise was writ in *Claudius's* time. When St. Paul has occasion to speak of *Nero*, he calls him not a King, but a *Lion* ; that is, a wild, savage Beast, from whose jaws he is glad he was delivered, *2 Tim. 4.* So that it is for Kings, not for Beasts that we are to pray, *that under them we may live a quiet and a peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty.* Kings and their Interest are not the things here intended to be advanced and secured ; 'tis the publick Peace, Godliness and Honesty, whose establishment we are commanded to endeavour after, and to pray for. But is there any People in the World that would not chuse rather to live an honest and careful Life, tho never free from War and Troubles, in the defence of themselves and their Families, whether against Tyrants or Enemies (for I make no difference) than under the power of a Tyrant or an Enemy to spin out a Life equally troublesome, accompanied with Slavery and Ignominy ? That the latter is the more desirable of the two, I'll prove by a Testimony of your own ; not because I think your Authority worth quoting, but that all Men may observe how double-tongu'd you are, and how mercenary your Pen is. " Who would not rather, *say you*, bear with those " dissensions that through the emulation of great Men often happen in an Aristocratical Government, than live under the Tyrannical Government of one, " where nothing but certain misery and ruin is to be look'd for ? The People of " *Rome* preferr'd their Commonwealth, tho never so much shatter'd with civil " Broils, before the intolerable Yoke of their Emperors. When a People to " avoid Sedition, submits to a Monarchy, and finds by experience, that that is " the worst evil of the two, they often desire to return to their former Government again. These are your own words, and more you have to this purpose in that Discourse concerning Bishops, which under a feigned name you wrote against *Petavius* the Jesuit ; though your self are more a Jesuit than he, nay worse than any of that Crew. We have already heard the sense of the Scripture upon this Subject ; and it has been worth our while to take some pains to find it out. But perhaps it will not be so to enquire into the Judgment of the Fathers, and to ransack their Volumes : for if they assert any thing which is not warranted by the Word of God, we may safely reject their authority, be it never so great ; and particularly that expression that you alledg out of *Irenaeus*, " That God in his Providence orders it so, that such Kings reign as are " futable to, and proper for the People they are to govern, all Circumstances " considered. That expression, I say, is directly contrary to Scripture. For though God himself declared openly that it was better for his own people to be governed by Judges than by Kings, yet he left it to them to change that Form of Government for a worse, if they would themselves. And we read frequently, that when the body of the People has been good, they have had a wicked King, and contrariwise that a good King has sometimes reign'd when the People have been wicked. So that wise and prudent Men are to consider and see what is profitable and fit for the People in general ; for it is very certain that the same Form of Government is not equally convenient for all Nations, nor for the same Nation at all times ; but sometimes one, sometimes another may be more proper, according as the industry and valour of the People may increase or decay. But if you deprive the People of this liberty of setting up what Government they like best among themselves, you take that from them, in which the life of all Civil Liberty consists. Then you tell us of *Justin Martyr*, of his humble and submissive behaviour to the *Antonines*, those best of Emperours ; as if any body would not do the like to Princes of such moderation as they were. " *How* " *much worse Christians are we in these days, than those were ? They were content to* " *live under a Prince of another Religion.* Alas ! They were private Persons, and infinitely inferior to the contrary party in strength and number. But now Papists will not endure a Protestant Prince, nor Protestants one that is Popish. You

do well and discreetly, in showing your self to be neither Papist nor Protestant. And you are very liberal in your concessions ; for now you confess that all sorts of Christians agree in that very thing, that you alone take upon you with so much impudence and wickedness, to cry down and oppose. And how unlike those Fathers that you commend, do you show your self? They wrote Apologies for the Christians to Heathen Princes ; you in defence of a wicked Popish King, against Christians and Protestants. Then you entertain us with a number of impertinent quotations out of *Athenagoras* and *Tertullian* : Things that we have already heard out of the Writings of the Apostles, much more clearly and intelligibly exprest. But *Tertullian* was quite of a different opinion from yours, of a King's being a Lord and Master over his Subjects : Which you either knew not, or wickedly dissembled. For he, though he were a Christian, and directed his discourse to a Heathen Emperor, had the confidence to tell him, that an Emperor ought not to be called *Lord*. "*Augustus* himself, *says he*, that formed this Empire, refus'd that appellation : 'Tis a Title proper to God only. Not but that the Title of Lord and Master may in some sense be ascribed to the Emperor : But there is a peculiar sense of that word, which is proper to God only ; and in that sense, I will not ascribe it to the Emperor. I am the Emperor's free-man. God alone is my *Lord* and *Master*. And the same Author, in the same Discourse ; how inconsistent, *says he*, are those two Appellations, *Father* of his Countrey, and *Lord* and *Master*? And now I wish you much joy of *Tertullian's* authority, whom it had been a great deal better you had let alone. But *Tertullian* calls them *Paricides* that slew Domitian. And he does well, for so they were, his Wife and Servants conspir'd against him. And they set one *Parthenius* and *Stephanus*, who were accus'd for concealing part of the publick Treasure, to make him away. If the Senate and the People of *Rome* had proceeded against him according to the custom of their Ancestors ; had given Judgment of Death against him, as they did once against *Nero* ; and had made search for him to put him to death ; do ye think *Tertullian* would have called them *Paricides*? If he had, he would have deserv'd to be hang'd, as you do. I give the same answer to your quotation out of *Origen*, that I have given already to what you have cited out of *Irenaeus*. *Athanasius* indeed says, that Kings are not accountable before humane Tribunals. But I wonder who told *Athanasius* this? I do not hear that he produces any authority from *Scripture*, to confirm this assertion. And I'll rather believe Kings and Emperors themselves, who deny that they themselves have any such Privilege, than I will *Athanasius*. Then you quote *Ambrosius*, who after he had been a *Proconsul*, and after that became a *Catechumen*, at last got into a Bishoprick : But for his authority, I say, that his Interpretation of those words of *David*, *against thee only have I sinned*, is both ignorant and adulatory. He was willing all others should be enthrall'd to the Emperor, that he might enthrall the Emperor to himself. We all know with what a Papal Pride and Arrogancy he treated *Theodosius* the Emperor, how he took upon him to declare him guilty of that Massacre at *Thessalonica*, and to forbid him coming into the Church ; how miserably raw in Divinity, and unacquainted with the Doctrine of the Gospel, he shewed himself upon that occasion ; when the Emperor fell down at his feet, he commanded him to get him out of the Porch. At last, when he was received again into the Communion of the Church, and had offered, because he continued standing near to the Altar, the Magisterial Prelate commanded him out of the Rails ; *O Emperor*, *says he*, *these inner places are for the Priests only, 'tis not lawful for others to come within them* ! Does this sound like the behaviour of a Minister of the Gospel, or like that of a Jewish High-Priest? And yet this man, such as we hear he was, would have the Emperor ride other People, that himself might ride him, which is a common trick of almost all Ecclesiasticks. With words to this purpose, he put back the Emperor as inferior to himself : *You rule over men*, said he, *that are partakers of the same Nature, and Fellow-servants with your self : For there is one only Lord and King over all, to wit, the Creator of all*. This is very pretty ! This piece of truth, which the craft and flattery of Clergy-men has all along endeavour'd to suppress and obscure, was then brought to light by the furious passion, or to speak more mildly, by the ignorant indiscreet zeal of one of them. After you have displai'd *Ambrose's* ignorance, you show your own, or rather, vent a Heresie in affirming point blank, That under the Old Testament, there was no such thing as forgiveness of Sins upon the account of Christ's sufferings,

since

since David confess'd his transgression, saying, *Against thee only have I sinned*, P. 68. 'Tis the Orthodox Tenet, that there never was any remission of Sins, but by the blood of the Lamb that was slain from the beginning of the World. I know not whose Disciple you are, that set up for a Broacher of new Heresies : but certain I am, that that great Divinie's Disciple whom you are so angry with, did not mistake himself, when he said that any one of *David's* Subjects might have said, *against thee only have I sinned*, as properly, and with as much right, as *David* himself. Then you quote St. *Augustine*, and produce a company of *Hipponensian* Divines. What you alledg out of St. *Austin*, makes not at all against us. We confess that, as the Prophet *Daniel* has it, it's God that changeth times, sets up one Kingdom, and pulls down another ; we only desire to have it allow'd us, that he makes use of Men as his Instruments. If God alone gave a Kingdom to King *Charles*, God alone has taken it from him again, and given it to the Parliament, and to the People. If therefore our Allegiance was due to King *Charles*, because God had given him a Kingdom ; for the same reason it is now due to the present Magistracy. For your self confess, that God has given our Magistrates such power as he uses to give to wicked Princes, for the punishment of the Nation. And the consequence of this will be, that according to your own opinion, our present Magistrates being rais'd and appointed by God, cannot lawfully be deposed by any, but God himself. Thus you overthrow the opinion you pretend to maintain, which is a thing very frequent with you : Your Apology for the King, carries its death-wound in it. You have attained to such a prodigious degree of Madness and Stupidity, as to prove it unlawful upon any account whatsoever, to lift up ones finger against Magistrates, and with the very next breath to affirm that it's the duty of their Subjects to rise up in Rebellion against them. You tell us that St. *Ferom* calls *Ismael* that slew *Gedalia*, a Parricide or Traytor : And it is very true, that he was so : For *Gedalia* was Deputy Governour of *Judea*, a good man, and slain by *Ismael* without any cause. The same Author in his Comment upon the Book of *Ecclesiastes*, says, that *Solomon's* command to keep the King's Commandment, is the same with St. *Paul's* Doctrine, upon the same subject ; and deserves commendation for having made a more moderate Construction of that Text, than most of his Contemporaries. You say you will forbear enquiring into the Sentiments of Learned Men that lived since St. *Augustine's* time : but to shew that you had rather dispencc with a Lie, than not quote any Author that you think makes for you, in the very next period but one, you produce the Authorities of *Isidore*, *Gregory*, and *Otho*, Spanish and Dutch Authors, that liv'd in the most barbarous and ignorant ages of all ; whose Authorities, if you knew how much we despise, you would not have told a Lie to have quoted them. But would you know the reason why he dares not come so low as to the present times ? Why he does as it were hide himself, and disappear, when he comes towards our own times ? The reason is, Because he knows full well, that as many Eminent Divines as there are of the Reformed Church, so many Adversaries he would have to encounter. Let him take up the Cudgels, if he thinks fit ; he will quickly find himself run down with innumerable Authorities out of *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, *Calvin*, *Bucer*, *Martyr*, *Paræus*, and the rest. I could oppose you with Testimonies out of Divines that have flourished even in *Leyden*. Though that famous University and renowned Commonwealth, which has been as it were a Sanctuary for Liberty, those Fountains and Streams of all Polite Learning, have not yet been able to wash away that slavish Rust that sticks to you, and infuse a little Humanity into you. Finding your self destitute of any assistance or help from Orthodox Protestant Divines, you have the impudence to betake your self to the *Sorbonists*, whose College you know is devoted to the Romish Religion, and consequently but of very weak authority amongst Protestants. We are willing to deliver so wicked an assertor of Tyranny as you, to be drown'd in the *Sorbon*, as being ashamed to own so despicable a Slave as you show your self to be, by maintaining that the whole body of a Nation is not equal in power to the most slothful degenerate Prince that may be. You labour in vain to lay that upon the Pope, which all free Nations, and all Orthodox Divines own and assert. But the Pope and his Clergy, when they were in a low Condition, and but of small account in the World, were the first Authors of this pernicious absurd Doctrine of yours : and when by preaching such Doctrine they had gotten

power into their own hands, they became the worst of Tyrants themselves. Yet they engaged all Princes to them by the closest tye imaginable, perswading the World that was now besotted with their Superstition, that it was unlawful to depose Princes tho never so bad, unless the Pope dispensed with their Allegiance to them, by absolving them from their Oaths. But you avoid Orthodox Writers, and endeavour to burden the truth with prejudice and calumny, by making the Pope the first assertor of what is a known and common received Opinion amongst them; which if you did not do it cunningly, you would make your self appear to be neither Papist nor Protestant, but a kind of a Mongrel *Idumean Herodian*. For as they of old adored one most inhumane bloody Tyrant for the *Messias*, so you would have the World fall down and worship all. You boast that you have confirm'd your Opinion by the Testimonies of the Fathers that flourished in the four first Centuries; whose Writings only are Evangelical, and according to the truth of the Christian Religion. This man is past all shame! how many things did they preach, how many things have they published, which Christ and his Apostles never taught? How many things are there in their Writings, in which all Protestant Divines differ from them? But what is that Opinion that you have confirm'd by their Authorities? Why, *That evil Princes are appointed by God*. Allow that, as all other pernicious and destructive things are. What then? why, *that therefore they have no Judge but God alone, that they are above all humane Laws; that there is no Law, written or unwritten, no Law of Nature, nor of God, to call them to account before their own Subjects*. But how comes that to pass? Certain I am, that there is no Law against it: No Penal Law excepts Kings. And all reason and justice requires, that those that offend, should be punished according to their deserts, without respect of Persons. Nor have you hitherto produced any one Law, either written or unwritten, of God or of Nature, by which this is forbidden. What stands in the way then? Why may not Kings be proceeded against? why, *because they are appointed by God, be they never so bad*. I do not know whether I had best call you a Knave, or a Fool, or ignorant, unlearned Barbarian. You show your self a vile Wretch, by propagating a Doctrine so destructive and pernicious; and y^e are a Fool for backing it with such silly Arguments. God says in *Isa. 54*. *I have created the slayer to destroy*. Then by your reason a Murderer is above the Laws. Turn this topsy turvy, and consider it as long as you will, you'll find the Consequence to be the same with your own. For the Pope is appointed by God, just as Tyrants are, and set up for the punishment of the Church, which I have already demonstrated out of your own Writings; And yet, say you, *Wal. Mesf. pag. 412. because he has raised his Primacy to an insufferable height of power, so as that he has made it neither better nor worse than plain downright Tyranny, both he and his Bishops may be put down more lawfully than they were at first set up*. You tell us that the Pope and the Bishops (tho God in his wrath appointed them) may yet lawfully be rooted out of the Church, because they are Tyrants; and yet you deny that 'tis lawful to depose a Tyrant in the Commonwealth, and that for no other reason than because God appointed him, tho he did it in his anger. What ridiculous stuff this is! for whereas the Pope cannot hurt a Man's Conscience against his own will, for in the Consciences of Men it is that his Kingdom consists, yet you are for deposing him as a grievous Tyrant, in whose own power it is not to be a Tyrant; and yet you maintain that a Tyrant properly and truly so called, a Tyrant that has all our Lives and Estates within his reach, without whose assistance the Pope himself could not exercise his Tyranny in the Church, ought for Conscience sake to be born withal and submitted to. These assertions compar'd with one another betray your Childishness to that degree, that no Man can read your Books, but must of necessity take notice of your ignorance, rashness, and incogitancy. But you allege another reason, *Humane Affairs would be turn'd upside down*. They would so, and be chang'd for the better. Humane Affairs would certainly be in a deplorable condition, if being once troubled and disorder'd, there were a necessity of their continuing always so. I say, they would be chang'd for the better, for the King's power would revert to the People, from whom it was first derived and conferred upon one of themselves; and the power would be transferred from him that abused it, to them that were prejudiced and injured by the abuse of it; than which nothing can be more just, for there could not well be an *Umpire* in such a case; Who would stand to the judgment of a Foreigner? all Mankind would

equally

equally be subject to the Laws; there would be no Gods of flesh and blood : Which kind of Deities whoever goes about to set up in the World, they are equally injurious to Church and Commonwealth. Now I must turn your own Weapons upon you again. You say, *There can be no greater Heresy than this, to set up one Man in Christ's Seat. These two are infallible marks of Antichrist, Infallibility in Spirituals, and Omnipotence in Temporals. Apparat. ad Prim. pag. 171.* Do you pretend that Kings are infallible? If you do not, why do you make them Omnipotent? And how comes it to pass that an unlimited power in one Man should be accounted less destructive to Temporal things, than it is to Ecclesiastical? Or do you think that God takes no care at all of Civil Affairs? If he takes none himself, I'm sure he does not forbid us to take care which way they go. If he does take any care about them, certainly he would have the same Reformation made in the Commonwealth, that he would have made in the Church, especially it being obvious to every Man's experience that Infallibility and Omnipotency being arrogated to one Man, are equally mischievous in both. God has not so modelled the Government of the World as to make it the duty of any Civil Community to submit to the Cruelties of Tyrants, and yet to leave the Church at liberty to free themselves from Slavery and Tyranny : nay, rather quite contrary, he has put no Arms into the Churches hand but those of Patience and Innocence, Prayer and Ecclesiastical Discipline ; but the Commonwealth, all the Magistracy are by him entrusted with the preservation and execution of the Laws, with the power of punishing and revenging ; he has put the Sword into their hands. I cannot but smile at this Man's preposterous whimsies ; in Ecclesiasticks he's *Helvidius, Thraseas*, a perfect *Tyrannicide*. In Politicks no Man more a Lackey and Slave to Tyrants than he. If his Doctrine hold, not we only that have depos'd our King, but the Protestants in general, who against the minds of their Princes have rejected the Pope, are all Rebels alike. But I've confounded him long enough with his own Arguments. Such is the nature of the Beast, lest his Adversary should be unprovided, he himself furnishes him with Weapons. Never did any Man give his Antagonist greater advantages against himself than he does. They that he has to do withal, will be sooner weary of pursuing him, than he of flying.

C H A P. IV.

PERhaps you think, *Salmasius*, that you have done enough to ingratiate yourself with Princes ; that you have deserved well of 'em : but if they consider their own Interest, and take their measures according to what it really is, not according to the false Gloss that your flatteries have put upon it, there never was any Man in the World that deserv'd so ill of 'em as you, none more destructive and pernicious to them and their interest in the whole World than your self. For by exalting the Power of Kings above all Humane Laws, you tell all Mankind that are subject to such a Government, that they are no better than Slaves, and make them but the more desirous of Liberty by discovering to them their error, and putting that into their heads that they never so much as dreamt of before, to wit, that they are Slaves to their Princes. And without doubt such a sort of Government will be more irksome and unsufferable, by how much the more you perswade the World, that it is not by the allowance and submission of Nations, that Kings have obtained this exorbitant Power ; but that it is absolutely essential to such a form of Government, and of the nature of the thing it self. So that whether you make the World of your mind or no, your Doctrine must needs be mischievous and destructive, and such as cannot but be abhorred of all Princes. For if you should work men into a perswasion that the Right of Kings is without all bounds, they would no longer be subject to a Kingly Government ; if you miss of your aim, yet you make men weary of Kings, by telling them that they assume such a power to themselves, as of right belonging to them. But if Princes will allow of those Principles that I assert ; if they will suffer themselves and their own power to be circumscribed by Laws, instead of an uncertain, weak and violent Government, full of cares and fears, they

they will reign peaceably, quietly, and securely. If they slight this counsel of mine, though wholesome in its self, because of the meanness of the Author, they shall know that it is not my counsel only, but what was anciently advised by one of the wisest of Kings. For *Lycurgus* King of *Lacedemon*, when he observed that his own Relations that were Princes of *Argos* and *Messana*, by endeavouring to introduce an Arbitrary Government, had ruin'd themselves and their People; he, that he might benefit his Country, and secure the Succession to his own Family, could think upon no better expedient, than to communicate his Power to the Senate, and taking the great Men of the Realm into part of the Government with himself; and by this means the Crown continued in his Family for many ages. But whether it was *Lycurgus*, or, as some learned men are of opinion, *Theopompus*, that introduced that mixt Form of Government among the *Lacedemonians*, somewhat more than a hundred years after *Lycurgus's* time (of whom it is recorded, that he used to boast, that by advancing the Power of the Senate above that of the Prince, he had settled the Kingdom upon a sure Foundation, and was like to leave it in a lasting and durable condition to his Posterity) which of them soever it was, I say, he has left a good Example to Modern Princes; and was as creditable a Counsellor, as his Counsel was safe. For that all men should submit to any one man, so as to acknowledg a Power in him superior to all humane Laws, neither did any Law ever enact, nor indeed was it possible that any such Law should ever be; for that cannot be said to be a Law, that strikes at the root of all Laws, and takes them quite away. It being apparent that your Positions are inconsistent with the nature of all Laws, being such as render them no Laws at all. You endeavour notwithstanding, in this Fourth Chapter, to make good by Examples, what you have not been able to do by any Reasons that you have alledged hitherto. Let's consider whether your Examples help your Cause; for they many times make things plain, which the Laws are either altogether silent in, or do but hint at. We'll begin first with the *Jews*, whom we suppose to have known most of the mind of God; and then, according to your own method, we'll come to the Times of Christianity. And first, for those Times in which the *Israelites* being subject to Kings, who, or howsoever they were, did their utmost to cast that slavish yoke from off their necks. *Eglon* the King of *Moab* had made a Conquest of them; the Seat of his Empire was at *Jericho*; he was no contemner of the true God; when his Name was mentioned, he rose from his Seat: The *Israelites* had served him eighteen Years; they sent a Present to him, not as to an Enemy, but to their own Prince; notwithstanding which outward Veneration and Profession of Subjection, they kill him by a wile, as an Enemy to their Countrey. You'll say perhaps, that *Ehud*, who did that action, had a Warrant from God for so doing. He had so, 'tis like; and what greater Argument of its being a warrantable and praise-worthy action? God uses not to put Men upon things that are unjust, treacherous and cruel, but upon such things as are vertuous and laudable. But we read no where that there was any positive Command from Heaven in the case. The *Israelites* called upon God; So did we. And God stirred up a Saviour for them; so he did for us. *Eglon* of a Neighbouring Prince became a Prince of the *Jews*; of an Enemy to them he became their King. Our Gentleman of an *English* King became an Enemy to the *English* Nation; so that he ceas'd to be a King. Those Capacities are inconsistent. No Man can be a Member of the State, and an Enemy to it at the same time. *Antony* was never lookt upon by the *Romans* as a Consul, nor *Nero* as an Emperor, after the Senate had voted them both Enemies. This *Cicero* tells us in his *Fourth Philippick*: If *Antony* be a Consul, says he, *Brutus* is an Enemy; but if *Brutus* be a Saviour and Preserver of the Commonwealth, *Antony* is an Enemy: none but robbers count him a Consul. By the same reason, say I, who but Enemies to their Countrey look upon a Tyrant as a King? So that *Eglon's* being a Foreigner, and King *Charles* a Prince of our own, will make no difference in the case; both being Enemies, and both Tyrants, they are in the same circumstances. If *Ehud* kill'd him justly, we have done so too in putting our King to death. *Sampson* that Renowned Champion of the *Hebrews*, tho his Countrey-men blam'd him for it, *Dost thou not know*, say they, *that the Philistines have dominion over us*? Yet against those *Philistines*, under whose Dominion he was, he himself undertook a War in his own Person, without any other help; and

and whether he acted in pursuance of a Command from Heaven, or was prompted by his own Valour only; or whatsoever inducement he had, he did not put to death one, but many that tyrannized over his Countrey, having first called upon God by Prayer, and implored his Assistance. So that *Sampson* counted it no act of Impiety, but quite contrary, to kill those that enslaved his Countrey, tho they had dominion over himself too; and tho the greater part of his Country-men submitted to their Tyranny. But yet *David* who was both a King and a Prophet, would not take away *Saul's* life, because he was God's anointed. Does it follow that because *David* refused to do a thing, therefore we are obliged not to do that very thing? *David* was a private Person, and would not kill the King; is that a precedent for a Parliament, for a whole Nation? *David* would not revenge his own Quarrel, by putting his Enemy to death by stealth; does it follow that therefore the Magistrates must not punish a Malefactor according to Law? He would not kill a King; Must not an Assembly of the States therefore punish a Tyrant? He scrupled the killing of God's anointed; Must the People therefore scruple to condemn their own anointed? Especially one that after having so long professed Hostility against his own People, had wash'd off that anointing of his, whether Sacred or Civil, with the Blood of his own Subjects. I confess that those Kings whom God by his Prophets anointed to be Kings, or appointed to some special service, as he did *Cyrus*, *Isa.* 44. may not improperly be called the *Lord's* anointed; but all other Princes, according to the several ways of their coming to the Government, are the People's anointed, or the Army's, or many times the anointed of their own Faction only. But taking it for granted, That all Kings are God's anointed, you can never prove, That therefore they are above all Laws, and not to be called in question, what Villanies soever they commit. What if *David* laid a charge upon himself and other private Persons not to stretch forth their hands against the Lords anointed? Does not God himself command Princes not so much as to touch his anointed? Which were no other than his People, *Psal.* 105. He preferred that anointing wherewith his People were anointed, before that of Kings, if any such thing were. Would any man offer to infer from this place of the *Psalmist*, That Believers are not to be called in question, tho they offend against the Laws, because God commands Princes not to touch his Anointed? King *Solomon* was about to put to death *Abiathar* the Priest, tho he were God's Anointed too; and did not spare him because of his Anointing, but because he had been his Father's Friend. If that Sacred and Civil Anointing, wherewith the High-Priest of the *Jews* was anointed, whereby he was not only constituted High-Priest, but a Temporal Magistrate in many cases, did not exempt him from the Penalty of the Laws; how comes a Civil Anointing only to exempt a Tyrant? But you say, *Saul* was a Tyrant, and worthy of death: What then? It does not follow, that because he deserved it, that *David* in the circumstances he was then under, had power to put him to death without the People's Authority, or the Command of the Magistracy. But was *Saul* a Tyrant? I wish you would say so; indeed you do so, though you had said before in your *Second Book*, page 32. That he was no Tyrant, but a good King, and chosen of God. Why should false Accusers, and Men guilty of Forgery be branded, and you escape without the like ignominious Mark? For they practise their Villanies with less Treachery and Deceit than you write, and treat of matters of the greatest moment. *Saul* was a good King, when it serv'd your turn to have him so; and now he's a Tyrant, because it futes with your present purpose. But 'tis no wonder that you make a Tyrant of a good King; for your Principles look as if they were invented for no other design, than to make all good Kings so. But yet *David*, tho he would not put to death his Father-in-Law, for Causes and Reasons that we have nothing to do withal, yet in his own Defence he raised an Army, took and possessed Cities that belong'd to *Saul*, and would have defended *Keilah* against the King's Forces, had he not understood that the Citizens would be false to him. Suppose *Saul* had besieged the Town, and himself had been the first that had scal'd the Walls; do you think *David* would presently have thrown down his Arms, and have betray'd all those that assisted him to his anointed Enemy? I believe not. What reason have we to think *David* would have stuck to do what we have done, who when his Occasions and Circumstances so required, proffered his Assistance to the

the *Philistines*, who were then the professed Enemies of his Country, and did that against *Saul*, which I am sure we should never have done against our Tyrant? I'm weary of mentioning your Lies, and ashamed of them. You say, 'tis a Maxim of the *English*, *That Enemies are rather to be spared than Friends*; and that therefore we conceived we ought not to spare our King's Life, because he had been our Friend. You impudent Lyar, what Mortal ever heard this Whimsy before you invented it? But we'll excuse it. You could not bring in that thredbare Flourish, of our being more fierce than our own Mastiffs (which now comes in the fifth time, and will as oft again before we come to the end of your Book) without some such Introduction. We are not so much more fierce than our own Mastiffs, as you are more hungry than any Dog whatsoever, who return so greedily to what you have vomited up so often. Then you tell us, That *David* commanded the *Amalekite* to be put to death, who pretended to have killed *Saul*. But that Instance, neither in respect of the Fact, nor the Person, has any Affinity with what we are discoursing of. I do not well understand what cause *David* had to be so severe upon that Man, for pretending to have hastned the King's death, and in effect but to have put him out of his pain, when he was dying; unless it were to take away from the *Israelites* all suspicion of his own having been instrumental in it, whom they might look upon as one that had revolted to the *Philistines*, and was part of their Army. Just such another Action as this of *David's*, do all Men blame in *Demitian*, who put to death *Epaphroditus*, because he had helped *Nero* to kill himself. After all this, as another instance of your Impudence, you call him not only the *anointed of the Lord*, but the *Lord's Christ*, who a little before you had said was a Tyrant, and acted by the impulse of some evil Spirit. Such mean thoughts you have of that Reverend Name, that you are not ashamed to give it to a Tyrant, whom you your self confess to have been possessed with the Devil. Now I come to that Precedent, from which every Man that is not blind must needs infer the Right of the People to be superior to that of Kings. When *Solomon* was dead, the People assembled themselves at *Sichem* to make *Rehoboam* King. Thither himself went, as one that stood for the place, that he might not seem to claim the Succession as his Inheritance, nor the same Right over a freeborn People that every Man has over his Father's Sheep and Oxen. The People propose Conditions, upon which they were willing to admit him to the Government. He desires three days time to advise; he consults with the old Men; they tell him no such thing, as that he had an absolute Right to succeed, but perswade him to comply with the People, and speak them fair, it being in their Power whether he should reign or not. Then he advises with the young Men that were brought up with him; they, as if *Salmasius's* Phrensy had taken them, thunder this Right of Kings into his Ears; perswade him to threaten the People with *Whips* and *Scorpions*: And he answered the People as they advised him. When all *Israel* saw that the King hearkned not to them, then they openly protest the Right of the People, and their own Liberty; *What portion have we in David? To thy Tents, O Israel: now look to thine own House, David*. When the King sent *Adoram* to them, they stoned him with Stones, and perhaps they would not have stuck to have serv'd the King himself so, but he made haste and got out of the way. The next News is of a great Army rais'd by *Rehoboam* to reduce the *Israelites* to their Allegiance. God forbids him to proceed, *Go not up*, says he, *to war against your Brethren the Children of Israel; for this thing is of me*. Now consider; heretofore the People had desired a King; God was displeased with them for it, but yet permitted them to make a King, according to that Right that all Nations have to appoint their own Governors. Now the People reject *Rehoboam* from ruling them; and this God not only suffers them to do, but forbids *Rehoboam* to make War against them for it, and stops him in his undertaking; and teaches him withal, that those that had revolted from him, were not Rebels in so doing; but that he ought to look upon them as Brethren. Now recollect your self: You say that all Kings are of God, and that therefore the People ought not to resist them, be they never such Tyrants. I answer you, The Convention of the People, their Votes, their Acts, are likewise of God, and that by the Testimony of God himself in this place; and consequently according to your Argument, by the Authority of God himself, Princes ought not to resist the People. For as certain as it is, that Kings are of God, and whatever Argument you may draw from thence to enforce a Subjection

on and Obedience to them : So certain is it, that free Assemblies of the Body of the People are of God, and that naturally affords the same Argument for their Right of restraining Princes from going beyond their Bounds, and rejecting them if there be occasion; nor is their so doing a justifiable Cause of War, any more than the People of *Israel's* rejecting *Rehoboam* was. You ask, why the People did not revolt from *Solomon*? Who but you would ask such an impertinent Question? You see they did revolt from a Tyrant, and were neither punished, nor blam'd for it. It is true, *Solomon* fell into some Vices, but he was not therefore a Tyrant; he made amends for his Vices by many excellent Virtues, that he was famous for, by many Benefits which accrued to the Nation of the *Jews* by his Government. But admit that he had been a Tyrant: Many times the Circumstances of a Nation are such, that the People will not, and many times such, that they cannot depose a Tyrant. You see they did it when it was in their Power. But, say you, *Jeroboam's* Act was ever had in Detestation; 'twas looked upon as an unjust revolt from a lawful Prince; he and his Successors were accounted Rebels. I confess we find his revolt from the true Worship of God often found fault with; but I nowhere find him blam'd for revolting from *Rehoboam*; and his Successors are frequently spoken of as wicked Princes, but not as Rebels. Acting contrary to Law and Right, say you, cannot introduce, or establish a Right. I pray, what becomes then of your Right of Kings? Thus do you perpetually baffle your self. You say, *Adulteries, Murders, Thefts* are daily committed with impunity. Are you not aware, that here you give an answer to your own Question, how it comes to pass, that Tyrants do so often escape unpunished? You say, *Those Kings were Rebels, and yet the Prophets do no where dissuade the People from their Allegiance.* And why do you, ye rascally false Prophet, endeavour to persuade the People of *England* not to yield Obedience to their present Magistrates, tho in your Opinion they are Rebels? This English Faction of Robbers, say you, alledg, for themselves, that by some immediate Voice from Heaven, they were put upon their bloody Enterprize. It is notoriously evident, that you were distracted when you wrote these Lines; for as you have put the words together, they are neither Latin, nor Sense. And that the *English* pretend to any such warrant, as a Justification of their Actions, is one of those many Lies and Fictions that your Book is full of. But I proceed to urge you with Examples. *Libna*, a great City revolted from *Jeram*, because he had forsaken God; 'twas the King therefore that was guilty, not the City, nor is the City blam'd for it. He that considers the reason that's given why that City rejected his Government, must conclude that the Holy Ghost rather approves of what they did, then condemns them for it. These kind of revolts are no precedents, say you. But why were you then so vain, as to promise in the beginning of this Chapter, that you would argue from Examples, whereas all the Examples that you alledg, are meer Negatives, which prove nothing? and when we urge Examples that are solid and positive, you say they are no Precedents. Who would endure such a way of arguing? You challenged us at Precedents; we produced them; and what do you do? You hang back, and get out of the way. I proceed: *Jehu* at the Command of a Prophet, slew a King; nay, he ordered the death of *Ahaziah*, his own Liege Prince. If God would not have Tyrants put to death by their own Subjects, if it were a wicked thing so to do, a thing of a bad Example; why did God himself command it? If he commanded it, it was a lawful, commendable, and a praise-worthy Action. It was not therefore lawful to kill a Tyrant, because God commanded it; but God commanded it, because antecedently to his Command, it was a justifiable, and a lawful Action. Again, *Jehoiada* the High-Priest did not scruple to depose *Athaliah*, and kill her, tho she had been seven years in actual Possession of the Crown. But, say you, she took upon her the Government when she had no Right to it. And did not you say your self, but a while ago, That *Tiberius* assumed the Sovereignty when it belonged not at all to him? And yet you then affirm'd, that according to our Saviour's Doctrine, we ought to yield Obedience to such Tyrants as he was. 'Twere a most ridiculous thing to imagine, that a Prince, who gets in by Usurpation, may lawfully be deposed; but one that rules tyrannically may not. But, say you, *Athaliah* could not possibly reign according to the Law of the Jewish Kingdom, Thou shalt set over thee a King, says God Almighty; he does not say, Thou shalt set over thee a Queen. If this Argument have any weight, I may as well say, the Command of God was,

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that the People should set over themselves a King, not a Tyrant. So that I'm even with you. *Amazias* was a slothful, idolatrous Prince, and was put to death, not by a few Conspirators; but rather, it should seem, by the Nobility, and by the Body of the People. For he fled from *Jerusalem*, had none to stand by him, and they pursued him to *Lachish*: They took counsel against him, says the History, because he had forsaken God: And we do not find that *Azarias* his Son prosecuted those that had cut off his Father. You quote a great many frivolous passages out of the *Rabbins*, to prove that the Kings of the *Jews* were superiour to the *Sanhedrim*. You do not consider *Zedekia's* own words, *Jerem* 38. *The King is not he that can do any thing against you.* So that this was the Prince's own stile. Thus he confessed himself inferior to the great Council of the Realm. Perhaps, say you, *he meant that he durst not deny them any thing for fear of Sedition.* But what does your *perhaps* signify, whose most positive asserting any thing is not worth a Loufe? For nothing in Nature can be more fickle and inconsistent than you are. How oft have you appear'd in this Discourse inconstant with your self; unsaying with one Breath what you had said with another? Here, again, you make Comparisons betwixt King *Charles*, and some of the good Kings of *Judah*. You speak contemptibly of *David*, as if he were not worthy to come in competition with him. Consider *David*, say you, *an Adulterer, a Murderer; King Charles was guilty of no such Crimes. Solomon his Son, who was accounted wise, &c.* Who can with patience hear this filthy, rascally Fool, speak so irreverently of Persons eminent both in Greatness and Piety? Dare you compare King *David* with King *Charles*; a most Religious King and Prophet, with a Superstitious Prince, and who was but a Novice in the Christian Religion; a most prudent, wise Prince with a weak one; a valiant Prince with a cowardly one; finally, a most just Prince with a most unjust one? Have you the impudence to commend his Chastity and Sobriety, who is known to have committed all manner of Leudness in company with his Confident the Duke of *Buckingham*? It were to no purpose to enquire into the private Actions of his Life, who publicly at Plays would embrace and kiss the Ladies lasciviously, and handle Virgins and Matrons Breasts, not to mention the rest? I advise you therefore, you counterfeit *Plutarch*, to abstain from such like Parallels, lest I be forced to publish those things concerning King *Charles*, which I am willing to conceal. Hitherto we have entertain'd our selves with what the People of the *Jews* have acted or attempted against Tyrants, and by what Right they did it in those times, when God himself did immediately, as it were, by his Voice from Heaven govern their Commonwealth. The Ages that succeeded, do not afford us any Authority, as from themselves, but confirm us in our Opinion by their imitating the Actions of their Fore-fathers. For after the *Babylonish* Captivity, when God did not give any new command concerning the Crown, tho the Royal Line was not extinct, we find the People returning to the old Mosaical Form of Government again. They were one while Tributaries to *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*; yet when he enjoyn'd them things that were contrary to the Law of God, they resisted him, and his Deputies, under the Conduct of their Priests, the *Maccabees*, and by force regain'd their former Liberty. After that, whoever was accounted most worthy of it, had the Principality confer'd upon him. Till at last, *Hircanius* the Son of *Simon*, the Brother of *Judah*, the *Maccabee*, having spoiled *David's* Sepulchre, entertain'd foreign Soldiers, and began to invest the Priesthood with a kind of Regal Power. After whose time his Son *Aristobulus* was the first that assum'd the Crown; he was a Tyrant indeed, and yet the People stirred not against him, which is no great wonder, for he reigned but one Year. And he himself being overtaken with a grievous Disease, and repenting of his own Cruelty and Wickedness, desired nothing more than to dye, and had his wish. His Brother *Alexander* succeeded him; and against him, you say, *the People raised no Insurrection*, tho he were a Tyrant too. And this Lie might have gone down with us, if *Josephus's* History had not been extant. We should then have had no memory of those times, but what your *Josippus* would afford us, out of whom you transcribe a few senseless and useless Apothegms of the *Pharisees*. The History is thus: *Alexander* administred the Publick Affairs ill, both in War and Peace; and tho he kept in pay great numbers of *Pisidians* and *Cilicians*, yet could he not protect himself from the Rage of the People; but whilst he was sacrificing they fell upon him, and had almost smother'd him with

Boughs of Palmtrees and Citron-trees. Afterward the whole Nation made War upon him six Years, during which time, when many thousands of the *Jews* had been slain, and he himself being at length desirous of Peace, demanded of them, what they would have him do to satisfy them ; they told him nothing could do that, but his Blood, nay, that they should hardly pardon him after his death. This History you perceiv'd was not for your purpose, and so you put it off with a few Pharisaical Sentences ; when it had been much better, either to have let it quite alone, or to have given a true Relation of it : but you trust to Lies more than to the Truth of your Cause. Even those eight hundred *Pharisees*, whom he commanded to be crucified, were of their number that had taken up Arms against him. And they with the rest of the People had solemnly protested, That if they could subdue the King's Forces, and get his Person into their Power, they would put him to death. After the death of *Alexander*, his Wife *Alexandra* took the Government upon her, as *Athalia* had formerly done, not according to Law (for you have confessed, that the Laws of the *Jews* admitted not a Female to wear the Crown) but she got it partly by force, for she maintain'd an Army of Foreigners ; and partly by favour, for she had brought over the *Pharisees* to her Interest, which sort of Men were of the greatest Authority with the People. Them she had made her own, by putting the Power into their Hands, and retaining to her self only the Name. Just as the *Scotch* Presbyterians lately allowed *Charles* the Name of King, but upon condition, that he would let them be King in effect. After the death of *Alexandra*, *Hyrca-nus* and *Aristobulus*, her Sons, contended for the Sovereignty : *Aristobulus* was more industrious, and having a greater Party, forced his Elder Brother out of the Kingdom. A while after, when *Pompey* pass'd through *Syria*, in his return from the *Mithridatick* War ; the *Jews*, supposing they had now an opportunity of regaining their Liberty, by referring their Cause to him, dispatcht an Embassy to him in their own Names ; they renounce both the Brothers ; complain that they had enslaved them. *Pompey* deposed *Aristobulus*, leaves the Priesthood, and such a Principality as the Laws allowed to *Hyrca-nus* the Elder. From that time forward he was called High-Priest, and *Ethnarcha*. After these times in the Reign of *Archelaus*, the Son of *Herod*, the *Jews* sent fifty Ambassadors to *Augustus* *Cæsar* ; accused *Herod* that was dead, and *Archelaus* his Son, that then reigned ; they deposed him as much as in them lay, and petition'd the Emperor, that the People of the *Jews* might be govern'd without a King. *Cæsar* was moved at their entreaty, and did not appoint a King over them, but a Governour, whom they called an *Ethnarch*. When that Governour had presided ten years over *Judea*, the People sent Ambassadors again to *Rome*, and accused him of Tyranny. *Cæsar* heard them graciously ; sent for the Governour, condemn'd him to perpetual Exile, and banished him to *Vienna*. Answer me now, That People that accused their own Princes, that desir'd their Condemnation, that desir'd their Punishment, would not they themselves rather, if it had been in their Power, and that they might have had their choice ; would not they, I say, rather have put them to death themselves ? You do not deny, but that the People, and the Nobles often took up Arms against the *Roman* Deputies, when by their Avarice, or their Cruelty, their Government was burdensome and oppressive. But you give a ridiculous reason for this, as all the rest of yours are. You say, *They were not yet accustomed to the Yoke* ; very like they were not, under *Alexander*, *Herod*, and his Son. But, say you, *they would not raise War against Caius Cæsar, nor Petronius*. I confess they did not, and they did very prudently in abstaining, for they were not able. Will you hear their own words upon that occasion ? *We will not make War, say they, because we cannot*. That thing which they themselves acknowledg, they refrain'd from for want of Ability ; you, false Hypocrite, pretend they abstain'd from out of Religion. Then with a great deal of toil you do just nothing at all ; for you endeavour to prove out of the Fathers (tho you had done it as superficially before) that Kings are to be prayed for. That good Kings are to be pray'd for, no Man denies ; nay, and bad ones too, as long as there are any hopes of them : so we ought to pray for Highway-men, and for our Enemies. But how ? Not that they may plunder, spoil and murder us ; but that they may repent. We pray both for Thieves and Enemies ; and yet whoever dreamt but that it was lawful to put the Laws in execution against one, and to fight against the other ?

I value not the *Egyptian* Liturgy that you quote; but the Priest that you mention, who prayed that *Commodus* might succeed his Father in the Empire, did not pray for any thing in my opinion, but imprecated all the mischiefs imaginable to the *Roman* State. You say, *that we have broken our Faith, which we engaged more than once in solemn Assemblies to preserve the Authority and Majesty of the King.* But because hereafter you are more large upon that subject, I shall pass it by in this place; and talk with you when you come to it again. You return then to the Fathers; concerning whom take this in short. Whatever they say, which is not warranted by the Authority of the Scriptures, or by good Reason, shall be of no more regard with me, than if any other ordinary Man had said it. The first that you quote is *Tertullian*, who is no Orthodox Writer, notorious for many errors; whose authority, if he were of your opinion, would stand you in no stead. But what says he? He condemns Tumults and Rebellions. So do we. But in saying so, we do not mean to destroy all the Peoples Rights and Privileges, all the Authority of Senates, the Power of all Magistrates, the King only excepted. The Fathers declaim against Seditions rashly raised, by the giddy heat of the multitude; they speak not of the inferior Magistrates, of Senates, of Parliaments encouraging the People to a lawful opposing of a Tyrant. Hence *Ambrose* whom you quote, "Not to resist, *says he*, but to weep and to sigh, "these are the Bulwarks of the Priesthood; what one is there of our little number who dares say to the Emperor, I do not like your Laws? This is not allowed the Priests, and shall Lay-men pretend to it? 'Tis evident of what sort of Persons he speaks, *viz.* of the Priests, and such of the People as are private Men, not of the Magistrates. You see by how weak and preposterous a reason he lighted a Torch as it were to the dissensions that were afterwards to arise betwixt the Laity and the Clergy concerning even Civil, or Temporal Laws. But because you think you press hardest upon us with the Examples of the Primitive Christians; who tho they were harassed as much as a People could be, yet, you say, *they never took up Arms against the Emperour*: I will make it appear, in the first place, that for the most part they could not: Secondly, that whenever they could, they did: And thirdly, that whether they did or did not, they were such a sort of People, as that their example deserves but to have little sway with us. First therefore, no Man can be ignorant of this, that when the Commonwealth of *Rome* expired, the whole and sovereign power in the Empire was settled in the Emperour; that all the Souldiers were under his pay; insomuch that if the whole Body of the Senate, the *Equestrian* Order, and all the common People had endeavoured to work a change, they might have made way for a massacre of themselves, but could not in any probability retrieve their lost Liberty: for the Empire would still have continued, tho they might perhaps have been so lucky as to have kill'd the Emperour. This being so, what could the Christians do? 'tis true there were a great many of them; but they were dispersed, they were generally Persons of mean quality, and but of small interest in the World. How many of them would one Legion have been able to keep in awe? Could so inconsiderable a body of Men as they were in those days, ever expect to accomplish an Enterprize that many famous Generals, and whole Armies of tried Soldiers had lost their lives in attempting? When about 300 years after our Saviour's Nativity, which was near upon 20 years before the Reign of *Constantine* the Great, when *Dioclesian* was Emperour, there was but one Christian Legion in the whole *Roman* Empire; which Legion for no other reason than because it consisted of Christians, was slain by the rest of the Army at a Town in *France* called *Ostodurum*. The Christians, say you, *conspir'd not with Cassius, with Albinus, with Niger*; and does *Tertullian* think they merited by not being willing to lose their lives in the quarrels of Infidels? 'Tis evident therefore that the Christians could not free themselves from the yoke of the *Roman* Emperours; and it could be no ways advantageous to their interest to conspire with Infidels, as long as Heathen Emperours reign'd. But that afterwards the Christians made War upon Tyrants, and defended themselves by force of Arms when there was occasion, and many times revenged upon Tyrants their Enormities, I am now about to make appear. In the first place, *Constantine* being a Christian, made War upon *Licinius*, and cut him off, who was his Partner in the Sovereign Power, because he molested the *Eastern* Christians; by which act of his he declared thus much at least, That one Magistrate might punish another: For he for his Subjects sake punished *Licinius*,

cinus, who to all intents was as absolute in the Empire as himself, and did not leave the vengeance to God alone: *Licinius* might have done the same to *Constantine*, if there had been the like occasion. So then, if the matter be not wholly reserved to Gods own Tribunal, but that Men have something to do in the case, why did not the Parliament of *England* stand in the same relation to King *Charles*, that *Constantine* did to *Licinius*? The Soldiers made *Constantine* what he was. But our Laws have made our Parliaments equal, nay, superior to our Kings. The Inhabitants of *Constantinople* resisted *Constantius* an *Arian* Emperour, by force of Arms, as long as they were able; they opposed *Hermogenes* whom he had sent with a Military power to depose *Paul* an Orthodox Bishop; the house whither he had betaken himself for security, they fired about his ears, and at last killed him right out. *Constans* threatned to make War upon his Brother *Constantius*, unless he would restore *Paul* and *Athanasius* to their Bishopricks. You see those holy Fathers, when their Bishopricks were in danger, were not ashamed to stir up their Prince's own Brother to make War upon him. Not long after, the Christian Soldiers, who then made whom they would Emperors, put to death *Constans* the Son of *Constantinus*, because he behaved himself dissolutely and proudly in the Government, and translated the Empire to *Magnentius*. Nay, those very persons that saluted *Julian* by the name of Emperour, against *Constantius's* will, who was actually in possession of the Empire, (for *Julian* was not then an Apostate, but a vertuous and valiant person) are they not amongst the number of those Primitive Christians, whose Example you propose to us for our imitation? Which action of theirs, when *Constantius* by his Letters to the People very sharply and earnestly forbad, (which Letters were openly read to them) they allcried out unanimously, That themselves had but done what the Provincial Magistrates, the Army, and the Authority of the Commonwealth had decreed. The same persons declared War against *Constantius*, and contributed as much as in them lay, to deprive him both of his Government and his Life. How did the Inhabitants of *Antioch* behave themselves, who were none of the worst sort of Christians? I'll warrant you they prayed for *Julian*, after he became an Apostate, whom they used to rail at in his own presence, and scoffing at his long Beard bid him make Ropes of it: Upon the news of whose death they offer'd publick Thanksgivings, made Feasts, and gave other publick Demonstrations of Joy. Do you think they used when he was alive to pray for the continuance of his life and health? Nay, is it not reported, that a Christian Soldier in his own Army was the Author of his death? *Sozomen*, a Writer of Ecclesiastical History, does not deny it, but commends him that did it, if the Fact were so; 'For it is no wonder, says he, that some of his own Soldiers might think within himself, that not only the *Greeks*, but all Mankind hitherto had agreed that it was a commendable action to kill a Tyrant; and that they deserve all mens praise, who are willing to die themselves to procure the liberty of all others: so that that Soldier ought not rashly to be condemned, who in the Cause of God and of Religion, was so zealous and valiant. These are the words of *Sozomen*, a good and Religious Man of that age. By which we may easily apprehend what the general opinion of pious men in those days was upon this point. *Ambrose* himself being commanded by the Emperour *Valentinian* the Younger, to depart from *Milan*, refused to obey him, but defended himself and the Palace by force of Arms against the Emperour's Officers, and took upon him, contrary to his own Doctrine, to resist the higher powers. There was a great sedition raised at *Constantinople* against the Emperour *Arcadius*, more than once, by reason of *Chrysostom's* Exile. Hitherto I have shewn how the Primitive Christians behaved themselves towards Tyrants; how not only the Christian Soldiers, and the People, but the Fathers of the Church themselves, have both made War upon them, and opposed them with force, and all this before St. *Austin's* time: for you your self are pleased to go down no lower; and therefore I make no mention of *Valentinian* the Son of *Placidia*, who was slain by *Maximus* a Senator, for committing Adultery with his Wife; nor do I mention *Avitus* the Emperour, whom, because he disbanded the Soldiers, and betook himself wholly to a luxurious life, the *Roman* Senate immediately deposed; because these things came to pass some years after St. *Austin's* death. But all this I give you: Suppose I had not mentioned the practice of the Primitive Christians; suppose they never had stirred in opposition to Tyrants; suppose they had

had accounted it unlawful so to do ; I will make it appear that they were not such Persons, as that we ought to rely upon their Authority, or can safely follow their Example. Long before *Constantin's* time the generality of Christians had lost much of the Primitive Sanctity and Integrity both of their Doctrine and Manners. Afterwards, when he had vastly enriched the Church, they began to fall in love with Honour and Civil Power, and then the Christian Religion went to wrack. First Luxury and Sloth, and then a great drove of Heresies and Immoralities broke loose among them ; and these begot Envy, Hatred and Discord, which abounded every where. At last, they that were linked together into one Brotherhood by that holy band of Religion, were as much at variance and strife among themselves, as the most bitter Enemies in the world could be. No reverence for, no consideration of their duty was left amongst them : the Soldiers and Commanders of the Army, as oft as they pleased themselves, created new *Emperors*, and sometimes killed good ones as well as bad. I need not mention such as *Verannio*, *Maximus*, *Eugenius*, whom the Soldiers all of a sudden advanced and made them Emperors ; nor *Gratian*, an excellent Prince ; nor *Valentinian* the younger, who was none of the worst, and yet were put to death by them. It is true, these things were acted by the Soldiers, and Soldiers in the Field ; but those Soldiers were Christians, and lived in that Age which you call Evangelical, and whose example you propose to us for our imitation. Now you shall hear how the Clergy managed themselves : Pastors and Bishops, and sometimes those very Fathers whom we admire and extol to so high a degree, every one of whom was a Leader of their several Flocks ; those very men, I say, fought for their Bishopricks, as Tyrants did for their Sovereignty ; sometimes throughout the City, sometimes in the very Churches, sometimes at the Altar, Clergy-men and Lay-men fought promiscuously ; they slew one another, and great slaughters were made on both sides. You may remember *Damasus* and *Ursinus*, who were Contemporaries with *Ambrose*. It would be too long to relate the tumultuary Insurrections of the Inhabitants of *Constantinople*, *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, especially those under the Conduct and Management of *Cyrillus*, whom you extol as a Preacher up of Obedience ; when the Monks in that Fight, within the City, had almost slain *Orestes*, *Theodosius's* Deputy. Now who can sufficiently wonder at your Impudence, or Carelessness and Neglect ? “ Till *St. Austin's* time, say you, and lower down than the Age that he lived in, there is not any mention extant in History, of any private Person, of any Commander, or of any number of Conspirators, that have put their Prince to death, or taken up Arms against him. I have named to you out of known and approved Histories, both private Persons and Magistrates, that with their own hands have slain not only bad, but very good Princes : whole Armies of Christians, many Bishops amongst them, that have fought against their own Emperors. You produce some of the Fathers, that with a great flourish of words, persuade or boast of Obedience to Princes : And I, on the other side, produce both those same Fathers, and others besides them, that by their actions have declined Obedience to their Princes, even in lawful things ; have defended themselves with a Military Force against them ; others that have opposed forcibly, and wounded their Deputies ; others that being Competitors for Bishopricks, have maintained Civil Wars against one another : As if it were lawful for Christians to wage War with Christians for a Bishoprick, and Citizens with Citizens ; but unlawful to fight against a Tyrant, in defence of our Liberty, of our Wives and Children, and of our Lives themselves. Who would own such Fathers as these ? You produce *St. Austin*, who you say, asserts that the Power of a Master over his Servants, and a Prince over his Subjects, is one and the same thing. But I answer ; If *St. Austin* assert any such thing, he asserts what neither our Saviour, nor any of his Apostles ever asserted ; tho' for the confirmation of that Assertion, than which nothing can be more false, he pretends to rely wholly upon their Authority. The three or four last Pages of this Fourth Chapter, are stuffed with meer Lies, or things carelessly and loosely put together, that are little to the purpose : And that every one that reads them, will discover by what has been said already. For what concerns the Pope, against whom you declaim so loudly, I am content you should bawl at him, till you are hoarse. But whereas you endeavour to persuade the ignorant, That all that called themselves Christians, yielded an entire obedience to Princes, whether good or bad, till the Papal Power grew to that height, that it was acknowledged

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superior to that of the Civil Magistrate, and till he took upon him to absolve Subjects from their Allegiance : I have sufficiently proved by many Examples before and since the age that *St. Augustin* lived in, that nothing can be more false. Neither does that seem to have much more truth in it, which you say in the last place ; viz. That Pope *Zachary* absolved the French-men from their Oath of Allegiance to their King. For *Francis Hotoman*, who was both a French-man and a Lawyer, and a very learned man, in the 13th Chapter of his *Francogallia*, denies that either *Chilperic* was deposed, or the Kingdom translated to *Pepin* by the Pope's Authority ; and he proves out of very Ancient Chronicles of that Nation, That the whole affair was transacted in the great Council of the Kingdom, according to the Original Constitution of that Government. Which being once done, the French Histories, and Pope *Zachary* himself, deny that there was any necessity of absolving his Subjects from their Allegiance. For not only *Hotoman*, but *Guccard*, a very eminent Historian of that Nation, informs us, That the Ancient Records of the Kingdom of France testify, That the Subjects of that Nation upon the first institution of Kingship amongst them, reserved a power to themselves, both of choosing their Princes, and of deposing them again, if they thought fit : And that the Oath of Allegiance which they took, was upon this express condition ; to wit, That the King should likewise perform what at his Coronation he swore to do. So that if Kings by misgoverning the People committed to their charge, first broke their own Oath to their Subjects, there needs no Pope to dispense with the Peoples Oaths ; the Kings themselves by their own perfidiousness having absolved their Subjects. And finally, Pope *Zachary* himself in a Letter of his to the French, which you your self quote, renounces, and ascribes to the People that Authority which you say he assumes to himself : For “ if a Prince be accountable to the People, being beholden to them for his Royalty ; “ if the People, since they make Kings, have the same Right to depose them, as the very words of that Pope are ; it is not likely, that the French-men would by any Oath depart in the least from that Ancient Right, or ever tie up their own hands, so as not to have the same Right that their Ancestors always had, to depose bad Princes, as well as to honour and obey good ones ; nor is it likely that they thought themselves obliged to yield that Obedience to Tyrants, which they swore to yield only to good Princes. A People obliged to Obedience by such an Oath, is discharged of that Obligation, when a lawful Prince becomes a Tyrant, or gives himself over to Sloth and Voluptuousness ; the rule of Justice, the very Law of Nature dispenses with such a Peoples Allegiance. So that even by the Pope's own opinion, the People were under no Obligation to yield Obedience to *Chilperic*, and consequently had no need of a Dispensation.

C H A P. V.

THO I am of opinion, *Salmasius*, and always was, That the Law of God does exactly agree with the Law of Nature ; so that having shown what the Law of God is, with respect to Princes, and what the practise has been of the People of God, both *Jews* and *Christians*, I have at the same time, and by the same Discourse, made appear what is most agreeable to the Law of Nature : yet because you pretend to confute us most powerfully by the Law of Nature, I will be content to admit that to be necessary, which before I had thought would be superfluous ; that in this Chapter I may demonstrate, That nothing is more suitable to the Law of Nature, than that Punishment be inflicted upon Tyrants. Which if I do not evince, I will then agree with you, that likewise by the Law of God they are exempt. I do not purpose to frame a long Discourse of Nature in general, and the original of Civil Societies ; that Argument has been largely handled by many Learned Men, both *Greek* and *Latin*. But I shall endeavour to be as short as may be ; and my design is not so much to confute you (who would willingly have spared this pains) as to show that you confute your self, and destroy your own Positions. I'll begin with that first Position which you lay down as a Fundamental, and that shall be the Groundwork of my en-

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suing Discourse. *The Law of Nature*, say you, is a Principle imprinted on all mens minds, to regard the good of all Mankind, considering men as united together in Societies. But this innate Principle cannot procure that common good, unless, as there are people that must be governed, so that very Principle ascertain who shall govern them. To wit, lest the stronger oppress the weaker, and those persons, who for their mutual Safety and Protection have united themselves together, should be disunited and divided by Injury and Violence, and reduced to a bestial savage life again. This I suppose is what you mean. Out of the number of those that united into one body, you say, there must needs have been some chosen, who excelled the rest in Wisdom and Valour; that they either by force, or by perswasion, might restrain those that were refractory, and keep them within due bounds. Sometimes it would so fall out that one single Person, whose Conduct and Valour was extraordinary, might be able to do this, and sometimes more assisted one another with their Advice and Counsel. But since it is impossible that any one man should order all things himself, there was a necessity of his consulting with others, and taking some into part of the Government with himself: So that whether a single person reign, or whether the Supreme Power reside in the body of the People, since it is impossible that all should administer the affairs of the Commonwealth, or that one man should do all, the Government does always lie upon the shoulders of many. And afterwards you say, Both Forms of Government, whether by many or a few, or by a single person, are equally according to the Law of Nature; for both proceed from the same Principle of Nature, viz. That it is impossible for any single person so to govern alone, as not to admit others into a share of the Government with himself. Tho I might have taken all this out of the Third Book of Aristotle's Politicks, I chose rather to transcribe it out of your own Book; for you stole it from him, as Prometheus did Fire from Jupiter, to the ruin of Monarchy, and overthrow of your self, and your own opinion. For enquire as diligently as you can for your life, into the Law of Nature, as you have described it, you will not find the least footstep in it of Kingly Power, as you explain it. *The Law of Nature*, say you, in ordering who should govern others, respected the universal good of all mankind. It did not then regard the private good of any particular person, not of a Prince, so that the King is for the People, and consequently the People superior to him; which being allowed, it is impossible that Princes should have any right to oppress or enslave the people; that the inferior should have right to tyrannize over the superior. So that since Kings cannot pretend to any right to do mischief, the right of the people must be acknowledged according to the Law of Nature to be superior to that of Princes; and therefore by the same right, that before Kingship was known, men united their Strength and Counsels for their mutual Safety and Defence; by the same right, that for the preservation of all mens Liberty, Peace, and Safety, they appointed one or more to govern the rest; by the same right they may depose those very persons, whom for their Valour or Wisdom they advanced to the Government, or any others that rule disorderly, if they find them by reason of their slothfulness, folly, or impiety, unfit for Government: since Nature does not regard the good of one, or of a few, but of all in general. For what sort of persons were they whom you suppose to have been chosen? You say, they were such as excelled in Courage and Conduct, to wit, such as by Nature seemed fittest for Government; who by reason of their excellent Wisdom and Valour, were enabled to undertake so great a Charge. The consequence of this I take to be, That right of Succellion is not by the Law of Nature; that no Man by the Law of Nature has right to be King, unless he excel all others in Wisdom and Courage; that all such as reign, and want these qualifications, are advanced to the Government by Force or Faction; have no right by the Law of Nature to be what they are, but ought rather to be Slaves than Princes. For Nature appoints that Wise Men should govern Fools, not that Wicked Men should rule over Good Men; Fools over Wise Men: And consequently, they that take the Government out of such mens hands, act according to the Law of Nature. To what end Nature directs Wise Men should bear the Rule, you shall hear in your own words; viz. "That by Force or by Perswasion, they may keep such as are unruly, within due bounds. But how should he keep others within the bounds of their duty, that neglects, or is ignorant of, or wilfully acts contrary to his own? Alledg now, if you can, any dictate of Nature, by which we are enjoined to neglect the wise Institutions of the Law of Nature, and have no regard to them in Civil and Publick Concerns, when we see what great and admirable

mirable things Nature her self effects in things that are inanimate and void of sense, rather than lose her end. Produce any Rule of Nature, or Natural Justice, by which inferior Criminals ought to be punished, but Kings and Princes to go unpunished; and not only so, but tho' guilty of the greatest Crimes imaginable, be had in Reverence, and almost adored. You agree, That all *Forms of Government, whether by many, or a few, or by a single person, are equally agreeable to the Law of Nature.* So that the person of a King is not by the Law of Nature more sacred than a Senate of Nobles, or Magistrates, chosen from amongst the common people, who you grant may be punished, and ought to be, if they offend; and consequently, Kings ought to be so too, who are appointed to rule for the very same end and purpose that other Magistrates are. For say you, *Nature does not allow any single person to bear rule so entirely, as not to have Partners in the Government.* It does not therefore allow of a Monarch; it does not allow one single person to rule so, as that all others should be in a slavish subjection to his Commands only. You that give Princes such Partners in the Government, *as in whom, to use your own words, the Government always resides,* do at the same time make others Colleagues with them, and equal to them; nay, and consequently you settle a power in those Colleagues of punishing, and of deposing them. So that while you your self go about, not to extol a Kingly Government, but to establish it by the Law of Nature, you destroy it; no greater misfortune could befall Sovereign Princes, than to have such an Advocate as you are. Poor, unhappy wretch! what blindness of mind has seiz'd you, that you should unwittingly take so much pains to discover your knavery and folly, and make it visible to the world (which before you conceal'd, in some measure and disguis'd) that you should be so industrious to heap disgrace and ignominy upon your self. What offence does Heaven punish you for, in making you appear in publick, and undertake the defence of a desperate Cause, with so much impudence and childishness, and instead of defending it, to betray it by your ignorance? What Enemy of yours would desire to see you in a more forlorn, despicable condition than you are, who have no refuge left from the depth of misery, but in your own imprudence and want of sense, since by your unskilful and silly defence, you have rendered Tyrants the more odious and detestable, by ascribing to them an unbounded liberty of doing mischief with Impunity; and consequently have created them more Enemies than they had before? But I return to your Contradictions. When you had resolv'd with your self to be so wicked as to endeavour to find out a foundation for Tyranny in the Law of Nature, you saw a necessity of extolling Monarchy above other sorts of Government; which you cannot go about to do, without doing as you use to do, that is contradicting your self. For having said but a little before, *That all Forms of Government, whether by more or fewer, or by a single person, are equally according to the Law of Nature,* now you tell us, *that of all these sorts of Government, that of a single person is most natural.* Nay, though you had said in express terms but lately, *That the Law of Nature does not allow that any Government should reside entirely in one man.* Now upbraid whom you will with the putting of Tyrants to death; since you your self by your own folly, have cut the Throats of all Monarchs, nay even of Monarchy it self. But it is not to the purpose for us here to dispute which Form of Government is best, by one single person, or by many. I confess many eminent and famous men have extolled Monarchy; but it has always been upon this supposition, that the Prince were a very excellent person, and one that of all others deserved best to reign; without which Supposition, no Form of Government can be so prone to Tyranny as Monarchy is. And whereas you resemble a Monarchy to the Government of the World, by one Divine Being, I pray answer me, Whether you think that any other can deserve to be invested with a power here on Earth, that shall resemble his power that governs the World, except such a person as does infinitely excel all other Men, and both for Wisdom and Goodness in some measure resemble the Deity? and such a person in my opinion, none can be but the Son of God himself. And whereas you make a Kingdom to be a kind of Family, and make a comparison betwixt a Prince and the Master of a Family; observe how lame the Parallel is. For a Master of a Family beget part of his Household, at least he feeds all those that are of his house, and upon that account deserves to have the Government; but the reason holds not in the case of a Prince; nay 'tis quite contrary. In

the next place, you propose to us for our imitation the example of inferior Creatures, especially of Birds, and amongst them of Bees, which according to your skill in Natural Philosophy, are a sort of Birds too; *The Bees have a King over them.* The Bees of *Trent* you mean; don't you remember? all other Bees, you your self confess to be Commonwealths. But leave off playing the fool with Bees; they belong to the Muses, and hate, and (you see) confute such a Beetle as you are. *The Quails are under a Captain.* Lay such snares for your own *Bitterns*; you are not Fowler good enough to catch us. Now you begin to be personally concerned. *Gallus Gallinaceus*, a Cock, say you, *has both Cocks and Hens under him.* How can that be, since you your self that are *Gallus*, and but too much *Gallinaceus*, by report cannot govern your own single Hen, but let her govern you? So that if a *Gallinaceus* be a King over many Hens, you that are a slave to one, must own your self not to be so good as a *Gallinaceus*, but some *Stercorarius Gallus*, some Dunghil-Cock or other. For matter of Books, there is no body publishes huger Dunghills than you, and you disturb all people with your shitten Cock-crow; that's the only property in which you resemble a true Cock. I'll throw you a great many Barley-corns, if in ransacking this Dunghil Book of yours, you can show me but one Jewel. But why should I promise you Barley, that never peckt at Corn, as that honest plain Cock that we read of in *Æsop*, but at Gold, as that Roguey Cock in *Plautus*, though with a different event; for you found a hundred *Jacobusses*, and he was struck dead with *Enclio's* Club, which you deserve more than he did. But let us go on: *That same natural reason that designs the good and safety of all Mankind, requires, that whoever is once promoted to the Sovereignty, be preserved in the possession of it.* Who ever question'd this, as long as his preservation is consistent with the safety of all the rest? But is it not obvious to all men that nothing can be more contrary to natural reason than that any one man should be preserved and defended to the utter ruin and destruction of all others? But yet (you say) *it is better to keep and defend a bad Prince, nay one of the worst that ever was, than to change him for another; because his ill Government cannot do the Commonwealth so much harm as the disturbances will occasion, which must of necessity be raised before the people can get rid of him.* But what is this to the Right of Kings by the Law of Nature? If Nature teaches me rather to suffer my self to be robbed by High-way men, or if I should be taken Captive by such, to purchase my Liberty with all my Estate, than to fight with them for my life, can you infer from thence, that they have a natural right to rob and spoil me? Nature teaches men to give way sometimes to the violence and outrages of Tyrants, the necessity of affairs sometimes enforces a Toleration with their enormities; what foundation can you find in this forced patience of a Nation, in this compulsory submission, to build a Right upon, for Princes to tyrannize by the Law of Nature? That Right which Nature has given the people for their own preservation, can you affirm that she has invelted Tyrants with for the people's ruin and destruction? Nature teaches us, of two evils to chuse the least; and to bear with oppression, as long as there is a necessity of so doing; and will you infer from hence, that Tyrants have some Right by the Law of Nature to oppress their Subj^{ts} and go unpunished, because as circumstances may fall out, it may sometimes be a less mischief to bear with them than to remove them? Remember what your self once wrote concerning Bishops against a Jesuit; you were then of another opinion than you are now: I have quoted your words formerly; you there affirm *that seditious Civil dissentions and discords of the Nobles and Common People against and amongst one another, are much more tolerable, and less mischievous than certain misery and destruction under the Government of a single person, that plays the Tyrant.* And you said very true. For you had not then run mad; you had not then been bribed with *Charles* his *Jacobusses*. You had not got the *King's-Evil*. I should tell you perhaps, if I did not know you, that you might be ashamed thus to prevaricate. But you can sooner burst than blush, who have cast off all shame for a little profit. Did you not remember, that the Commonwealth of the people of *Rome* flourished and became glorious when they had banished their Kings? Could you possibly forget that of the *Low Countries*? which after it had shook off the Yoke of the King of *Spain*, after long and tedious Wars, but crown'd with success, obtained its Liberty, and feeds such a pitiful Grammarian as your self with a Pension; but not with a design that their youth might be so infatuated by your

Sophistry,

Sophistry, as to chuse rather to return to their former Slavery than inherit the Glorious Liberty which their Ancestors purchased for them. May those pernicious principles of yours be banished with your self into the most remote and barbarous Corners of the World. And last of all, the Commonwealth of *England* might have afforded you an example, in which *Charles*, who had been their King, after he had been taken captive in War, and was found incurable, was put to death. But they have defaced and impoverished the Island with Civil broils and discords, which under its Kings was happy, and swam in Luxury. Yea, when it was almost buried in Luxury and Voluptuousness, and the more inured thereto, that it might be enthralled the more easily; when its Laws were abolished, and its Religion agreed to be sold, they delivered it from Slavery. You are like him that published *Simplicius* and *Epictetus* in the same Volume; a very grave Stoick, Who call an Island happy, because it swims in Luxury. I'm sure no such Doctrine ever came out of *Zeno's* School. But why should not you, who would give Kings a power of doing what they list, have liberty your self to broach what new Philosophy you please? Now begin again to act your part. There never was in any King's Reign so much blood spilt, so many Families ruined. All this is to be imputed to *Charles*, not to us, who first raised an Army of Irishmen against us; who by his own Warrant authorized the Irish Nation to conspire against the English; who by their means slew two hundred thousand of his English Subjects in the Province of *Ulster*, besides what Numbers were slain in other parts of that Kingdom; who solicited two Armies towards the destruction of the Parliament of *England*, and the City of *London*; and did many other actions of Hostility before the Parliament and People had lifted one Soldier for the preservation and defence of the Government. What Principles, what Law, what Religion ever taught men rather to consult their ease, to save their Money, their Blood, nay their Lives themselves, than to oppose an Enemy with force? for I make no difference betwixt a Foreign Enemy and another, since both are equally dangerous and destructive to the good of the whole Nation. The People of *Israel* saw very well, that they could not possibly punish the *Benjamites* for murdering the *Levite's* Wife, without the loss of many Mens Lives: And did that induce them to sit still? Was that accounted a sufficient Argument why they should abstain from War, from a very Bloody Civil War? Did they therefore suffer the death of one poor Woman to be unrevenged? Certainly if Nature teaches us rather to endure the Government of a King, though he be never so bad, than to endanger the lives of a great many Men in the recovery of our Liberty; it must teach us likewise not only to endure a Kingly Government, which is the only one that you argue ought to be submitted to, but even an Aristocracy and a Democracy: Nay, and sometimes it will persuade us, to submit to a Multitude of Highway-men, and to Slaves that mutiny. *Fulvius* and *Rupilius*, if your Principles had been received in their days, must not have engaged in the Servile War (as their Writers call it) after the *Pratorian* Armies were slain: *Crassus* must not have marched against *Spartacus*, after the Rebels had destroyed one Roman Army, and spoil'd their Tents: Nor must *Pompey* have undertaken the Piratic War. But the State of *Rome* must have pursued the dictates of Nature, and must have submitted to their own Slaves, or to the Pyrates rather than run the hazard of losing some Mens Lives. You do not prove at all, that Nature has imprinted any such notion as this of yours on the minds of Men: And yet you cannot forbear boding us ill luck, and denouncing the Wrath of God against us (which may Heaven divert, and inflict it upon your self, and all such Prognosticators as you) who have punished as he deserved, one that had the name of our King, but was in Fact our implacable Enemy; and we have made Atonement for the death of so many of our Countreymen, as our Civil Wars have occasion'd, by shedding his Blood, that was the Author and Cause of them. Then you tell us, that a Kingly Government appears to be more according to the Laws of Nature, because more Nations, both in our days and of old, have submitted to that Form of Government, than ever did to any other. I answer, If that be so, it was neither the effect of any dictate of the Law of Nature, nor was it in Obedience to any Command from God. God would not suffer his own People to be under a King; he consented at last, but unwillingly: what Nature and right Reason dictates, we are not to gather from the practice of most Nations, but of the wisest and most prudent. The *Grecians*, the *Romans*, the

Italians, and *Carthaginians*, with many other, have of their own accord, out of choice, prefer'd a Commonwealth to a Kingly Government; and these Nations that I have named, are better instances than all the rest. Hence *Sulpitius Severus* says, 'That the very name of a King was always very odious among freeborn People. But these things concern not our present purpose, nor many other Impertinences that follow over and over again. I'll make haste to prove that by Examples which I have proved already by Reason; viz. That it is very agreeable to the Law of Nature, that Tyrants should be punished; and that all Nations by the instinct of Nature, have punished them; which will expose your Impudence, and make it evident, that you take a liberty to publish palpable downright Lies. You begin with the *Egyptians*; and indeed, who does not see, that you play the Gipsy your self throughout? Amongst them, say you, *there is no mention extant of any King, that was ever slain by the People in a Popular Insurrection, no War made upon any of their Kings by their Subjects, no attempt made to depose any of them.* What think you then of *Osiris*, who perhaps was the first King that the *Egyptians* ever had? Was not he slain by his Brother *Typhon*, and five and twenty other Conspirators? And did not a great part of the Body of the People side with them, and fight a Battel with *Isis* and *Orus*, the late King's Wife and Son? I pass by *Sesostris*, whom his Brother had well nigh put to death, and *Chemmis*, and *Cephrenes*, against whom the People were deservedly enraged; and because they could not do it while they were alive, they threatned to tear them in pieces after they were dead. Do you think that a People that durst lay violent hands upon good Kings, had any restraint upon them, either by the Light of Nature or Religion, from putting bad ones to Death? Could they that threatned to pull the dead Bodies of their Princes out of their Graves, when they ceased to do mischief, (tho by the Custom of their own Country, the Corps of the meanest Person was sacred and inviolable) abstain from inflicting Punishment upon them in their Life-time, when they were acting all their Villanies, if they had been able; and that upon some Maxim of the Law of Nature? I know you would not stick to answer me in the affirmative, how absurd soever it be; but that you may not offer at it, I'll pull out your Tongue. Know then, that some Ages before *Cephrenes's* time, one *Amosis* was King of *Egypt*, and was as great a Tyrant, as who has been the greatest; him the People bore with. This you are glad to hear; this is what you would be at. But hear what follows, my honest Tell-troth. I shall speak out of *Diodorus*, *They bore with him for some while, because he was too strong for them.* But when *Artisanes* King of *Ethiopia* made war upon him, they took that opportunity to revolt, so that being deserted, he was easily subdued, and *Egypt* became an Accession to the Kingdom of *Ethiopia*. You see the *Egyptians*, as soon as they could, took up Arms against a Tyrant; they joined Forces with a Foreign Prince, to depose their own King, and disinherit his Posterity; they chose to live under a moderate and good Prince, as *Artisanes* was, tho a Foreigner, rather than under a Tyrant of their own. The same People with a very unanimous Consent took up Arms against *Apries*, another Tyrant, who relied upon Foreign Aids that he had hired to assist him. Under the Conduct of *Amasis* their General they conquered, and afterward strangled him, and placed *Amasis* in the Throne. And observe this Circumstance in the History; *Amasis* kept the Captive King a good while in the Palace, and treated him well: At last, when the People complain'd that he nourished his own and their Enemy; he delivered him into their hands, who put him to death in the manner I have mentioned. These things are related by *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*. Where are you now? Do you think that any Tyrant would not chuse a Hatchet rather than a Halter? Afterwards, say you, *when the Egyptians were brought into subjection by the Persians; they continued faithful to them; which is most false, they never were faithful to them: For in the fourth year after Cambyfes had subdued them, they rebelled. Afterward, when Xerxes had tamed them, within a short time they revolted from his Son Artaxerxes, and set up one Inarus to be their King. After his death they rebell'd again, and created one Tachus King, and made war upon Artaxerxes Mnemon. Neither were they better Subjects to their own Princes, for they deposed Tachus, and conferr'd the Government upon his Son Nechtanebus, till at last Artaxerxes Ochus brought them the second time under subjection to the Persian Empire. When they were under the Macedonian Empire, they declared by their Actions, that Tyrants ought to be under some restraint:*

They

They threw down the Statutes and Images of *Protophysco*, and would have killed him, but that the mercenary Army that he commanded, was too strong for them. His Son *Alexander* was forced to leave his Country by the meer violence of the People, who were incensed against him for killing his Mother. And the People of *Alexandria* dragged his Son *Alexander* out of the Palace, whose insolent Behaviour gave just Offence, and killed him in the Theatre. And the same People deposed *Protophysco* for his many Crimes. Now, since it is impossible that any Learned Man should be ignorant of these things that are so generally known; and since it is an inexcusable Fault in *Salmasius* to be ignorant of them, whose Profession it is to teach them others, and whose very asserting things of this nature ought to carry in it self an Argument of Credibility; it is certainly a very scandalous thing (I say) either that so ignorant, illiterate a Blockhead, should to the scandal of all Learning, profess himself, and be accounted a Learned Man, and obtain Salaries from Princes and States; or that so impudent and notorious a Lyar should not be branded with some particular mark of Infamy, and for ever banished from the Society of learned and honest Men. Having searched among the *Egyptians* for Examples, let us now consider the *Ethiopians*: their Neighbours. They adore their Kings, whom they suppose God to have appointed over them, even as if they were a sort of Gods: And yet whenever the Priests condemn any of them, they kill themselves: And on that manner, says *Diodorus*, they punish all their Criminals; they put them not to death, but send a Minister of Justice to command them to destroy their own Persons. In the next place you mention the *Assyrians*, the *Medes*, and the *Persians*, who of all others were most observant of their Princes: And you affirm, contrary to all Historians that have wrote any thing concerning those Nations, That the Regal Power there, had an unbounded Liberty annexed to it, of doing what the King listed. In the first place the Prophet *Daniel* tells us, how the *Babylonians* expelled *Nebuchadnezzar* out of Human Society, and made him graze with the Beasts, when his Pride grew to be insufferable. The Laws of those Countries were not entituled the Laws of their Kings, but the Laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*; which Laws were irrevocable, and the Kings themselves were bound by them: Insomuch that *Darius* the *Mede*, tho he earnestly desired to have delivered *Daniel* from the hands of the Princes, yet could not effect it. Those Nations, say you, thought it no sufficient pretence to reject a Prince, because he abused the Right that was inherent in him as he was Sovereign. But in the very writing of these words you are so stupid, as that with the same breath that you commend the Obedience and Submissiveness of those Nations, of your own accord you make mention of *Sardanapalus's* being deprived of his Crown by *Arbaces*. Neither was it he alone that accomplished that Enterprize; for he had the assistance of the Priests (who of all others were best versed in the Law) and of the People; and it was wholly upon this account that he deposed him, because he abused his authority and power, not by giving himself over to cruelty, but to luxury and effeminacy. Run over the Histories of *Herodotus*, *Ctesias*, *Diodorus*, and you will find things quite contrary to what you assert here; you will find that those Kingdoms were destroyed for the most part by Subjects, and not by Foreigners; that the *Assyrians* were brought down by the *Medes*, who then were their Subjects, and the *Medes* by the *Persians*, who at that time were likewise subject to them. You your self confess, that *Cyrus* rebell'd, and that at the same time in divers parts of the Empire little upstart Governments were formed by those that shook off the *Medes*. But does this agree with what you said before? Does this prove the obedience of the *Medes* and *Persians* to their Princes, and that *Jus Regium* which you had asserted to have been universally received amongst those Nations? What Potion can cure this brain-sick Frenzy of yours? You say, It appears by *Herodotus* how absolute the Persian Kings were. *Cambyses* being desirous to marry his Sister, consulted with the Judges, who were the Interpreters of the Laws, to whose Decision all difficult matters were to be referred. What answer had he from them? They told him, they knew no Law which permitted a Brother to marry his Sister; but another Law they knew, that the Kings of *Persia* might do what they listed. Now to this I answer, if the Kings of *Persia* were really so absolute, what need was there of any other to interpret the Laws, besides the King himself? Those superfluous unnecessary Judges would have had their abode and residence in any other place rather than in the Palace, where they were altogether useless. Again, if those Kings might do whatever they would,

it is not credible that so ambitious a Prince as *Cambyfes* was, should be so ignorant of that grand Prerogative, as to consult with the Judges, whether what he desired were according to Law. What was the matter then? either they designed to humour the King, as you say they did, or they were afraid to cross his inclination, which is the account that *Hecodotus* gives of it; and so told him of such a Law, as they knew would please him, and in plain terms made a fool of him; which is no new thing with Judges and Lawyers now a days. But, say you, *Artabanus* a Persian told *Themistocles*, that there was no better Law in Persia, than that by which it was enacted, That Kings were to be honoured and adored, An excellent Law that was without doubt which commanded Subjects to adore their Princes! but the Primitive Fathers have long ago damned it; and *Artabanus* was a proper person to commend such a Law, who was the very Man that a little while after slew *Xerxes* with his own hand. You quote *Regicides* to assert Royalty. I am afraid you have some design upon Kings. In the next place you quote the Poet *Claudian*, to prove how obedient the Persians were. But I appeal to their Histories and Annals, which are full of the Revolts of the Persians, the Medes, the Bactrians, and Babylonians, and give us frequent instances of the Murders of their Princes. The next person whose authority you cite, is *Otanes* the Persian, who likewise killed *Smerdis* then King of Persia, to whom, out of the hatred which he bore to a Kingly Government, he reckons up the impieties and injurious actions of Kings, their violation of all Laws, their putting Men to Death without any legal Conviction, their Rapes and Adulteries; and all this you will have called the Right of Kings, and slander *Samuel* again as a teacher of such Doctrines. You quote *Homer*, who says that Kings derive their Authority from *Jupiter*; to which I have already given an answer. For King *Philip* of *Macedon*, whose asserting the Right of Kings, you make use of: I'll believe *Charles* his description of it, as soon as his. Then you quote some Sentences out of a fragment of *Diogenes* a *Pythagorean*, but you do not tell us what sort of a King he speaks of. Observe therefore how he begins that Discourse; for whatever follows must be understood to have relation to it. 'Let him be King, says he, that of all others is most just, and so he is that acts most according to Law; for no Man can be King that is not just; and without Laws there can be no Justice. This is directly opposite to that Regal Right of yours. And *Cephas*, whom you likewise quote, is of the same opinion: 'Whosoever takes upon him to be a King, ought to be naturally most pure and clear from all imputation. And a little after, 'Him, says he, we call a King, that governs well, and he only is properly so. So that such a King as you speak of, according to the Philosophy of the *Pythagoreans*, is no King at all. Hear now what *Plato* says in his *Eighth Epistle*: 'Let Kings, says he, be liable to be called to account for what they do: Let the Laws controul not only the People, but Kings themselves, if they do any thing not warranted by Law. I'll mention what *Aristotle* says in the *Third Book of his Politicks*; 'It is neither for the Publick Good, nor is it just, says he, seeing all men are by nature alike and equal, that any one should be Lord and Master over all the rest, where there are no Laws: nor is it for the Publick Good, or Just, that one man should be a Law to the rest, where there are Laws; nor that any one, tho a good man, should be Lord over other good men, nor a bad man over bad men. And in the *Fifth Book*, says he, 'That King whom the People refuse to be govern'd by, is no longer a King, but a Tyrant. Hear what *Xenophon* says in *Hiero*: 'People are so far from revenging the deaths of Tyrants, that they confer great Honour upon him that kills one, and erect Statutes in their Temples to the Honour of Tyrannicides. Of this I can produce an Eye-witness, *Marcus Tullius*, in his Oration *pro Milone*, 'The Grecians, says he, ascribe Divine Worship to such as kill Tyrants: What things of this nature have I myself seen at *Athens*, and in the other Cities of *Greece*? How many Religious Observances have been instituted in honour of such men? How many Hymns? They are consecrated to Immortality and Adoration, and their Memory endeavoured to be perpetuated. And lastly, *Polybius*, a Historian of great Authority and Gravity, in the *Sixth Book* of his *History* says thus: 'When Princes began to indulge their own Lusts and sensual Appetites, then Kingdoms were turned into so many Tyrannies, and the Subjects began to conspire the death of their Governors; neither was it the profligate sort that were the Authors of those Designs,

‘ Designs, but the most Generous and Magnanimous. I could quote many such like passages, but I shall instance in no more. From the Philosophers you appeal to the Poets; and I am very willing to follow you thither. *Æschylus* is enough to inform us, That the Power of the Kings of Greece was such, as not to be liable to the censure of any Laws, or to be questioned before any Human Judicature; for he in that Tragedy that is called, *The Suppliants*, calls the King of the Argives, a Governor not obnoxious to the Judgment of any Tribunal. But you must know (for the more you say, the more you discover your rashness and want of judgment) you must know, I say, that one is not to regard what the Poet says, but what person in the Play speaks, and what that person says; for different persons are introduced, sometimes good, sometimes bad; sometimes wise men, sometimes fools; and such words are put into their mouths, as it is most proper for them to speak; not such as the Poet would speak, if he were to speak in his own person. The Fifty Daughters of *Danaus* being banished out of *Egypt*, became Suppliants to the King of the *Argives*; they begg’d of him, that he would protect them from the *Egyptians*, who pursued them with a Fleet of Ships. The King told them he could not undertake their Protection, till he had imparted the matter to the people; ‘ For, says he, if I should make a promise to you, I should not be able to perform it, unless I consult with them first. The Women being Strangers and Suppliants, and fearing the uncertain suffrages of the people, tell him, ‘ That the Power of all the people resides in him alone; that he judges all others, but is not judged himself by any. He answers: ‘ I have told you already, That I cannot do this thing that you desire of me, without the people’s consent; nay, and tho I could, I would not. At last he refers the matter to the people; ‘ I will assemble the people, says he, and persuade them to protect you. The people met, and resolved to engage in their quarrel; inso-much that *Danaus* their Father bids his Daughters, ‘ be of good cheer, for the People of the Countrey, in a popular Convention, had voted their Safeguard and Defence. If I had not related the whole thing, how rashly would this impertinent *Ignoramus* have determined concerning the Right of Kings among the *Grecians*, out of the mouths of a few Women that were Strangers and Suppliants, tho the King himself, and the History be quite contrary? The same thing appears by the story of *Orestes* in *Euripides*, who after his Father’s death was himself King of the *Argives*, and yet was called in question by the people for the death of his Mother, and made to plead for his Life, and by the major suffrage was condemned to die. The same Poet in his Play called *The Suppliants*, declares, That at *Athens* the Kingly Power was subject to the Laws; where *Theseus* then King of that City is made to say these words: ‘ This is a free City, it is not govern’d by one man; the people reigns here. And his Son *Demophon*, who was King after him, in another Tragedy of the same Poet, called *Heracleide*; ‘ I do not exercise a Tyrannical Power over them, as if they were *Barbarians*: ‘ I am upon other terms with them; but if I do them justice, they will do me the like. *Sophocles* in his *Oedipus* shows, That anciently in *Thebes* the Kings were not absolute neither: Hence says *Tiresias* to *Oedipus*, ‘ I am not your Slave. And *Creon* to the same King, ‘ I have some Right in this City, says he, ‘ as well as you. And in another Tragedy of the same Poet, called *Antigone*, *Æmon* tells the King, ‘ That the City of *Thebes* is not govern’d by a single person. All men know that the Kings of *Lacedemon* have been arraigned, and sometimes put to death judicially. These instances are sufficient to evince what Power the Kings in *Greece* had. Let us consider now the *Romans*: You betake your self to that passage of *C. Memmius* in *Salust*, of Kings having a liberty to do what they list, and go unpunished; to which I have given an answer already. *Salust* himself says in express words, ‘ That the ancient Government of *Rome* was by their Laws, tho the Name and Form of it was Regal: which Form of Government, when it grew into a Tyranny, you know they put down and changed. *Cicero* in his Oration against *Piso*, ‘ Shall I, says he, account him a Consul, ‘ who would not allow the Senate to have any Authority in the Commonwealth? ‘ Shall I take notice of any man as Consul, if at the same time there be no such thing as a Senate; when of old, the City of *Rome* acknowledged not their Kings, if they acted without or in opposition to the Senate? Do you hear; the very Kings themselves at *Rome* signified nothing without the Senate. But, say you, *Romulus* governed as he list; and for that you quote *Tacitus*.

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No wonder : The Government was not then established by Law ; they were a confus'd multitude of strangers, more likely regulated than a State ; and all Mankind lived without Laws, before Governments were settled. But when *Romulus* was dead, tho all the People were desirous of a King, not having yet experienced the sweetness of Liberty, yet, as *Livy* informs us, 'The Sovereign Power' resided in the People ; so that they parted not with more Right than they retained. The same Author tells us, 'That the same Power was afterwards extorted from them by their Emperours. *Servius Tullius* at first reigned by fraud, and as it were a Deputy to *Tarquinius Priscus* ; but afterward he referred it to the People, Whether they would have him reign or no ? At last, says *Tacitus*, he became the Author of such Laws as the Kings were obliged to obey. Do you think he would have done such an injury to himself and his Posterity, if he had been of opinion that the Right of Kings had been above all Laws ? Their last King *Tarquinius Superbus*, was the first that put an end to that custom of consulting the Senate concerning all Publick Affairs ; for which very thing, and other enormities of his, the People deposed him, and banished him and his Family. These things I have out of *Livy* and *Cicero*, than whom you will hardly produce any better Expositors of the Right of Kings among the *Romans*. As for the Dictatorship, that was but temporary, and was never made use of, but in great extremities, and was not to continue longer than six Months. But that which you call the Right of the *Roman* Emperours, was no Right, but a plain downright Force ; and was gained by War only. But *Tacitus*, say you, that lived under the Government of a single Person, writes thus ; *The Gods have committed the Sovereign Power in human Affairs to Princes only, and have left to Subjects the honour of being obedient.* But you tell us not where *Tacitus* has these words, for you were conscious to your self, that you imposed upon your Readers in quoting them ; which I presently smelt out, tho I could not find the place of a sudden : For that Expression is not *Tacitus's* own, who is an approved Writer, and of all others the greatest Enemy to Tyrants ; but *Tacitus* relates that of *M. Terentius*, a Gentleman of *Rome*, being accuted for a Capital Crime, amongst other things that he said to save his Life, flattered *Tiberius* on this manner. It is in the *Sixth Book* of his *Annals*. 'The Gods have entrusted you with the ultimate Judgment in all things ; they have left us the honour of Obedience. And you cite this passage as if *Tacitus* had said it himself ; you scrape together whatever seems to make for your Opinion, either out of ostentation, or out of weakness ; you would leave out nothing that you could find in a Baker's, or a Barber's Shop ; nay, you would be glad of any thing that looked like an Argument, from the very Hangman. If you had read *Tacitus* himself, and not transcribed some loose Quotations out of him by other Authors, he would have taught you whence that Imperial Right had its Original. 'After the Conquest of *Asia*, says he, the whole state of our Affairs was turned upside down ; nothing of the ancient integrity of our Forefathers was left amongst us ; all men shook off that former equality which had been observed, and began to have a reverence for the Mandates of Princes. This you might have learned out of the *Third Book* of his *Annals*, whence you have all your Regal Right. 'When that ancient equality was laid aside, and instead thereof Ambition and Violence took place, Tyrannical Forms of Government started up, and fixed themselves in many Countries. This same thing you might have learned out of *Dio*, if your natural Levity and Unsettledness of Judgment would have suffered you to apprehend any thing that's solid. He tells us in the *Fifty third Book* of his *History*, out of which Book you have made some quotation already, That *Octavius Caesar*, partly by Force, and partly by Fraud, brought things to that pass, that the Emperours of *Rome* became no longer fettered by Laws. For he, tho he promised to the people in publick that he would lay down the Government, and obey the Laws, and become subject to others ; yet under pretence of making War in several Provinces of the Empire, still retained the Legions, and so by degrees invaded the Government, which he pretended he would refuse. This was not regularly getting from under the Law, but breaking forcibly through all Laws, as *Spartacus* the Gladiator might have done ; and then assuming to himself the style of Prince or Emperor, as if God or the Law of Nature had put all Men and all Laws into subjection under him. Would you enquire a little further into the Original of the Right of the *Roman* Emperours ? *Marcus Antonius*, whom *Caesar* (when by taking up Arms against the Commonwealth,

Commonwealth, he had got all the Power into his hands) had made Consul, when a Solemnity called the *Lupercalia* was celebrated at *Rome*, as had been contrived before-hand that he should set a Crown upon *Cæsar's* head, though the people sighed and lamented at the sight, caused it to be entred upon record, That *Marcus Antonius* at the *Lupercalia*, made *Cæsar* King at the Instance of the people. Of which action *Cicero* in his second *Philippick* says, 'Was *Lucius Tarquinus* therefore expelled, *Spurius Cassius*, *Sp. Melius*, and *Marcus Manilius* put to death, that after many ages *Marcus Antonius* should make a King in *Rome* contrary to Law? But you deserve to be tortured, and loaded with everlasting disgrace, much more than *Mark Antony*; tho I would not have you proud because he and your self are put together: for I do not think so despicable a Wretch as you fit to be compared with him in any thing but his Impiety; you that in those horrible *Lupercalia* of yours, set not a Crown upon one Tyrant's head, but upon all, and such a Crown as you would have limited by no Laws, nor liable to any. Indeed if we must believe the Oracles of the Emperors themselves (for so some Christian Emperors, as *Theodosius* and *Valens*, have called their Edicts, *Cod. lib. i. tit. 14.*) the Authority of the Emperors depends upon that of the Law. So that the Majesty of the Person that reigns, even by the Judgment, or call it the Oracle of the Emperors themselves, must submit to the Laws; on whose Authority it depends. Hence *Pliny* tells *Trajan* in his *Panegyrick*, when the Power of the Emperors was grown to its height, 'A Principality, and an Absolute Sovereignty are quite different things. *Trajan* puts down whatever looks like a Kingdom; he rules like a Prince, that there may be no room for a Magisterial Power. And afterwards, 'Whatever I have said of other Princes, I said that I might show how our Prince reforms and corrects the Manners of Princes, which by long custom have been corrupted and depraved. Are not you ashamed to call that the Right of Kings, that *Pliny* call the corrupt and depraved Customs of Princes? But let this suffice to have been said in short of the Right of Kings, as it was taken at *Rome*. How they dealt with their Tyrants, whether Kings or Emperors, is generally known. They expelled *Tarquin*. But, say you, *How did they expel him? Did they proceed against him judicially?* No such matter: *When he would have come into the City, they shut the gates against him.* Ridiculous Fool! What could they do but shut the gates, when he was hastning to them with part of the Army? And what great difference will there be, whether they banished him, or put him to death, so they punished him one way or other? The best men of that age kill'd *Cæsar* the Tyrant in the very Senate. Which action of theirs, *Marcus Tullius*, who was himself a very excellent Man, and publicly call'd the Father of his Countrey, both elsewhere and particularly in his second *Philippick*, extols wonderfully. I'll repeat some of his words: 'All good men kill'd *Cæsar*, as far as in them lay. Some Men could not advise in it, others wanted Courage to act in it, others wanted an Opportunity, all had a good will to it. And afterwards, 'What greater and more glorious Action (ye holy gods!) ever was performed, not in this City only, but in any other Country? what Action more worthy to be recommended to everlasting memory? I am not unwilling to be included within the number of those that advised it, as within the *Trojan Horse*. The passage of *Seneca* may relate both to the *Romans*, and the *Grecians*, 'There cannot be a greater, nor more acceptable Sacrifice offered up to *Jupiter*, than a wicked Prince. For if you consider *Hercules*, whose words these are, they shew what the Opinion was of the principal Men amongst the *Grecians* in that Age. If the Poet, who flourished under *Nero*, (and the most worthy Persons in Plays generally express the Poet's own Sense) then this passage shows us what *Seneca* himself and all good Men, even in *Nero's* time, thought was fit to be done to a Tyrant; and how vertuous an Action, how acceptable to God they thought it to kill one. So every good Man of *Rome*, as far as in him lay, kill'd *Domitian*. *Pliny* the Second owns it openly in his *Panegyrick* to *Trajan* the Emperor, 'We took pleasure in dashing those proud Looks against the Ground, in piercing him with our Swords, in mangling him with Axes, as if he had bled and felt pain at every stroke: No Man could so command his passion of Joy, but that he counted it a piece of Revenge to behold his mangled Limbs, his Members torn asunder, and after all, his stern and horrid Statues thrown down and burnt. And afterwards, 'They cannot love good Princes enough,

that cannot hate bad ones as they deserve. Then amongst other Enormities of *Domitian*, he reckons this for one, that he put to death *Epaphroditus*, that had kill'd *Nero*: 'Had we forgotten the avenging *Nero's* death? Was it likely that he would suffer his Life and Actions to be ill spoken of, whose death he revenged? He seems to have thought it almost a Crime not to kill *Nero*, that counts it so great a one to punish him that did it. By what has been said, it is evident, that the best of the *Romans* did not only kill Tyrants, as oft as they could, and howsoever they could; but that they thought it a commendable, and a praise-worthy Action so to do, as the *Grecians* had done before them. For when they could not proceed judicially against a Tyrant in his life-time, being inferior to him in Strength and Power, yet after his death they did it, and condemn'd him by the *Valerian Law*. For *Valerius Publicola*, *Junius Brutus* his Colleague, when he saw that Tyrants, being guarded with Soldiers, could not be brought to a legal Trial, he devised a Law to make it lawful to kill them any way, tho' uncondemn'd; and that they that did it, should afterwards give an account of their so doing. Hence, when *Cassius* had actually run *Caligula* through with a Sword, tho' every Body else had done it in their hearts, *Valerius Asiaticus*, one that had been Consul, being present at the time, cried out to the Soldiers that began to mutiny because of his death, *I wish I my self had kill'd him*. And the Senate at the same time was so far from being displeased with *Cassius* for what he had done, that they resolved to extirpate the Memory of the Emperors, and to raze the Temples that had been erected in Honour of them. When *Claudius* was presently saluted Emperor by the Soldiers, they forbid him by the Tribune of the People to take the Government upon him; but the Power of the Soldiers prevailed. The Senate declared *Nero* an Enemy, and made enquiry after him, to have punished him according to the Law of their Ancestors; which required, that he should be stript naked, and hung by the Neck upon a forked Stake, and whipt to death. Consider now, how much more mildly and moderately the *English* dealt with their Tyrant, tho' many are of Opinion, that he caused the spilling of more Blood than ever *Nero* himself did. So the Senate condemn'd *Domitian* after his death; they commanded his Statues to be pull'd down and dash'd in pieces, which was all they could do. When *Commodus* was slain by his own Officers, neither the Senate, nor the People punisht the Fact, but declared him an Enemy, and enquired for his dead Corps to have made it an Example. An Act of the Senate made upon that occasion is extant in *Lampridius*: 'Let the Enemy of his Country be depriv'd of all his Titles; let the Parricide be drawn, let him be torn in pieces in the *Spoliary*. let the Enemy of the gods, the Executioner of the Senate be drag'd with a Hook, &c. The same Persons in a very full Senate condemn'd *Didius Julianus* to death, and sent a Tribune to slay him in the Palace. The same Senate depos'd *Maximinus*, and declared him an Enemy. Let us hear the words of the Decree of the Senate concerning him, as *Capitolinus* relates it: 'The Consul put the question, Conscrip't Fathers, what is your pleasure concerning the *Maximines*? They answered, 'They are Enemies, they are Enemies, who ever kills them shall be rewarded. Would you know now, whether the People of *Rome*, and the Provinces of the Empire obeyed the Senate, or *Maximine* the Emperor? Hear what the same Author says, The Senate wrote Letters into all the Provinces, requiring them to take care of their Common Safety and Liberty; the Letters were publicly read. And the Friends, the Deputies, the Generals, the Tribunes, the Soldiers of *Maximine*, were slain in all places; very few Cities were found that kept their Faith with the publick Enemy. *Herodian* relates the same thing. But what need we give any more Instances out of the *Roman Histories*? Let us now see what manner of thing the Right of Kings was in those days, in the Nations that bordered upon the Empire. *Ambiorix*, a King of the *Gauls*, confesses, 'The Nature of his Dominion to be such, that the People have as great Power over him, as he over them. And consequently, as well as he judged them, he might be judged by them. *Vercingetorix*, another King in *Gaul*, was accused of Treason by his own People. These things *Cesar* relates in his History of the *Gallick Wars*. 'Neither is the Regal Power among the *German*s absolute and uncontrollable; lesser matters are ordered and disposed by the Princes; greater Affairs by all the People. 'The King or Prince is more considerable by the Authority of his Perswasions, than by any Power that he has of commanding. If his Opinion be not ap-

prov'd

‘ prov’d of, they declare their dislike of it by a general murmuring Noise. This is out of *Tacitus*. Nay, and you your self now confess, that what but of late you exclaim’d against as an unheard of thing, has been often done, to wit, That *no less than fifty Scottish Kings have been either Banished, or Imprisoned, or put to death, nay, and some of them publickly executed.* Which having come to pass in our very Island; why do you, as if it were your Office to conceal the violent deaths of Tyrants, by burying them in the dark, exclaim against it as an abominable and unheard of thing? You proceed to commend the *Jews* and *Christians* for their Religious Obedience even to Tyrants, and to heap one Lie upon another, in all which I have already confuted you. Lately you made large Encomiums on the Obedience of the *Affyrians* and *Persians*, and now you reckon up their Rebellions; and tho’ but of late you said they never had rebell’d at all, now you give us a great many reasons why they rebell’d so often. Then you resume the Narrative of the manner of our King’s death, which you had broken off long since; that if you had not taken care sufficiently to appear ridiculous, and a Fool then, you may do it now. You said, *He was led through the Members of his own Court.* What you mean by the Members of the Court, I would gladly know. You enumerate the Calamities that the *Romans* underwent by changing their Kingdom into a Commonwealth. In which I have already shown how grossly you give your self the Lie. What was it you said when you wrote against the Jesuit? You demonstrated, That in an Aristocracy, or a popular State there could but be *Seditions and Tumults, whereas under a Tyrant nothing was to be looked for, but certain Ruin and Destruction:* And dare you now say, you vain corrupt Mortal, That those Seditions were Punishments inflicted upon them for banishing their Kings? Forsooth, because King *Charles* gave you a hundred *Jacobusses*, therefore the *Romans* shall be punished for banishing their Kings. But ‘ they that kill’d *Julius Caesar*, did not prosper afterwards. I confess, if I would have had any Tyrant spared, it should have been him. For altho’ he introduced a Monarchical Government into a Free State by force of Arms, yet perhaps himself deserved a Kingdom best; and yet I conceive that none of those that killed him can be said to have been punished for so doing, any more than *Caius Antonius*, *Cicero*’s Colleague, for destroying *Catiline*, who when he was afterward condemn’d for other Crimes, says *Cicero* in his Oration *pro Flacco*, *Catiline’s Sepulchre was adorned with Flowers.* For they that favoured *Catiline*, then rejoiced; They gave out then, that what *Catiline* did was just, to encrease the Peoples hatred against those that had cut him off. These are Artifices, which wicked Men make use of, to deter the best of Men from punishing Tyrants, and flagitious Persons. I might as easily say the quite contrary, and instance in them that have killed Tyrants, and prospered afterwards; if any certain inference might be drawn in such Cases from the events of things. You object further, That the English did not put their Hereditary King to death in like manner, as Tyrants use to be slain, but as Robbers and Traytors are executed. In the first place I do not, nor can any wise Man understand what a Crown’s being Hereditary should contribute to a King’s Crimes being unpunishable. What you ascribe to the Barbarous Cruelty of the English, proceeded rather from their Clemency and Moderation, and as such, deserves Commendation; who, tho’ the being a Tyrant is a Crime that comprehends all sorts of Enormities, such as Robberies, Treasons, and Rebellions against the whole Nation, yet were contented to inflict no greater punishment upon him for being so, than they used of course to do upon any common Highway-man, or ordinary Traytor. You hope some such Men as *Harmodius* and *Thrasibulus* will rise up amongst us, and make expiation for the King’s death by shedding their Blood that were the Authors of it. But you will run mad with despair, and be detested by all good Men, and put an end to that wretched Life of yours, by hanging your self, before you see Men like *Harmodius* avenging the Blood of a Tyrant upon such as have done no other than what they did themselves. That you will come to such an end is most probable, nor can any other be expected of so great a Rogue; but the other thing is an utter impossibility. You mention thirty Tyrants that rebelled in *Gallienus*’s time. And what if it fall out, that one Tyrant happens to oppose another, must therefore all they that resist Tyrants be accounted such themselves? You cannot persuade Men into such a belief, you Slave of a Knight; nor your Author *Trebellius Pollio*, the most inconsiderable of all Historians that

have writ. *If any of the Emperors were declared Enemies by the Senate, you say, it was done by Faction, but could not have been by Law.* You put us in mind what it was that made Emperours at first: It was Faction and Violence, and to speak plainer, it was the madness of *Anthony*, that made Generals at first rebel against the Senate, and the People of *Rome*; there was no Law, no Right for their so doing. *Galba*, you say, *was punished for his Insurrection against Nero.* Tell us likewise how *Vespasian* was punished for taking up Arms against *Vitellius*; *There was as much difference, you say, betwixt Charles and Nero, as betwixt those English Butchers, and the Roman Senators of that Age.* Despicable Villain! by whom it is scandalous to be commended, and a Praise to be evil spoken of: But a few Periods before, discoursing of this very thing, you said, *That the Roman Senate under the Emperors, was in effect but an Assembly of Slaves in Robes*: And here you say, *That very Senate was an Assembly of Kings*; which if it be allowed, then are Kings according to your own Opinion, but Slaves with Robes on. Kings are blessed, that have such a Fellow as you to write in their praise, than whom no Man is more a Rascal, no Beast more void of Sense, unless this one thing may be said to be peculiar to you, that none ever brayed so learnedly. You make the Parliament of *England* more like to *Nero*, than to the *Roman Senate*. This itch of yours of making silly Similitudes, enforces me to rectify you, whether I will or no: And I will let you see how like King *Charles* was to *Nero*. *Nero* you say, *commanded his own Mother to be run through with a Sword.* But *Charles* murdered both his Prince, and his Father, and that by Poyson. For to omit other evidences; he that would not suffer a Duke that was accused for it, to come to his Tryal, must needs have been guilty of it himself. *Nero* slew many thousands of *Christians*; but *Charles* slew many more. There were those, says *Suetonius*, that praised *Nero* after he was dead, that long'd to have 'had him again, *That hung Garlands of Flowers upon his Sepulchre*, and gave out that they would never prosper that had been his Enemies. And some there are transported with the like Phrensy, that wish for King *Charles* again, and extol him to the highest degree imaginable, of whom you a Knight of the Halter are a Ringleader. *The English Soldiers more Savage than their own Mastiffs, erected a new and unheard-of Court of Justice.* Observe this ingenious Symbol, or Adage of *Salmasius*, which he has now repeated six times over, *more Savage than their own Mastiffs.* Take notice, Orators and School-Masters; pluck, if you are wise, this Elegant Flower, which *Salmasius* is so very fond of: Commit this Flourish of a Man, that is so much a Master of Words, to your Desks for safe Custody, lest it be lost. Has your rage made you forget words to that degree, that like a Cuckoo, you must needs say the same thing over and over again? What strange thing has befallen you? The Poet tells us, that Spleen and Rage turn'd *Hecuba* into a Dog; and it has turn'd you, the Lord of *St. Lupus*, into a Cuckoo. Now you come out with fresh Contradictions. You had said before, pag. 113. *That Princes were not bound by any Laws, neither Coercive, nor Directory; that they were bound by no Law at all.* Now you say, *That you will discourse by and by of the difference betwixt some Kings and others, in point of Power; some having had more, some less.* You say, *You will prove that Kings cannot be judged, nor condemn'd by their own Subjects, by a most solid Argument*; but you do it by a very silly one, and 'tis this: You say, *There was no other difference than that betwixt the Judges, and the Kings of the Jews; and yet the reason why the Jews required to have Kings over them, was because they were weary of their Judges, and hated their Government.* Do you think, that, because they might judge and condemn their Judges, if they misbehaved themselves in the Government, they therefore hated and were weary of them, and would be under Kings, whom they should have no Power to restrain and keep within Bounds, tho they should break through all Laws? Who but you ever argued so childishly? So that they desired a King for some other reason, than that they might have a Master over them, whose Power should be superior to that of the Law; which reason what it was, it is not to our present purpose to make a Conjecture. Whatever it was, both God and his Prophets tells us, it was no piece of prudence in the People to desire a King. And now you fall foul upon your *Rabbins*, and are very angry with them for saying, *That a King might be judged and condemned to undergo Stripes; out of whose Writings you said before you had proved that the Kings of the Jews could not be judged.* Wherein you confess, that you told a Lye when you said you had proved any such thing out of their Writings.

Writings. Nay, you come at last to forget the Subject you were upon, of writing in the King's Defence, and raise little impertinent Controversies about *Solomon's Stables*, and how many Stalls he had for his Horses. Then of a Jocky you become a Ballad-singer again, or rather, as I said before, a raving distracted Cuckoo. You complain, That in these latter Ages, Discipline has been more remiss, and the Rule less observed and kept up to; viz. because one Tyrant is not permitted, without a Check from the Law, to let loose the Reins of all Discipline, and corrupt all Mens manners. This Doctrine, you say, the *Brownists* introduced amongst those of the Reform'd Religion; so that *Luther, Calvin, Zuinglius, Bucer*, and all the most Celebrated Orthodox Divines are *Brownists* in your Opinion. The *English* have the less reason to take your Reproaches ill, because they hear you belching out the same Slanders against the most eminent Doctors of the Church, and in effect against the whole Reformed Church it self.

C H A P. VI.

AFTER having discours'd upon the Law of God, and of Nature, and handled both so untowardly, that you have got nothing by the bargain but a deserved reproach of ignorance and knavery; I cannot apprehend what you can have farther to alledge in defence of your Royal Cause, but meer trifles. I for my part hope I have given satisfaction already to all good and learned men, and done this Noble Cause right, should I break off here; yet lest I should seem to any to decline your variety of arguing and ingenuity, rather than your immoderate impertinence, and tittle-tattle, I'll follow you where ever you have a mind to go; but with such brevity as shall make it appear, that after having perform'd whatever the necessary defence of the Cause required, if not what the dignity of it merited, I now do but comply with some mens expectation, if not their curiosity. Now, say you, *I shall alledge other and greater Arguments.* What! greater Arguments than what the Law of God and Nature afforded? Help *Lucina!* The mountain *Salmasius* is in labour! It is not for nothing that he has got a She-Husband. Mortals expect some extraordinary Birth. If he that is, and is called a King, might be accused before any other Power, that Power must of necessity be greater than that of the King; and if so, then must that Power be indeed the Kingly Power, and ought to have the name of it: For a Kingly Power is thus defined; to wit, the Supreme Power in the State residing in a single Person, and which has no superior. O ridiculous Birth! a Mouse crept out of the Mountain! Help Grammarians! one of your number is in danger of perishing! The Law of God and of Nature are safe; but *Salmasius's* Dictionary is undone. What if I should answer you thus? That words ought to give place to things; that we having taken away Kingly Government it self, do not think our selves concerned about its name, and definition; let others look to that, who are in love with Kings: We are contented with the enjoyment of our Liberty; such an answer would be good enough for you. But to let you see that I deal fairly with you throughout, I will answer you, not only from my own, but from the opinion of very wise and good men, who have thought that the Name and Power of a King are very consistent with a Power in the People and the Law, superior to that of the King himself. In the first place *Lycurgus*, a man very eminent for wisdom, designing, as *Plato* says, to secure a Kingly Government as well as it was possible, could find no better expedient to preserve it, than by making the Power of the Senate, and of the *Ephori*, that is, the Power of the People, superior to it. *Theseus*, in *Euripides*, King of *Athens*, was of the same opinion; for he to his great honour restored the People to their Liberty, and advanced the Power of the People above that of the King, and yet left the Regal Power in that City to his Posterity. Whence *Euripides* in his Play called the *Suppliants*, introduces him speaking on this manner: 'I have advanced the People themselves into the Throne, having freed the City from Slavery, and admitted the People to a share in the Government, by giving them an equal right of Suffrage. And in another place to the Herald of *Thebes*, 'In the first place, says he, you begin your Speech, Friend, with a thing that is not true, in stiling me a Monarch; 'for

for this City is not governed by a single Person, but is a Free State; the People reigns here. These were his words, when at the same time he was both called, and really was King there. The Divine *Plato* likewise in his Eight Epistle, *Lycurgus*, says he, introduced the Power of the Senate and of the Ephori, a thing very preservative of Kingly Government, which by this means has honourably flourished for so many Ages, because the Law in effect was made King. Now the Law cannot be King, unless there be some, who, if there should be occasion, may put the Law in execution against the King. A Kingly Government so bounded and limited, he himself commends to the *Sicilians*: 'Let the People enjoy their Liberty under a Kingly Government; let the King himself be accountable; let the Law take place even against Kings themselves, if they act contrary to Law. *Aristotle* likewise in the third Book of his *Politicks*, 'Of all Kingdoms, says he, that are govern'd by Laws, that of the *Lacedemonians* seems to be most truly and properly so. And he says, all forms of Kingly Governments are according to settled and established Laws, but one, which he calls *παρασκλησία*, or *Absolute Monarchy*, which he does not mention ever to have obtain'd in any Nation. So that *Aristotle* thought such a Kingdom, as that of the *Lacedemonians* was, to be and deserve the name of a Kingdom more properly than any other; and consequently that a King, tho subordinate to his own People, was nevertheless actually a King, and properly so called. Now since so many and so great Authors assert that a Kingly Government both in name and thing may very well subsist even where the People, tho they do not ordinarily exercise the Supreme Power, yet have it actually residing in them, and exercise it upon occasion; be not you of so mean a Soul as to fear the downfall of Grammar, and the confusion of the signification of words to that degree, as to betray the Liberty of Mankind, and the State, rather than your Glossary should not hold water. And know for the future, that words must be conformable to things, not things to words. By this means you'll have more wit, and not run on in infinitum, which now you're afraid of. It was to no purpose then for *Seneca*, you say, to describe those three forms of Government, as he has done. Let *Seneca* do a thing to no purpose, so we enjoy our Liberty. And if I mistake us not, we are other sort of Men than to be enslav'd by *Seneca's* Flowers. And yet *Seneca*, tho he says that the Sovereign Power in a Kingly Government resides in a single Person, says withal that the Power is the People's, and by them committed to the King for the welfare of the whole, not for their ruin and destruction; and that the People has not given him a propriety in it, but the use of it. Kings at this rate, you say, do not reign by God, but by the People. As if God did not so over-rule the People, that they set up such Kings, as it pleases God. Since *Justinian* himself openly acknowledges, that the Roman Emperours derived their Authority from that Royal Law, whereby the People granted to them and vested in them all their own Power and Authority. But how oft shall we repeat these things over and over again? Then you take upon you to intermeddle with the Constitution of our Government, in which you are no ways concerned; who are both a Stranger and a Foreigner; but it shows your sawciness, and want of good manners. Come then, let us hear your Solæcisms, like a busy Coxcomb as you are. You tell us, but 'tis in false Latin, that what those Desperadoes say, is only to deceive the People. You Rascal! was it not for this that you a Renegado Grammarian, were so forward to intermeddle with the Affairs of our Government, that you might introduce your Solæcisms and Barbarisms amongst us? But say, How have we deceiv'd the People? The form of Government, which they have set up, is not Popular, but Military. This is what that herd of Fugitives and Vagabonds hired you to write. So that I shall not trouble my self to answer you, who bleat what you know nothing of, but I'll answer them that hired you. Who excluded the Lords from Parliament, was it the People? Ay it was the People; and in so doing they threw an intolerable Yoke of Slavery from off their necks. Those very Soldiers, who you say did it, were not Foreigners, but our own Country-men, and a great part of the People; and they did it with the consent, and at the desire of almost all the rest of the People, and not without the Authority of the Parliament neither. Was it the People that cut off part of the House of Commons, forcing some away? &c. Yes, I say, it was the People. For whatever the better and sounder part of the Senate did, in which the true power of the People resided, why may not the People be said to have done it? What if the greater part of the Senate should chuse to be Slaves, or to expose the Government

ment to sale, ought not the lesser number to interpose, and endeavour to retain their Liberty, if it be in their power? But the Officers of the Army and their Soldiers did it. And we are beholden to those Officers for not being wanting to the State, but repelling the Tumultuary violence of the Citizens and Mechanicks of London, who, like that Rabble that appear'd for *Clodius*, had but a little before beset the very Parliament House? Do you therefore call the right of the Parliament, to whom it properly and originally belongs; to take care of the Liberty of the People both in Peace and War, a Military Power? But 'tis no wonder that those Traitors that have dictated these passages to you, should talk at that rate; so that profligate faction of *Anthony* and his adherents used to call the Senate of *Rome*, when they armed themselves against the Enemies of their Country, The Camp of *Pompey*. And now I'm glad to understand that they of your party envy *Cromwell*, that most valiant General of our Army, for undertaking that Expedition in *Ireland*, (so acceptable to Almighty God) surrounded with a joyful crowd of his Friends, and prosecuted with the well-wishes of the people, and the prayers of all good men: For I question not but at the news of his many Victories there, they are by this time burst with spleen. I pass by many of your impertinencies concerning the *Roman* Soldiers. What follows is most notoriously false: *The power of the people, say you, ceases where there is a King.* By what Law or Right is that? Since it is known that almost all Kings, of what Nations soever, received their Authority from the people upon certain conditions; which if the King do not perform, I wish you would inform us, why that Power, which was but a trust, should not return to the people, as well from a King, as from a Consul, or any other Magistrate. For when you tell us, that 'tis necessary for the Publick Safety, you do but trifle with us; for the safety of the Publick is equally concerned, whether it be from a King, or from a Senate, or from a *Triumvirate*, that the power wherewith they were entrusted, revert to the people, upon their abuse of it; and yet you your self grant that it may so revert from all sorts of Magistrates, a King only excepted. Certainly, if no people in their right wits ever committed the Government either to a King, or other Magistrates, for any other purpose than for the common good of them all, there can be no reason why, to prevent the utter ruin of them all, they may not as well take it back again from a King, as from other Governors; nay, and it may with far greater ease be taken from one, than from many. And to invest any mortal creature with a power over themselves, on any other terms than upon trust, were extreme madness; nor is it credible that any people since the Creation of the World, who had freedom of will, were ever so miserably silly, as either to part with the power for ever, and to all purposes, or to revoke it from those whom they had entrusted with it, but upon most urgent and weighty reasons. If dissensions, if Civil Wars, are occasioned thereby, there cannot any Right accrue from thence to the King, to retain that power by force of arms, which the people challenge from him as their own. Whence it follows that what you say, and we do not deny, That *Governors are not lightly to be changed*, is true with respect to the Peoples Prudence, not the King's Right; but that therefore they ought never to be changed, upon no occasion whatsoever, that does not follow by no means; nor have you hitherto alledged any thing, nor made appear any Right of Kings to the contrary, but that all the people concurring, they may lawfully be deposed, when unfit for Government; provided it may be done, as it has been often done in your own Countrey of *France*, without any Tumults or Civil Wars. Since therefore the Safety of the People, and not that of a Tyrant, is the Supreme Law; and consequently ought to be alledged on the Peoples behalf against a Tyrant, and not for him against them: you that go about to pervert so sacred and so glorious a Law, with your fallacies and juggling; you who would have this Supreme Law, and which of all others is most beneficial to Mankind, to serve only for the Impunity of Tyrants; let me tell you (since you call us *Englishmen* so often inspired, and *Enthusiasts*, and *Prophets*) let me, I say, be so far a Prophet, as to tell you, That the Vengeance of God and Man hangs over your head for so horrid a Crime; altho your subjecting all Mankind to Tyranny, as far as in you lies, which in effect is no better than condemning them to be devoured by wild Beasts, is in it self part of its own Vengeance; and whithersoever you fly, and wheresoever you wander, will first or last pursue you with its Furies, and overtake you, and cause you to rave worse than you do at present.

sent. I come now to your second Argument, which is not unlike the first : If the People may resume their Liberty, *there would be no difference*, say you, *betwixt a Popular State and a Kingdom; but that in a Kingdom one Man rules, and in a Popular State many.* And what if that were true; would the State have any prejudice by it? But you your self tell us of other differences that would be notwithstanding; to wit, of *Time and Succession*; for in popular States, the *Magistrates are generally chosen yearly*; whereas Kings, if they behave themselves well, are perpetual; and in most Kingdoms there is a Succession in the same Family. But let them differ from one another, or not differ, I regard not those party things : In this they agree, that when the Publick Good requires it, the People may without doing injury to any, resume that Power for the Publick Safety, which they committed to another for that end and purpose. *But according to the Royal Law, by the Romans so called, which is mentioned in the Institutes, the People of Rome granted all their Power and Authority to the Prince.* They did so by compulsion; the Emperor being willing to ratify their Tyranny by the Authority of a Law. But of this we have spoken before; and their own Lawyers, commenting upon this place in the Institutes, confess as much. So that we make no question but the People may revoke what they were forced to grant, and granted against their wills. But most rational it is to suppose, that the People of *Rome* transferred no other power to the Prince, than they had before granted to their own Magistrates; and that was a power to govern according to Law, and a revocable, not an absurd, tyrannical power. Hence it was that the Emperors assumed the Consular Dignity, and that of the Tribunes of the People; but after *Julius Caesar*, not one of them pretended to the Dictatorship: In the *Circus Maximus* they used to adore the People, as I have said already out of *Tacitus* and *Claudian*. But *as heretofore many private persons have sold themselves into slavery, so a whole Nation may.* Thou Goal-bird of a Knight, thou day-spirit, thou everlasting scandal to thy Native Countrey! The most despicable Slaves in the World ought to abhor and spit upon such a Factor for Slavery, such a publick Pander as thou art. Certainly if people had so enslaved themselves to Kings, then might Kings turn them over to other Masters, or sell them for Money; and yet we know that Kings cannot so much as alienate the Demesnes of the Crown : And shall he, that has but the Crown; and the Revenues that belong to it, as an Usufructuary, and those given him by the People, can he be said to have, as it were, purchased the People, and made them his Propriety? Tho you were bored through both ears, and went barefoot, you would not be so vile and despicable, so much more contemptible than all Slaves, as the broaching such a scandalous Doctrine as this makes you. But go on, and punish your self for your Rogueries, as now you do, tho against your will. You frame a long Discourse of the Law of War; which is nothing to the purpose in this place : For neither did *Charles* conquer us; and for his Ancestors, if it were never so much granted that they did, yet have they often renounced their Title as Conquerors. And certain it is, That we were never so conquered, but that as we swore Allegiance to them, so they swore to maintain our Laws, and govern by them : Which Laws, when *Charles* had notoriously violated, taken in what capacity you will, as one who had formerly been a Conqueror, or was now a perjured King, we subdued him by force, he himself having begun with us first. And according to your own opinion, *Whatever is acquired by War, becomes his property that acquired it.* So that how full soever you are of words, how impertinent soever a babler, whatever you prate, how great a noise soever you make, what Quotations soever out of the Rabbins, tho you make your self never so hoarse, to the end of this Chapter, assure your self, That nothing of it makes for the King; he being now conquered, but all for us, who by God's assistance are Conquerors.

C H A P. VII.

TO avoid two very great inconveniences, and, considering your own weight, very weighty ones indeed, you denied in the foregoing Chapter, That the Peoples Power was superior to that of the King; for if that should be granted, Kings must provide themselves of some other name, because the People would indeed be King, and some divisions in your System of Politicks would be confounded: the first of which inconveniences would thwart with your Dictionary, and the latter overthrow your Politicks. To these I have given such an answer as shows, That tho our own Safety and Liberty were the principal things I aimed the preservation of, yet withal, I had some consideration of salving your Dictionary, and your Politicks. Now, say you, *I will prove by other arguments, That a King cannot be judged by his own Subjects; of which Arguments this shall be the greatest and most convincing, That a King has no Peer in his Kingdom.* What? Can a King have no Peer in his Kingdom? What then is the meaning of those Twelve Ancient Peers of the Kings of France? Are they Fables and Trifles? Are they called so in vain, and in mock only? Have a care how you affront those Principal Men of that Kingdom: Who if they are not the King's Peers, as they are called, I am afraid your Dictionary, which is the only thing you are concerned for, will be found more faulty in France, than in England. But go to, let's hear your demonstration, that a King has no Peer in his own Kingdom. Because, say you, *the People of Rome, when they had banish'd their King, appointed not one, but two Consuls; and the reason was, That if one of them should transgress the Laws, his Colleague might be a check to him.* There could hardly have been devised any thing more silly: How came it to pass then, that but one of the Consuls had the bundles of Rods carried before him, and not both, if two were appointed, that each might have a Power over the other? And what if both had conspired against the Commonwealth? Would not the Case then be the very same that it would have been, if one Consul only had been appointed without a Colleague? But we know very well, that both Consuls, and all other Magistrates were bound to obey the Senate, whenever the Senate and the People saw, that the Interest of the Commonwealth so required. We have a famous instance of that in the *Decemvirs*, who tho they were invested with the Power of Consuls, and were the chief Magistrates, yet the Authority of the Senate reduced them all, tho they struggled to retain their Government. Nay, we read that some Consuls before they were out of office, have been declared Enemies, and Arms been taken up against them; for in those days no man looked upon him as a Consul, who acted as an Enemy. So War was waged against *Antony*, tho a Consul, by Authority of the Senate; in which being worsted, he would have been put to death, but that *Octavius*, affecting the Empire, sided with him to subvert the Commonwealth. Now whereas you say, *That it is a property peculiar to Kingly Majesty, that the power resides in a single person;* that's but a loose expression, like the rest of what you say, and is contradicted by your self a little after: *For the Hebrew Judges, you say, ruled as long as they lived, and there was but one of them at a time: The Scripture also calls them Kings; and yet they were accountable to the great Council.* Thus we see, That an itch of Vain-glory, in being thought to have said all that can be said, makes you hardly say any thing but contradictions. Then I ask, what kind of Government that was in the Roman Empire, when sometimes two, sometimes three Emperors, reign'd all at once? Do you reckon them to have been Emperors, that is, Kings, or was it an *Aristocracy*, or a *Triumvirate*? Or will you deny, that the Roman Empire under *Antoninus* and *Verus*, under *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, under *Constantine* and *Licinius*, was still but one entire Empire? If these Princes were not Kings, your three Forms of Government will hardly hold; if they were, then it is not an essential Property of a Kingly Government, to reside in a single person. If one of these offend, say you, *then may the other refer the matter to the Senate, or the People, where he may be accused and condemned.* And does not the Senate and the People then judg, when the matter is so referred to them? So that if you will give any credit to your self, there needs not one Colleague to judg another. Such a miserable Advocate as you,

if you were not so wretched a fellow as you are, would deserve compassion; you lie every way so open to blows, that if one were minded for sports-sake to make a Pass at any part of you, he could hardly miss, let him aim where he would. 'Tis ridiculous, say you, to imagine, That a King will ever appoint Judges to condemn himself. But I can tell you of an Emperor, that was no ridiculous person, but an Excellent Prince, and that was *Trajan*, who when he delivered a Dagger to a certain *Roman* Magistrate, as the custom was, that being the badge of his Office, frequently thus admonished him, 'Take this Sword, and use it for me, if I do as I ought; if otherwise, against me; for Miscarriages in the Supreme Magistrate are less excusable. This *Dion* and *Aurelius Victor* say of him: You see here, that a worthy Emperor appointed one to judge himself, tho he did not make him his equal. *Tiberius* perhaps might have said as much out of Vanity and Hypocrisie; but 'tis almost a crime to imagine that so good and vertuous a Prince as *Trajan*, did not really speak as he thought, and according to what he apprehended right and just. How much more reasonable was it that tho he were superior to the Senate in power, and might if he would, have refused to yield them any obedience, yet he actually did obey them, as by virtue of his office he ought to do, and acknowledged their Right in the Government to be superior to his own? For so *Pliny* tells us in his *Panegyrick*, 'The Senate both desired and commanded you to be Consul a fourth time; you may know by the Obedience you pay them, that this is no word of Flattery, but of Power. And a little after, 'This is the design you aim at, to restore our lost Liberty. And *Trajan* was not of that mind alone; the Senate thought so too, and were of opinion, That their Authority was indeed Supreme: For they that could command their Emperor, might judge him. So the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, when *Cassius* Governor of *Syria* endeavoured to get the Empire from him, referred himself either to the Senate, or the People of *Rome*, and declared himself ready to lay down the Government, if they would have it so. Now how should a man determine of the Right of Kings better, and more truly, than out of the very mouths of the best of Kings? Indeed every good King accounts either the Senate, or the People, not only equal, but superior to himself by the Law of Nature. But a Tyrant being by nature inferior to all men, every one that is stronger than he, ought to be accounted not only his equal but superior: For as heretofore nature taught men from Force and Violence to betake themselves to Laws; so wherever the Laws are set at naught, the same dictate of nature must necessarily prompt us to betake our selves to Force again. 'To be of this opinion, says *Cicero pro Sestio*, is a sign of Wisdom; to put it in practice, argues Courage and Resolution; and to do both, is the effect of Vertue in its perfection. Let this stand then as a settled Maxim of the Law of Nature, never to be shaken by any Artifices of Flatterers, That the Senate, or the People, are superior to Kings, be they good or bad: Which is but what you your self do in effect confess, when you tell us, That the Authority of Kings was derived from the People. For that power which they transferred to Princes, doth yet naturally, or as I may say virtually reside in themselves notwithstanding: for so natural causes that produce any effect by a certain eminency of operation, do always retain more of their own virtue and energy than they impart; nor do they by communicating to others, exhaust themselves. You see, the closer we keep to Nature, the more evidently does the Peoples Power appear to be above that of the Prince. And this is likewise certain, That the People do not freely, and of choice, settle the Government in their King absolutely, so as to give him a Propriety in it, nor by Nature can do so; but only for the Publick Safety and Liberty, which when the King ceases to take care of, then the People in effect have given him nothing at all: For Nature says the People gave it him to a particular end and purpose; which end, if neither Nature nor the People can attain, the Peoples Gift becomes no more valid, than any other void Covenant or Agreement. These Reasons prove very fully, That the People are superior to the King; and so your greatest and most convincing Argument, That a King cannot be judged by his People, because he has no Peer in his Kingdom, nor any Superior, falls to the ground. For you take that for granted, which we by no means allow. In a popular State, say you, the Magistrates being appointed by the People, may likewise be punished for their Crimes by the People: In an Aristocracy the Senators may be punished by their Col-
legues:

legues: But 'tis a prodigious thing to proceed criminally against a King in his own Kingdom, and make him plead for his Life. What can you conclude from hence, but that they who set up Kings over them, are the most miserable and most silly People in the World? But, I pray, what's the reason why the People may not punish a King that becomes a Malefactor, as well as they may popular Magistrates and Senators in an Aristocracy? Do you think that all they who live under a Kingly Government, were so strangely in love with Slavery, as when they might be free, to chuse Vassalage, and to put themselves all and entirely under the dominion of one man, who often happens to be an ill Man, and often a Fool, so as whatever cause might be, to leave themselves no refuge in, no relief from the Laws nor the Dictates of Nature, against the Tyranny of a most outrageous Master, when such a one happens? Why do they then tender Conditions to their Kings, when they first enter upon their Government, and prescribe Laws for them to govern by? Do they do this to be trampled upon the more, and be the more laughed to scorn? Can it be imagined, that a whole People would ever so vilify themselves, depart from their own interest to that degree, be so wanting to themselves, as to place all their hopes in one Man, and he very often the most vain Person of them all? To what end do they require an Oath of their Kings, not to act anything contrary to Law? We must suppose them to do this, that (poor Creatures!) they may learn to their sorrow, That Kings only may commit Perjury with impunity. This is what your own wicked Conclusions hold forth. *If a King that is elected, promise any thing to his People upon Oath, which if he would not have sworn to, perhaps they would not have chose him, yet if he refuse to perform that promise, he falls not under the Peoples censure.* Nay, *tho he swear to his Subjects at his Election, That he will administer Justice to them according to the Laws of the Kingdom; and that if he do not, they shall be discharged of their Allegiance, and himself ipso facto cease to be their King, yet if he break this Oath, 'tis God and not Man that must require it of him.* I have transcribed these lines, not for their Elegance, for they are barbarously expressed; nor because I think there needs any answer to them, for they answer themselves, they explode and damn themselves by their notorious falshood and loathsomeness: but I did it to recommend you to Kings for your great Merits; that among so many places as there are at Court, they may put you into some Preferment or Office that may be fit for you. Some are Princes Secretaries, some their Cupbearers, some Masters of the Revels; I think you had best be Master of the Perjuries to some of them. You shan't be Master of the Ceremonies, you are too much a Clown for that; but their Treachery and Perfidiousness shall be under you care. But that Men may see that you are both a Fool and a Knave to the highest degree, let us consider these last assertions of yours a little more narrowly; *A King, say you, tho he swear to his Subjects at his Election that he will govern according to Law, and that if he do not, they shall be discharged of their Allegiance, and he himself ipso facto cease to be their King; yet can he not be deposed or punished by them.* Why not a King, I pray, as well as popular Magistrates? because in a popular State, the People do not transfer all their Power to the Magistrates. And do they in the Case that you have put, vest it all in the King, when they place him in the Government upon those terms expressly, to hold it no longer than he uses it well? Therefore it is evident, that a King sworn to observe the Laws, if he transgress them, may be punished and deposed, as well as popular Magistrates. So that you can make no more use of that invincible Argument of the Peoples transferring all their Right and Power to the Prince; you your self have battered it down with your own Engines. Hear now another *most powerful and invincible Argument of his, why Subjects cannot judg their Kings, because he is bound by no Law, being himself the sole Lawgiver.* Which having been proved already to be most false, this great reason comes to nothing, as well as the former. But the reason why Princes have but seldom been proceeded against for personal and private Crimes, as Whoredom, and Adultery, and the like, is not because they could not justly be punished even for such, but lest the People should receive more prejudice through disturbances that might be occasioned by the King's death, and the change of Affairs, than they would be profited by the punishment of one Man or two. But when they begin to be universally injurious and insufferable, it has always been the Opinion of all Nations, that then, being Tyrants, it is lawful to put

them to death any how, condemn'd or uncondemn'd. Hence *Cicero* in his Second *Philippick*, says thus of those that kill'd *Cæsar*, 'They were the first that ran through with their Swords, not a Man who affected to be King, but who was actually settled in the Government; which, as it was a worthy and godlike Action, so it's set before us for our imitation. How unlike are you to him! *Murder, Adultery, Injuries, are not regal and publick, but private and personal Crimes.* Well said Parasite! you have obliged all Pimps and Profligates in Courts by this Expression. How ingeniously do you act, both the Parasite, and the Pimp, with the same breath? *A King that is an Adulterer, or a Murderer, may yet govern well, and consequently ought not to be put to death, because together with his Life he must lose his Kingdom; and it was never yet allowed by God's Laws, or Man's, that for one and the same Crime, a Man was to be punished twice.* Infamous foul-mouth Wretch! By the same reason the Magistrates in a popular State, or in an *Aristocracy*, ought never to be put to death, for fear of double Punishment; no Judge, no Senator must die, for they must lose their Magistracy too, as well as their Lives. As you have endeavoured to take all Power out of the Peoples hands, and vest it in the King, so you would all Majesty too: A delegated translatitious Majesty we allow, but that Majesty does chiefly and primarily reside in him, you can no more prove, than you can, that Power and Authority does. *A King, you say, cannot commit Treason against his People, but a People may against their King.* And yet a King is what he is for the People only, not the People for him. Hence I infer, that the whole Body of the People, or the greater part of them must needs have greater Power than the King. This you deny, and begin to cast up accounts. *He is of greater Power than any one, than any two, than any three, than any ten, than any hundred, than any thousand, than any ten thousand; be it so, He is of more Power than half the People.* I will not deny that neither; *Add now half of the other half, will he not have more Power than all those?* Not at all. Go on, why do you take away the Board? Do you not understand Progression in Arithmetick? He begins to reckon after another manner. *Was not the King, and the Nobility together, more Power?* No, Mr. *Changeling*, I deny that too. If by the Nobility, whom you stile *Optimates*, you mean the Peers only; for it may happen, that amongst the whole number of them, there may not be one Man deserving that Appellation; for it often falls out, that there are better and wiser Men than they amongst the Commons, whom in conjunction with the greater, or the better part of the People, I should not scruple to call by the Name of, and take them for all the People. *But if the King is not superiour in Power to all the People together, he is then a King but of single Persons, he is not the King of the whole Body of the People.* You say well, no more he is, unless they are content he should be so. Now, ballance your Accounts, and you will find that by miscasting, you have lost your Principal. *The English say, that the Right of Majesty originally and principally resides in the People; which Principle would introduce a Confusion of all States.* What, of an *Aristocracy* and *Democracy*? But let that pass: What if it should overthrow a *Gynæocracy* too? (i. e. a Government of one or more Women) under which State or Form of Government, they say, you are in danger of being beaten at home; would not the *English* do you a kindness in that, you sheepish Fellow, you? But there's no hope of that. For 'tis most justly so ordered, since you would subject all Mankind to Tyranny abroad, that you your self should live in a scandalous most unmanlike Slavery at home. *We must tell you, you say, what we mean by the word People.* There are a great many other things, which you stand more in need of being told: For of things that more immediately concern you, you seem altogether ignorant, and never to have learnt any thing but Words and Letters, nor to be capable of any thing else. But this you think you know, that by the word People, we mean the Common People only, exclusive of the Nobility, because *we have put down the House of Lords.* And yet that very thing shows, that under the word People, we comprehend all our Natives, of what Order and Degree soever; in that we have settled one Supreme Senate only, in which the Nobility also, as a part of the People (not in their own Right, as they did before; but representing those Burroughs or Counties, for which they may be chose) may give their Votes. Then you inveigh against the Common People, as being *blind and brutish, ignorant of the art of governing; you say there's nothing more empty, more vain, more inconstant, more uncertain than they.* All which is very true of your self, and it's true likewise of the Rabble, but not

of the middle sort, amongst whom the most prudent Men, and most skillful in Affairs are generally found ; others are most commonly diverted either by Luxury and Plenty, or by Want and Poverty, from Vertue, and the study of Laws and Government. *There are many ways, you say, by which Kings come to the Crown, so as not to be beholden to the People at all for it ; and especially, those that inherit a Kingdom.* But those Nations most certainly be Slaves, and born to Slavery, that acknowledg any one to be their Lord and Master so absolutely, as that they are his inheritance, and come to him by descent, without any consent of their own ; they deserve not the Appellation of Subjects, nor of Freeman, nor can they be justly reputed such ; nor are they to be accounted as a Civil Society, but must be looked on as the Possessions and Estate of their Lord, and his Family : For I see no difference as to the Right of Ownership betwixt them, and Slaves, or Beasts. Secondly, *They that come to the Crown by Conquest, cannot acknowledg themselves to have receiv'd from the People the Power they usurp.* We are not now discoursing of a Conqueror, but of a conquered King ; what a Conqueror may lawfully do, we'll discourse elsewhere ; do you keep to your Subject. But whereas you ascribe to Kings that ancient Right that Masters of Families have over their Households, and take an example from thence of their Absolute Power ; I have shown already over and over, that there is no likeness at all betwixt them. And *Aristotle* (whom you name so often) if you had read him, would have taught you as much in the beginning of his Politicks, where he says they judg amiss that think there is but little difference betwixt a King, and a Master of a Family : *For that there is not a numerical, but a specifical difference betwixt a Kingdom and a Family.* For when Villages grew to be Towns and Cities, that Regal Domestick Right vanished by degrees, and was no more owned. Hence *Diodorus* in his first Book says, That anciently Kingdoms were transmitted not to the former Kings Sons, but to those that had best deserved of the People. And *Justin*, 'Originally, says he, the Government of Nations, and of Countries, was by Kings, who were exalted to that height of Majesty, not by popular Ambition, but for their Moderation which commended them to good Men. Whence it is manifest, that in the very beginning of Nations, that Fatherly and Hereditary Government gave way to Vertue, and the Peoples Right : Which is the most natural reason and cause, and was the true rise of Kingly Government. For at first, Men entred into Societies, not that any one might insult over all the rest, but that in case any should injure other, there might be Laws and Judges to protect them from wrong, or at least to punish the wrong doers. When Men were at first dispers'd and scattered asunder, some wise and eloquent Man perswaded them to enter into Civil Societies ; that he himself, say you, might exercise Dominion over them, when so united. Perhaps you meant this of *Nimrod*, who is said to have been the first Tyrant. Or else it proceeds from your own malice only, and certainly it cannot have been true of those great and generous spirited Men, but is a Fiction of your own, not warranted by any Authority that I ever heard of. For all ancient Writers tell us, that those first Instituters of Communities of Men, had a regard to the good and safety of Mankind only, and not to any private advantages of their own, or to make themselves great or powerful. One thing I cannot pass by, which I suppose you intended for an Emblem, to set off the rest of this Chapter : *If a Consul, say you, had been to be accused before his Magistracy expired, there must have been a Dictator created for that purpose ; tho you had said before, that for that very reason there were two of them.* Just so your Positions always agree with one another, and almost every Page declares how weak and frivolous whatever you say or write upon any Subject, is. *Under the ancient English Saxon Kings, you say, the People were never called to Parliaments.* If any of our own Countrymen had asserted such a thing, I could easily have convinced him that he was in an error. But I am not so much concerned at your mistaking our Affairs, because y^rare a Foreigner. This in effect is all you say of the Right of Kings in general. Many other things I omit, for you use many Digressions, and put things down that either have no ground at all, or are nothing to the purpose, and my design is not to vie with you in Impertinence.

C H A P. VIII.

IF you had published your own opinion, *Salmasius*, concerning the Right of Kings in general, without affronting any Persons in particular, notwithstanding this alteration of Affairs in *England*, as long as you did but use your own liberty in writing what your self thought fit, no *English* Man could have had any cause to have been displeased with you, nor would you have made good the opinion you maintain ever a whit the less. For if it be a positive Command both of *Moses* and of *Christ* himself, *That all Men whatsoever, whether Spaniards, French, Italians, Germans, English or Scotch; should be subject to their Princes, be they good or bad*, which you asserted, *Pag. 127.* to what purpose was it for you, who are a Foreigner and unknown to us, to be tampering with our Laws, and to read us Lectures out of them as out of your own Papers and Miscellanies, which, be they how they will, you have taught us already in a great many words, that they ought to give way to the Laws of God? But now it is apparent that you have undertaken the defence of this Royal Cause, not so much out of your own inclination, as partly because you were hired, and that at a good round price too, considering how things are with him that set you on work; and partly, 'tis like, out of expectation of some greater reward hereafter, to publish a scandalous Libel against the *English*, who are injurious to none of their Neighbours, and meddle with their own matters only. If there were no such thing as that in the case, is it credible that any Man should be so impudent or so mad, as tho he be a stranger, and at a great distance from us, yet of his own accord to intermeddle with our Affairs, and side with a Party? What the Devil, is it to you what the *English* do amongst themselves? What would you have, Pragmatical Puppy? What would you be at? Have you no concerns of your own at home? I wish you had the same concerns that that famous *Olus*, your fellow busy-body in the *Epigram*, had; and perhaps so you have; you deserve them I'm sure. Or did that Hotspur your Wife, who encouraged you to write what you have done for out-law'd *Charles's* sake, promise you some profitable Professors place in *England*, and God knows what Gratifications at *Charles's* Return? But assure your selves, my Mistress and my Master, that *England* admits neither of *Witches*, nor Owners of *Witches*: So that it's no wonder you spit so much Venom at our *English* Masquers. It were better for you to return to those illustrious Titles of yours in *France*; first to that hunger-starved Lordship of yours at * *St. Lou*; and in the next place to the Sacred Consistory of the most Christian King. Being a Counsellor to the Prince, you are at too great a distance from your own Country. But I see full well that she neither desires you, nor your Counsel; nor did it appear she did, when you were there a few years ago, and began to lick a Cardinal's Trencher; she's in the right, by my troth, and can very willingly suffer such a little fellow as you, that are but one half of a Man, to run up and down with your Mistress of a Wife, and your Desks full of Trilles and Fooleries, till you light some where or other upon a Stipend, large enough for a Knight of the Grammar, or an illustrious Critick on Horseback; if any Prince or State has a mind to hire a Vagabond Doctor that is to be sold at a good round Price. But here's one that will bid for you; whether you're a Merchantable Commodity or not, and what you are worth we shall see by and by. You say, *The Parricides* assert, that the Government of *England* is not meerly Kingly, but that it is a mixt Government. Sir *Thomas Smith*, a Country-man of ours in *Edward* the Sixth's days, a good Lawyer, and a Statesman, one whom you your self will not call a Parricide, in the beginning of a Book which he wrote of the Commonwealth of *England*, asserts the same thing, and not of our Government only, but of almost all others in the World, and that out of *Aristotle*; and he says it is not possible that any Government should otherwise subsist. But as if you thought it a crime to say any thing, and not unsay it again, you repeat your former thredbare Contradictions. You say, *There neither is nor ever was any Nation that did not understand by the very name of a King, a Person whose authority is inferior to God alone, and who is accountable to no other.* And yet a little after you confess, that the name of a King was formerly given to such Powers and Magistrates, as had not a full and absolute right of themselves, but had a dependance upon the People,

* *St. Lou* is
Latin, Sanctus
Lupus, Saint
Wolf, is the
name of a place
in France,
where *Salma-*
tias had some
small Estate,
and was called
so from *St. Lu-*
pus a German
Bishop, who
with *St. Ger-*
man came over
into England,
Anno Dcm.
429.

ple, as the Suffetes among the Carthaginians, the Hebrew Judges, the Kings of the Lacedemonians, and of Arragon. Are you not very consistent with your self? Then you reckon up five several sorts of Monarchies out of *Aristotle*; in one of which only that Right obtain'd, which you say is common to all Kings. Concerning which I have said already more than once, that neither doth *Aristotle* give an instance of any such Monarchy, nor was there ever any such in being; the other four he clearly demonstrates that they were bounded by Establish'd Laws, and the King's Power subject to those Laws. The first of which four was that of the *Lacedemonians*, which in his opinion did of all others best deserve the name of a Kingdom. The second was such as obtain'd among Barbarians, which was lasting, because regulated by Laws, and because the People willingly submitted to it; whereas by the same Author's opinion in his third Book, what King so ever retains the Sovereignty against the People's will, is no longer to be accounted a King, but a downright Tyrant; all which is true likewise of his third sort of Kings, which he calls *Esymnetes*, who were chosen by the People, and most commonly for a certain time only, and for some particular purposes, such as the *Roman Dictators* were. The fourth sort he makes of such as reigned in the Heroical days, upon whom for their extraordinary merits the People of their own accord conferr'd the Government, but yet bounded by Laws; nor could these retain the Sovereignty against the will of the People: nor do these four sorts of Kingly Governments differ, he says, from Tyranny in any thing else, but only in that these Governments are with the good liking of the People, and That against their will. The fifth sort of Kingly Government, which he calls *παρβασιλεια*, or absolute Monarchy, in which the Supreme Power resides in the King's Person, which you pretend to be the right of all Kings, is utterly condemn'd by the Philosopher, as neither for the good of Mankind, nor consonant to Justice or Nature, unless some People should be content to live under such a Government, and withal confer it upon such as excel all others in vertue. These things any man may read in the third Book of his *Politicks*. But you, I believe, that once in your life you might appear witty and florid, pleased your self with making a comparison betwixt these five sorts of Kingly Government, and the five Zones of the World; betwixt the two extremes of Kingly power, there are three more temperate Species interposed, as there lie three Zones betwixt the Torrid and the Frigid. Pretty Rogue! what ingenious comparisons he always makes us! May you for ever be banished, whither you your self condemn an absolute Kingdom to be, that is, to the frigid Zone, which when you are there, will be doubly cold to what it was before. In the mean while we shall expect that new fashioned sphere which you describe, from you our modern *Archimedes*, in which there shall be two extreme Zones, one Torrid, and the other Frigid, and three temperate ones lying betwixt. The Kings of the Lacedæmonians, you say, might lawfully be Imprisoned, but it was not lawful to put them to death. Why not? Because the Ministers of Justice, and some Foreign Soldiers, being surpris'd at the Novelty of the thing, thought it not lawful to lead *Agis* to his Execution, though condemn'd to die? And the People of *Lacedemon*, were displeased at his death, not because condemn'd to die, though a King, but because he was a good man and popular, and had been circumvented by a faction of the great ones. Says *Plutarch*, "*Agis* was the first King that was put to death" by the *Ephori*; in which words he does not pretend to tell us what lawfully might be done, but what actually was done. For to imagin that such as may lawfully accuse a King, and imprison him, may not also lawfully put him to death, is a childish conceit. At last you betake your self to give an account of the Right of *English* Kings. There never was, you say, but one King in *England*. This you say, because you had said before, that unless a King be sole in the Government, he cannot be a King. Which if it be true, some of them, who I had thought had been Kings of *England*, were not really so; for to omit many of our *Saxon* Kings, who had either their Sons, or their Brothers Partners with them in the Government, it is known that King *Henry II.* of the *Norman* Race, reign'd together with his Son. Let them shew, say you, a President of any Kingdom under the Government of a single person, who has not an absolute power; though in some Kingdoms more remiss, in others more intense. Do you show any Power that's absolute, and yet remiss, you As; is not that power that's absolute, the Supreme Power of all? How can it then be both supreme and remiss? Whatsoever Kings you shall

acknowledg to be invested with a remis (or a less) power, those I will easily make appear to have no absolute power; and consequently to be inferior to a People, free by nature, who is both its own Lawgiver, and can make the Regal Power more or less intense or remis; that is, greater or less. Whether the whole Island of *Britain* was anciently governed by Kings, or no, is uncertain. It's most likely that the form of their Government changed according to the Exigencies of the Times. Whence *Tacitus* says, *The Britains anciently were under Kings; now the great Men amongst them divide them into Parties and Factions.* When the *Romans* left them, they were about forty years without Kings; they were not always therefore under a Kingly Government, as you say they were. But when they were so, that the Kingdom was Hereditary, I positively deny; which that it was not, is evident both from the Series of their Kings, and their way of creating them: for the consent of the People is asked in expresse words. When the King has taken the accustomed Oath, the Archbishop stepping to every side of the Stage erected for that purpose, asks the People four several times in these words, *Do you consent to have this Man to be your King?* Just as if he spoke to them in the *Roman* Stile, *Vultis, Jubetis hunc Regnare?* 'Is it your pleasure, do you appoint this Man to reign? Which would be needless if the Kingdom were by the Law hereditary. But with Kings, Usurpation passes very frequently for Law and Right. You go about to ground *Charles's* Right to the Crown, who was so often conquered himself, upon the Right of Conquest. *William*, surnamed the *Conqueror*, forsooth, subdued us. But they who are not strangers to our History, know full well, that the Strength of the *English* Nation was not so broken in that one Fight at *Hastings*, but that they might easily have renewed the War. But they chose rather to accept of a King, than to be under a Conqueror and a Tyrant: They swear therefore to *William*, to be his Liege-men, and he swears to them at the Altar, to carry himself towards them as a good King ought to do in all respects. When he broke his Word, and the *English* betook themselves again to their Arms, being dissident of his Strength, he renewed his Oath upon the Holy Evangelists, to observe the Ancient Laws of *England*. And therefore, if after that he miserably oppressed the *English*, (as you say he did) he did it not by Right of Conquest, but by Right of Perjury. Besides, it is certain, that many Ages ago, the Conquerors and Conquered coalesced into one and the same People: So that that Right of Conquest, if any such ever were, must needs have been antiquated long ago. His own words at his death, which I give you out of a *French Manuscript* written at *Caen*, put all out of doubt, *I appoint no Man* (says he) *to inherit the Kingdom of England.* By which words, both his pretended Right of Conquest, and the Hereditary Right, were disclaim'd at his death, and buried together with him. I see now that you have gotten a place at Court, as I foretold you would; you are made the King's Chief Treasurer and Steward of his Court-Craft: And what follows, you seem to write *ex Officio*, as by virtue of your Office, Magnificent Sir. *If any preceding Kings, being thereunto compelled by Factions of Great Men, or Seditions amongst the Common People, have receded in some measure from their Right, that cannot prejudice the Successor; but that he is at liberty to resume it.* You say well; if therefore at any time our Ancestor, have through neglect lost any thing that was their Right, why should that prejudice us their Posterity? If they would promise for themselves to become Slaves, they could make no such promise for us; who shall always retain the same Right of delivering our selves out of Slavery, that they had of enslaving themselves to any whomsoever. You wonder how it comes to pass that a King of *Great Britain* must now a-days be looked upon as one of the Magistrates of the Kingdom only; whereas in all other Kingly Governments in *Christendom*, Kings are invested with a Free and Absolute Authority. For the *Scots*, I remit you to *Buchanan*: For *France*, your own Native Countrey, to which you seem to be a stranger, to *Hottoman's Franco-Gallia*, and *Girardus* a *French* Historian; for the rest, to other Authors, of whom none that I know of, were *Independents*: Out of whom you might have learned a quite other Lesson concerning the Right of Kings, than what you teach. Not being able to prove that a Tyrannical Power belongs to the Kings of *England* by Right of Conquest, you try now to do it by Right of Perjury. Kings profess themselves to reign *By the Grace of God*: What if they had professed themselves to be Gods? I believe if they had, you might have easily have been brought to become one of their Priests.

So the Archbishops of *Canterbury* pretended to Archbishop it by *Divine Providence*. Are you such a Fool, as to deny the Popes being a King in the Church, that you may make the King greater than a Pope in the State? But in the Statutes of the Realm the King is called our *Lord*. You are become of a sudden a wonderful *Nomenclator* of our Statutes: But you know not that many are called Lords and Masters, who are not really so: You know not how unreasonable a thing it is to judg of Truth and Right by Titles of Honour, not to say of Flattery. Make the same Inference, if you will, from the Parliament's being called the *King's Parliament*; for it is called the King's Bridle too, or a Bridle to the King: and therefore the King is no more Lord or Master of his Parliament, than a Horse is of his Bridle. But why not the King's Parliament, since the *King summons them*? I'll tell you why; because the Consuls used to indict a Meeting of the Senate, yet were they not Lords over that Council. When the King therefore summons or calls together a Parliament, he does it by virtue and in discharge of that Office, which he has received from the People, that he may advise with them about the weighty Affairs of the Kingdom, not his own particular Affairs. Or when at any time the Parliament debated of the King's own Affairs, if any could properly be called his own, they were always the last things they did; and it was in their choice when to debate of them, and whether at all or no, and depended not upon the King's Pleasure. And they whom it concerns to know this, know very well, that Parliaments anciently, whether summoned or not, might by Law meet twice a Year: But the Laws are called too, *The King's Laws*. These are flattering Ascriptions; a King of *England* can of himself make no Law: For he was not constituted to make Laws, but to see those Laws kept, which the People made. And you your self here confess, That *Parliaments meet to make Laws*: Wherefore the Law is also called the Law of the Land, and the Peoples Law. Whence King *Ethelstane* in the Preface to his Laws, speaking to all the People, *I have granted you every thing*, says he, *by your own Law*. And in the Form of the Oath, which the Kings of *England* used to take before they were made Kings, the People stipulate with them thus; *Will you grant those just Laws, which the People shall chuse*? The King answers, *I will*. And you are infinitely mistaken in saying, That *when there is no Parliament sitting, the King governs the whole State of the Kingdom, to all intents and purposes, by a Regal Power*. For he can determine nothing of any moment, with respect to either Peace or War; nor can he put any stop to the Proceedings of the Courts of Justice. And the Judges therefore swear, that they will do nothing judicially, but according to Law, though the King by Word, or Mandate, or Letters under his own Seal, should command the contrary. Hence it is that the King is often said in our Law to be an *Infant*; and to possess his Rights and Dignities, as a Child or a Ward does his: See the *Mirror*, *Cap. 4. Sect. 22*. And hence is that common Saying amongst us, That *the King can do no wrong*: Which you, like a Rascal, interpret thus, *Whatever the King does, is no Injury, because he is not liable to be punished for it*. By this very Comment, if there were nothing else, the wonderful Impudence and Villany of this Fellow, discovers it self sufficiently. *It belongs to the Head*, you say, *to command, and not to the Members*: *The King is the Head of the Parliament*. You would not trille thus, if you had any guts in your brains. You are mistaken again (but there's no end of your mistakes) in not distinguishing the King's Counsellors from the States of the Realm: For neither ought he to make choice of all of them, nor of any of these, which the rest do not approve of; but for electing any Member of the House of Commons, he never so much as pretended to it. Whom the People appointed to that Service, they were severally chosen by the Votes of all the People in their respective Cities, Towns, and Counties. I speak now of things universally known, and therefore I am the shorter. But you say, 'Tis false that the *Parliament was instituted by the People, as the Worshippers of Saint Independency assert*. Now I see why you took so much pains in endeavouring to subvert the Papacy; you carry another Pope in your belly, as we say. For what else should you be in labour of, the Wife of a Woman, a He-Wolf, impregnated by a She-Wolf, but either a Monster, or some new sort of Papacy? You now make He-Saints, and She-Saints, at your pleasure, as if you were a true genuine Pope. You absolve Kings of all their sins; and as if you had utterly vanquish'd and subdu'd your Antagonist the Pope, you adorn your self with his spoils. But because you have not yet profligated the Pope quite, till the second

and third, and perhaps the fourth and fifth Part of your Book of his Supremacy come out, which Book will nauseate a great many Readers to death, sooner than you'll get the better of the Pope by it; let it suffice you in the mean time, I beseech you, to become some Antipope or other. There's another She-Saint, besides that Independency that you deride, which you have Canoniz'd in good earnest; and that is, the Tyranny of Kings: You shall therefore by my consent be the High-Priest of Tyranny; and that you may have all the Pope's Titles, you shall be a *Servant of the Servants* not of God, but of the Court. For that Curse pronounced upon *Canaan*, seems to stick as close to you, as your Shirt. You call the People a *Beast*. What are you then your self? For neither can that Sacred Consistory, nor your Lordship of *St. Lou*, exempt you its Master from being one of the People, nay, of the Common People; nor can make you other than what you really are, a most loathsome Beast. Indeed, the Writings of the Prophets shadow out to us the Monarchy and Dominion of Great Kings by the Name, and under the Resemblance of a Great Beast. You say, That *there is no mention of Parliaments held under our Kings, that reigned before William the Conqueror*. It is not worth while to jangle about a *French* word: The thing was always in being; and you your self allow that in the *Saxon* times, *Concilia Sapientum Wittenagemots*, are mentioned. And there are wise Men among the Body of the People, as well as amongst the Nobility. But in the Statute of Merton made in the twentieth year of King Henry the 3d, the *Earls* and *Barons* are only named. Thus you are always imposed upon by words, who yet have spent your whole Life in nothing else but words; for we know very well that in that age, not only the Guardians of the *Cinque-Ports*, and Magistrates of Cities, but even Tradesmen are sometimes called *Barons*; and without doubt they might much more reasonably call every Member of Parliament, tho never so much a Commoner, by the Name of a *Baron*. For that in the fifty second Year of the same King's Reign, the Commoners as well as the Lords were summoned, the Statute of *Marlbridge*, and most other Statutes, declare in express words; which Commoners King Edward the Third, in the Preface to the Statute-Staple, calls, *Magnates Comitatum, The Great Men of the Counties*, as you very learnedly quote it for me; those to wit, *That came out of the several Counties, and served for them*; which number of Men constituted the House of Commons, and neither were Lords, nor could be. Besides, a Book more Ancient than those Statutes, called, *Modus habendi Parliamenta*, i.e. *The manner of holding Parliaments*, tells us, That the King, and the Commons may hold a Parliament, and enact Laws, tho the Lords, the Bishops, are absent; but that with the Lords, and the Bishops, in the absence of the Commons, no Parliament can be held. And there's a reason given for it, *viz.* because Kings held Parliaments and Councils with their People before any Lords or Bishops were made; besides, the Lords serve for themselves only, the Commons each for the County, City, or Burrough that sent them. And that therefore the Commons in Parliament represent the whole Body of the Nation; in which respect they are more worthy, and every way preferable to the House of Peers. But the power of *Judicature*, you say, *never was invested in the House of Commons*. Nor was the King ever possessed of it: Remember tho, that originally all Power proceeded, and yet does proceed from the People. Which *Marcus Tullius* excellently well shows in his Oration, *De lege Agraria, Of the Agrarian Law*: 'As all Powers, Authorities, and publick Administrations ought to be derived from the whole Body of the People; so those of them ought in an especial manner so to be derived, which are ordained and appointed for the Common Benefit and Interest of all; to which Employments every particular Person may both give his Vote for the chusing such Persons, as he thinks will take most care of the Publick, and withal by voting and making Interest for them, lay such Obligations upon them, as may entitle them to their Friendship, and good Offices in time to come. Here you see the true rise and original of Parliaments, and that it was much antienter than the *Saxon* Chronicles. Whilst we may dwell in such a light of Truth and Wisdom, as *Cicero's* Age afforded, you labour in vain to blind us with the darkness of obscurer times. By the saying whereof I would not be understood to derogate in the least from the Authority and Prudence of our Ancestors, who most certainly went further in the enacting of good Laws, than either the Ages they lived in, or their own Learning or Education seem to have been capable of; and tho sometimes

sometimes they made Laws that were none of the best, yet as being conscious to themselves of the Ignorance and Infirmary of Human Nature, they have conveyed this Doctrine down to Posterity, as the foundation of all Laws, which likewise all our Lawyers admit, That if any Law, or Custom, be contrary to the Law of God, of Nature, or of Reason, it ought to be looked upon as null and void. Whence it follows, that tho it were possible for you to discover any Statute, or other publick Sanction, which ascribed to the King a Tyrannical Power, since that would be repugnant to the Will of God, to Nature, and to right Reason, you may learn from that general and primary Law of ours, which I have just now quoted, that it will be null and void. But you will never be able to find that any such Right of Kings has the least Foundation in our Law. Since it is plain therefore, that the Power of Judicature was originally in the People themselves, and that the People never did by any Royal Law part with it to the King, (for the Kings of *England* neither use to judg any Man, nor can by the Law do it, otherwise than according to Laws settled and agreed to: *Fleta*, Book 1. Cap. 17.) it follows, that this Power remains yet whole and entire in the People themselves. For that it was either never committed to the House of Peers, or if it were, that it may lawfully be taken from them again, you your self will not deny. But, *It is in the King's Power*, you say, *to make a Village into a Burrough, and that into a City; and consequently, the King does in effect create those that constitute the Commons House of Parliament.* But, I say, that even Towns and Burroughs are more ancient than Kings; and that the People is the People, tho they should live in the open Fields. And now we are extreamly well pleased with your *Anglicisms*, *COUNTY COURT*, *THE TURNE HUNDREDA*: you have quickly learnt to count your hundred *Jacobusses* in *English*.

Quis expedit Salmasio suam HUNDREDAM?

Picamque docuit verba nostra conari?

Magister artis venter, & Jacobei

Centum, exulantis viscera marsupii Regis.

Quod si dolosi spes refulserit nummi,

Ipse Antichristi modò qui Primatum Pape

Minatus uno est dissipare sufflatu,

Cantabit ultrò Cardinalitium melos.

Who taught *Salmasius*, that *French* chatt'ring *Pye*,
To aim at *English*, and *HUNDREDA* cry?
The starving Rascal, flusht with just a *Hundred*
English *Jacobusses*, *HUNDREDA* blunder'd.
An out-law'd King's last stock. — A hundred more,
Would make him pimp for th' Antichristian Whore;
And in *Rome's* praise employ his poyson'd Breath,
Who threatn'd once to stink the Pope to death.

The next thing you do is to trouble us with a long Discourse of the Earls and the Barons, to show that the King made them all; which we readily grant, and for that reason they were most commonly at the King's beck; and therefore we have done well to take care, that for the future they shall not be Judges of a Free People. You affirm, That the Power of calling Parliaments as often as he pleases, and of dissolving them when he pleases, has belonged to the King time out of mind. Whether such a vile, mercenary Foreigner as you, who transcribe what some Fugitives dictate to you, or the exprefs Letter of our own Laws are more to be credited in this matter, we shall enquire hereafter. But say you, *there is another Argument, and an invincible one, to prove the Power of the Kings of England superior to that of the Parliament; the King's Power is perpetual and of course, whereby he administers the Government singly without the Parliament; that of the Parliament is extraordinary, or out of course, and limited to particulars only, nor can they enact anything so as to be binding in Law, without the King.* Where does the great force of this Argument lie? in the words of *course* and *perpetual*? Why, many inferior Magistrates have an ordinary and perpetual Power, those whom we call Justices of Peace. Have they therefore the Supreme Power? And I have said already, that the King's

Power is committed to him, to take care, by interposing his Authority, that nothing be done contrary to Law, and that he may see to the due observation of our Laws, not to top his own upon us : and consequently that the King has no Power out of his Courts ; nay all the ordinary power is rather the Peoples, who determine all Controversies themselves by Juries of Twelve Men. And hence it is that when a Malefactor is asked at his Arraignment, *How will you be tried?* he answers always according to Law and Custom, *by God and my Country* ; not by God and the King, or the King's Deputy. But the Authority of the Parliament, which indeed and in-truth is the Supreme Power of the People committed to that Senate, if it may be called extraordinary, it must be by reason of its Eminence and Superiority ; else it is known they are called *Ordines*, and therefore cannot properly be said to be *extra ordinem*, out of order ; and if not actually, as they say, yet virtually they have a perpetual Power and Authority over all Courts and ordinary Magistrates, and that without the King. And now it seems our barbarous terms grate upon your Critical Ears, forsooth ! whereas, if I had leisure, or that if it were worth my while, I could reckon up so many Barbarisms of yours in this one Book, as if you were to be chastiz'd for them as you deserve, all the School-boys Ferula's in *Christendom* would be broken upon you ; nor would you receive so many pieces of Gold as that wretched Poet did of old, but a great many more Boxes o'th' ear. You say, *'Tis a Prodigy more monstrous than all the most absurd Opinions in the World put together, that the Bedlams should make a distinction betwixt the King's Power and his Person.* I will not quote what every Author has said upon this Subject ; but if by the words *Personam Regis*, you mean what we call in *English*, the *Person of the King* ; *Chrysostom*, who was no *Bedlam*, might have taught you, that it is no absurd thing to make a distinction betwixt that and his Power ; for that Father explains the Apostle's command of being subject to the Higher Powers, to be meant of the thing, the Power it self, and not of the Persons of the Magistrates. And why may not I say that a King, who acts any thing contrary to Law, acts so far forth as a private Person, or a Tyrant, and not in the capacity of a King invested with a Legal Authority ? If you do not know that there may be in one and the same Man more *Persons* or *Capacities* than one, and that those Capacities may in thought and conception be severed from the man himself, you are altogether ignorant both of *Latin* and Common Sense. But this you say to absolve Kings from all sin and guilt ; and that you may make us believe that you are gotten into the Chair your self, which you have pull'd the Pope out of. *The King*, you say, *is supposed not capable of committing any crime, because no punishment is consequential upon any crime of his.* Whoever therefore is not punisht, offends not ; it is not the theft, but the punishment that makes the Thief. *Salmasius* the Grammarian commits no Solecisms now, because he is from under the Ferula ; when you have overthrown the Pope, let these, for God's sake, be the Canons of your Pontificate, or at least your Indulgences, whether you shall chuse to be called the High-Priest St. Tyranny, or St. Slavery. I pass by the reproachful Language which towards the latter end of the Chapter you give the State of the Commonwealth, and the Church of *England* ; 'tis common to such as you are, you contemptible Varlet, to rail at those things most, that are most praise-worthy. But that I may not seem to have asserted any thing rashly concerning the Right of the Kings of *England*, or rather concerning the Peoples Right with respect to their Princes ; I will now alledg out of our ancient Histories a few things indeed of many, but such as will make it evident that the *English* lately tried their King according to the settled Laws of the Realm, and the Customs of their Ancestors. After the *Romans* quitted this Island, the *Britains* for about forty years were *sui Juris*, and without any Kings at all. Of whom those they first set up, some they put to death. And for that, *Gildas* reprehends them, not as you do, for killing their Kings, but for killing them uncondemned, and (to use his own words) *Non pro veri examinatione*, without enquiring into the matter of Fact. *Vortigern* was for his Incestuous Marriage with his own Daughter condemn'd (as *Nennius* informs us, the most ancient of all our Historians next to *Gildas*) by St. German, and a General Council of the *Britains*, and his Son *Vortimer* set up in his stead. This came to pass not long after St. *Augustine's* death, which is enough to discover how futile you are, to say, as you have done, that it was a *Pope*, and *Zachary* by name, who first held the Lawfulness of judging Kings. About the year

year of our Lord 607, *Morcantius*, who then reign'd in *Wales*, was by *Ondecus* Bishop of *Landuff*, condemn'd to Exile, for the Murder of his Uncle, though he got the Sentence off by bestowing some Lands upon the Church. Come we now to the *Saxons*, whose Laws we have, and therefore I shall quote none of their Precedents. Remember that the *Saxons* were of a *German* Extract, who neither invested their King, with any absolute, unlimited power, and consulted in a Body of the more weighty affairs of Government; whence we may perceive that in the time of our *Saxon* Ancestors *Parliaments* (the name it self only excepted) had the Supreme Authority. The name they gave them, was *Councils of Wise-men*; and this in the Reign of *Ethelbert*, of whom *Bede* says, *That he made Laws in imitation of the Roman Laws, cum concilio sapientum; by the advice, or in a Council of his Wise-men.* So *Edwyn*, King of *Northumberland*; and *Ina* King of the *West-Saxons*, having consulted with their *Wise-men*, and the *Elders of the People*, made new Laws. Other Laws *K. Alfred* made, by the advice in like manner of his *Wise-men*; and he says himself, *That it was by the consent of them all, that they were commanded to be observed.* From these and many other like places, it is as clear as the Sun, that chosen Men even from amongst the Common People, were Members of the Supreme Councils, unless we must believe that no Men are wise, but the Nobility. We have likewise a very ancient Book, called the *Mirror of Justices*, in which we are told, That the *Saxons*, when they first subdued the *Britains*, and chose themselves Kings, required an Oath of them, to submit to the Judgment of the Law, as much as any of their Subjects, *Cap. 1. Sect. 2.* In the same place 'tis said, that it is but just that the King have his Peers in Parliament, to take Cognizance of wrongs done by the King, or the Queen; and that there was a Law made in King *Alored's* time, that *Parliaments* should be holden twice a year at *London*, or oftner, if need were: Which Law, when through neglect it grew into disuse, was revived by two Statutes in King *Edward the Third's* time. And in another ancient Manuscript, called *Modus tenendi Parliamenta*, we read thus, 'If the King dissolve the Parliament before they have dispatcht the business, for which the Council was summon'd, he is guilty of Perjury; and shall be reputed to have broken his Coronation Oath. For how can he be said to grant those good Laws, which the People chuse, as he is sworn to do, if he hinders the People from chusing them, either by summoning *Parliaments* seldomer, or by dissolving them sooner than the Publick Affairs require, or admit? And that Oath, which the Kings of *England* take at their Coronation, has always been looked upon by our Lawyers, as a most sacred Law. And what remedy can be found to obviate the great Dangers of the whole State (which is the very end of summoning *Parliaments*) if that Great and August Assembly may be dissolved at the pleasure many times of a silly, head-strong King? To absent himself from them, is certainly less than to dissolve them; and yet by our Laws, as that *Modus* lays them down, the King neither can, nor ought to absent himself from his Parliament, unless he be really indisposed in Health; nor then neither, till twelve of the Peers have been with him to inspect his Body, and give the Parliament an account of his Indisposition. Is this like the Carriage of Servants to a Master? On the other hand, the House of Commons, without whom there can be no Parliament held, tho' summoned by the King, may withdraw, and having made a Secession, expostulate with the King concerning Male-administration, as the same Book has it. But, which is the greatest thing of all, amongst the Laws of King *Edward*, commonly called the *Confessor*, there is one very excellent, relating to the Kingly Office; which Office, if the King do not discharge as he ought, Then, says the Law, *He shall not retain so much as the Name of a King.* And lest these words should not be sufficiently understood, the Example of *Chilperic* King of *France* is subjoyn'd, whom the People for that Cause deposed. And that by this Law a wicked King is liable to Punishment, that Sword of King *Edward*, called *Curtana*, denotes to us, which the Earl of *Chester* used to carry in the Solemn Procession at a Coronation; A token, says *Matthew Paris*, that he has Authority by Law to punish the King, if he will not do his Duty: and the Sword is hardly ever made use of but in Capital Punishments. This same Law, together with other Laws of that good King *Edward*, did *William the Conqueror* ratifie in the Fourth Year of his Reign, and in a very full Council held at *Wenham*, confirm'd it with a most solemn Oath: And by so doing, he not only

only extinguish'd his Right of Conquest, if he ever had any over us, but subjected himself to be judged according to the Tenor of this very Law. And his Son *Henry* swore to the observance of King *Edward's* Laws, and of this amongst the rest; and upon those only terms it was, that he was chosen King, whilst his Elder Brother *Robert* was alive. The same Oath was taken by all succeeding Kings, before they were crowned. Hence our Ancient and Famous Lawyer *Bracton*, in his first Book, Chap. 8. *There is no King in the case*, says he, *where Will rules the roast, and Law does not take place*. And in his Third Book, Chap. 9. *A King is a King so long as he rules well; he becomes a Tyrant when he oppresses the People committed to his Charge*. And in the same Chapter, *The King ought to use the Power of Law and Right, as God's Minister and Vice-gerent; the Power of wrong is the Devils, and not Gods; when the King turns aside to do Injustice, he is the Minister of the Devil*. The very same words almost another ancient Lawyer has, who was the Author of the Book, called *Fleta*; both of them remembered that truly Royal Law of King *Edward*, that Fundamental Maxim in our Law, which I have formerly mentioned, by which nothing is to be accounted a Law, that is contrary to the Laws of God, or of Reason; no more than a Tyrant can be said to be a King, or a Minister of the Devil a Minister of God. Since therefore the Law is chiefly right Reason, if we are bound to obey a King, and a Minister of God; by the very same Reason, and the very same Law, we ought to resist a Tyrant, and a Minister of the Devil. And because Controversies arise oftner about Names than Things, the same Authors tell us, that a King of *England*, tho he have not lost the Name of a King, yet is as liable to be judged, and ought so to be, as any of the Common People. *Bracton*, Book 1. Chap. 8. *Fleta*, Book 1. Chap. 17. *No Man ought to be greater than the King in the Administration of Justice; but he himself ought to be as little as the least in receiving Justice, si peccat, if he offend*. Others read it, *si petat*. Since our Kings therefore are liable to be judged, whether by the Name of Tyrants, or of Kings, it must not be difficult to assign their Legal Judges. Nor will it be amiss to consult the same Authors upon that point. *Bracton*, Book 1. Chap. 16. *Fleta*, Book 1. Chap. 17. *The King has his Superiors in the Government; The Law, by which he is made King, and his Court, to wit, the Earls, and the Barons: Comites (Earls) are as much as to say, Companions; and he that has a Companion, has a Master; and therefore, if the King will be without a Bridle, that is, not govern by Law, they ought to bridle him*. That the Commons are comprehended in the word Barons, has been shown already; nay, and in the Books of our ancient Laws they are frequently said to have been called Peers of Parliament: and especially in the *Modus tenendi*, &c. *There shall be chosen* (says that Book) *out of all the Peers of the Realm, five and twenty Persons, of whom five shall be Knights, five Citizens, and five Burgessees; and two Knights of a County, have a greater Vote in granting and rejecting, than the greatest Earl in England*. And it is but reasonable they should, for they vote for a whole County, &c. the Earls for themselves only. And who can but perceive that those *Patent Earls*, whom you call Earls made by *Writ* (since we have now none that hold their Earldoms by Tenure) are very unfit Persons to try the King, who conferr'd their Honours upon them? Since therefore by our Law, as appears by that old Book, call'd *The Mirror*, the King has his Peers, who in Parliament have cognizance of wrongs done by the King to any of his People; and since it is notoriously known, that the meanest Man in the Kingdom may even in inferior Courts have the benefit of the Law against the King himself in case of any Injury, or Wrong sustained; how much more consonant to Justice, how much more necessary is it, that in case the King oppress all his People, there should be such as have authority not only to restrain him, and keep him within bounds, but to judge and punish him? For that Government must needs be very ill, and most ridiculously constituted, in which remedy is provided in case of little Injuries done by the Prince to private Persons, and no remedy, no redress for greater, no care taken for the safety of the whole; no provision made to the contrary, but that the King may without any Law ruin all his Subjects, when at the same time he cannot by Law so much as hurt any one of them. And since I have shown that it is neither good manners, nor expedient, that the Lords should be the Kings Judges; it follows, that the Power of Judicature in that case does wholly, and by very good Right, belong to the Commons, who are both Peers of the Realm, and Barons, and have the Power and Authority

Authority of all the Peers is committed to them. For since (as we find it expressly in our written Law, which I have already cited) the Commons together with the King make a good Parliament without either Lords or Bishops, because before either Lords or Bishops had a Being, Kings held Parliaments with their Commons only; by the very same reason the Commons apart must have the Sovereign Power without the King, and a Power of judging the King himself, because before there ever was a King, they in the Name of the whole Body of the Nation held Councils and Parliaments, had the Power of Judicature, made Laws, and made the Kings themselves, not to lord it over the People, but to administer their publick Affairs. Whom if the King, instead of so doing shall endeavour to injure and oppress, our Law pronounces him from time forward not so much as to retain the Name of a King, to be no such thing as a King; and if he be no King, what need we trouble our selves to find out Peers for him? For being then by all good Men adjudged to be a Tyrant, there are none but who are Peers good enough for him, and proper enough to pronounce Sentence of Death upon him judicially. These things being so, I think I have sufficiently proved what I undertook, by many Authorities, and written Laws; to wit, that since the Commons have Authority by very good Right to try the King, and since they have actually tried him, and put him to Death, for the mischief he had done both in Church and State, and without all hope of amendment, they have done nothing therein but what was just and regular, for the Interest of the State, in discharging of their Trust, becoming their Dignity, and according to the Laws of the Land. And I cannot upon this occasion, but congratulate myself with the Honour of having had such Ancestors, who founded this Government with no less Prudence, and in as much Liberty as the most worthy of the *Ancient Romans* or *Grecians* ever founded any of theirs: and they must needs, if they have any knowledg of our Affairs, rejoice over their Posterity, who when they were almost reduced to Slavery, yet with so much Wisdom and Courage vindicated and asserted the State, which they so wisely founded upon so much Liberty, from the unruly Government of a King.

C H A P. IX.

I Think by this time 'tis sufficiently evident that Kings of *England* may be judged even by the Laws of *England*; and that they have their proper Judges, which was the thing to be proved. What do you do farther? (for whereas you repeat many things that you have said before, I do not intend to repeat the answers that I have given them) *'Tis an easie thing to demonstrate even from the nature of the things for which Parliaments are summon'd, that the King is above the Parliament.* The Parliament, you say, is wont to be assembled upon weighty affairs, such as wherein the safety of the Kingdom and of the People, is concerned. If therefore the King call Parliaments together, not for his own concerns, but those of the Nation, nor to settle those neither, but by their own consent, at their own discretion, what is he more than a Minister, and as it were an Agent for the People? since without their Suffrages that are chosen by the People, he cannot enact the least thing whatsoever, either with relation to himself, or any body else? Which proves likewise that 'tis the King's duty to call Parliaments whenever the People desire it; since the Peoples and not the King's concerns are to be treated of by that Assembly, and to be ordered as they see cause. For although the King's assent be required for fashion sake, which in lesser matters, that concerned the welfare of private persons only, he might refuse, and use that form, *the King will advise*; yet in those greater affairs that concern'd the publick safety, and liberty of the People in general, he had no negative voice: for it would have been against his Coronation-Oath to deny his assent in such cases, which was as binding to him as any Law could be, and against the chief Article of *Magna Charta*, Cap. 29. 'We will not deny to any man, nor will we delay to render to every man Right and Justice. Shall it not be in the King's power to deny Justice, and shall it be in his power to deny the enacting of just Laws? Could he not deny Justice to any particular person, and could he to all his People? Could he not do it in inferior Courts, and could he in the Supreme Court
of

of all? Or, can any King be so arrogant as to pretend to know what's just and profitable better than the whole body of the People? Especially, since 'he is created and chosen for this very end and purpose, to do Justice to all, as *Bracton* says, *Lib. 3. Cap. 9.* that is, to do Justice according to such Laws as the People agree upon. Hence is what we find in our Records, 7 *H. 4. Rot. Parl. num. 59.* 'The King has no Prerogative that derogates from Justice and Equity. And formerly when Kings have refused to confirm Acts of Parliament, to wit, *Magna Charta*, and some others, our Ancestors have brought them to it by force of Arms. And yet our Lawyers never were of opinion that those Laws were less valid, or less binding, since the King was forced to assent to no more than what he ought in Justice to have assented to voluntarily, and without constraint. Whilst you go about to prove that Kings of other Nations have been as much under the power of their Senates or Counsels, as our Kings were, you do not argue us into Slavery, but them into Liberty. In which you do but that over again, that you have from the very beginning of your Discourse, and which some silly Leguleians now and then do, to argue unawares against their own Clients. But you say, *We confess that the King wherever he be, yet is supposed still to be present in his Parliament by virtue of his power; insomuch that whatever is transacted there, is supposed to be done by the King himself:* and then as if you had got some petty bribe or small morsel, and tickled with the remembrance of your Purse of Gold, *We take, say you, what they give us;* and take a Halter then, for I'm sure you deserve it. But we do not give it for granted, which is the thing you thought would follow from thence, *That therefore that Court acts only by virtue of a delegated Power from the King.* For when we say that the Regal Power, be it what it will, cannot be absent from the Parliament, do we thereby acknowledg that Power to be Supreme? Does not the King's Authority seem rather to be transferred to the Parliament, and, as being the lesser of the two, to be comprised in the greater? Certainly if the Parliament may rescind the King's Acts whether he will or no, and revoke Privileges granted by him, to whomsoever they be granted: If they may set bounds to his Prerogative, as they see cause, if they may regulate his yearly Revenue, and the Expences of his Court, his Retinue, and generally all the concerns of his Household; If they may remove his most intimate Friends and Counsellors, and as it were pluck them out of his bosom, and bring them to condign punishment: Finally, if any Subject may by Law appeal from the King to the Parliament (all which things, that they may lawfully be done, and have been frequently practised, both our Histories and Records, and the most eminent of our Lawyers assure us) I suppose no man in his right wits will deny the Authority of the Parliament to be superior to that of the King. For even in an *Interregnum* the Authority of the Parliament is in being, and (than which nothing is more common in our Histories) they have often made a free Choice of a Successor, without any regard to a Hereditary descent. In short, the Parliament is the Supreme Council of the Nation, constituted and appointed by a most free People, and armed with ample power and authority, for this end and purpose; *viz.* to consult together upon the most weighty affairs of the Kingdom; the King was created to put their Laws in execution. Which thing after the Parliament themselves had declared in a publick Edict (for such is the Justice of their Proceedings, that of their own accord they have been willing to give an account of their actions to other Nations) is it not prodigious, that such a pitiful fellow as you are, a man of no authority, of no credit, of no figure in the world, a meer *Burgundian* slave, should have the impudence to accuse the Parliament of *England*, asserting by a publick Instrument their own and their Countries Right, *of a detestable and horrid Imposition?* Your Country may be ashamed, you Rascal, to have brought forth a little inconsiderable fellow of such profligate impudence. But perhaps you have somewhat to tell us that may be for our good: Go on, we'll hear you. *What Laws, say you can a Parliament enact, in which the Bishops are not present?* Did you then, ye Mad-man, expel the Order of Bishops out of the Church to introduce them into the State? O wicked Wretch, who ought to be delivered over to Satan, whom the Church ought to forbid her Communion, as being a Hypocrite, and an Atheist, and no Civil Society of men to acknowledg as a member, being a publick Enemy, and a Plague-fore to the common Liberty of Mankind; who, where the Gospel fails you, endeavour to prove out of *Aristotle, Halicar-*

Halicarnassæ, and then from some Popish Authorities of the most corrupt ages, that the King of *England* is the head of the Church of *England*, to the end that you may, as far as in you lies, bring in the Bishops again, his Intimates and Table-Companions, grown so of late, to rob and tyrannize in the Church of God, whom God himself has deposed and degraded, whose very Order you had heretofore asserted in Print that it ought to be rooted out of the world, as destructive of and pernicious to the Christian Religion. What Apostate did ever so shamefully and wickedly desert as this man has done, I do not say his own which indeed never was any, but the Christian Doctrine which he had formerly asserted? *The Bishops being put down, who under the King, and by his permission held Plea of Ecclesiastical Causes, upon whom, say you, will that Jurisdiction devolve?* O Villain, have some regard at least to your own Conscience; Remember before it be too late, if at least this admonition of mine come not too late, remember that this mocking the Holy Spirit of God is an inexpiable crime, and will not be left unpunisht. Stop at last, and set bounds to your fury, lest the Wrath of God lay hold upon you suddenly, for endeavouring to deliver the flock of God, his Anointed ones that are not to be touched, to Enemies and cruel Tyrants, to be crusht and trampled on again, from whom himself by a high and stretched out arm had so lately delivered them; and from whom you your self maintained that they ought to be delivered, I know not whether for any good of theirs, or in order to the hardning of your own heart, and to further your own damnation. If the Bishops have no right to lord it over the Church, certainly much less have Kings, whatever the Laws of Men may be to the contrary. For they that know any thing of the Gospel know thus much, that the Government of the Church is altogether Divine and Spiritual, and no Civil Constitution. Whereas you say, *That in Secular Affairs, the Kings of England have always had the Sovereign Power*: Our Laws do abundantly declare that to be false. Our Courts of Justice are erected and suppressed, not by the King's Authority, but that of the Parliament; and yet in any of them, the meanest Subject might go to Law with the King: nor is it a rare thing for the Judges to give Judgment against him, which if the King should endeavour to obstruct by any Prohibition, Mandate, or Letters, the Judges were bound by Law, and by their Oaths not to obey him, but to reject such Inhibitions as null and void in Law. The King could not imprison any Man, or seize his Estate as forfeited; he could not punish any Man, not summoned to appear in Court, where not the King but the ordinary Judges gave Sentence; which they frequently did, as I have said, against the King. Hence our *Bracton*, lib. 3. cap. 9. *The Regal Power*, says he, *is according to Law; he has no power to do any wrong, nor can the King do any thing but what the Law warrants.* Those Lawyers that you have consulted, Men that have lately fled their Countrey, may tell you another tale, and acquaint you with some Statutes, not very ancient neither, but made in King *Edward 4th's*, King *Henry 6th's*, and King *Edward 6th's* days; but they did not consider, That what power soever those Statutes gave the King, was conferred upon him by Authority of Parliament; so that he was beholding to them for it; and the same power that conferr'd it, might at pleasure resume it. How comes it to pass that so acute a disputant as you, should suffer your self to be imposed upon to that degree, as to make use of that very Argument to prove the King's Power to be Absolute and Supreme, than which nothing proves more clearly, That it is subordinate to that of the Parliament? Our Records of the greatest Authority with us, declare, That our Kings owe all their Power, not to any Right of Inheritance, of Conquest, or Succession, but to the People. So in the Parliament Rolls of King *Hen. 4. numb. 108.* we read, That the Kingly Office and Power was granted by the Commons to King *Henry* the 4th, and before him, to his Predecessor King *Richard* the 2d. just as Kings use to grant Commissioners Places, and Lieutenantships to their Deputies, by Edicts and Patents. Thus the House of Commons ordered expressly to be entred upon record, 'That they had granted to King *Richard* to use the same good Liberty that the Kings of England before him had used: Which because that King abused to the subversion of the Laws, and contrary to his Oath at his Coronation, the same persons that granted him that power, took it back again, and deposed him. The same Men, as appears by the same Record, declared in open Parliament, 'That having confidence in the Prudence and Moderation of King *Henry* the 4th. they will and enact, 'That he enjoy the same Royal Authority that his Ancestors enjoyed. Which

if it had been any other than in the nature of a Trust, as this was, either those Houses of Parliament were foolish and vain, to give what was none of their own, or those Kings that were willing to receive as from them, what was already theirs, were too injurious both to themselves and their Posterity; neither of which is likely. *A third part of the Regal Power*, say you, *is conversant about the Militia; this the Kings of England have used to order and govern, without Fellow or Competitor.* This is as false as all the rest that you have taken upon the credit of Fugitives: For in the first place, both our own Histories, and those of Foreigners, that have been any whit exact in the relation of our Affairs, declare, That the making of Peace and War, always did belong to the Parliament. And the Laws of *St. Edward*, which our Kings were bound to swear that they would maintain, make this appear beyond all exception, in the Chapter *De Heretochis*, viz. ‘That there were certain Officers appointed in every Province and County throughout the Kingdom, that were called *Heretochs*, in Latin *Duces*, *Commanders of Armies*, that were to command the Forces of the several Counties, not for the Honour of the Crown only, ‘but for the good of the Realm. And ‘they were chosen by the General Council, and in the several Counties at publick Assemblies of the Inhabitants, as Sheriffs ought to be chosen. Whence it is evident, That the Forces of the Kingdom, and the Commanders of those Forces, were anciently, and ought to be still, not at the King’s Command, but at the People’s; and that this most reasonable and just Law obtained in this Kingdom of ours no less than heretofore it did in the Commonwealth of the *Romans*. Concerning which, it will not be amiss to hear what *Cicero* says, *Philip. i.* ‘All the Legions, all the Forces of the Commonwealth, wheresoever they ‘are, are the People of *Rome’s*; nor are those Legions that deserted the Consul *Antonius*, said to have been *Antony’s*, but the Commonwealth’s Legions. This very Law of *St. Edward*, together with the rest, did *William* the Conqueror, at the desire and instance of the People, confirm by Oath, and added over and above, *cap. 56.* ‘That all Cities, Boroughs, Castles, should be so watched every night, as the Sheriffs, the Aldermen, and other Magistrates, should ‘think meet for the safety of the Kingdom. And in the *6th* Law, ‘Castles, ‘Boroughs, and Cities, were first built for the Defence of the People, and ‘therefore ought to be maintained free and entire, by all ways and means. What then? Shall Towns and Places of Strength in times of Peace be guarded against Thieves and Robbers by common Councils of the several Places; and shall they not be defended in dangerous times of War, against both Domestick and Foreign Hostility, by the Common Council of the whole Nation? If this be not granted, there can be no *Freedom*, no *Integrity*, no *Reason* in the guarding of them; nor shall we obtain any of those ends, for which the Law it self tells us, that Towns and Fortresses were at first founded. Indeed our Ancestors were willing to put any thing into the King’s Power, rather than their Arms, and the Garisons of their Towns; conceiving that to be neither better nor worse, than betraying their Liberty to the Fury and Exorbitancy of their Princes. Of which there are so very many instances in our Histories, and those so generally known, that it would be superfluous to mention any of them here. But *the King owes protection to his Subjects; and how can he protect them, unless he have Men and Arms at Command?* But, say I, he had all this for the good of the Kingdom, as has been said, not for the destruction of his People, and the ruin of the Kingdom: Which in King *Henry* the 3d’s time, one *Leonard*, a Learned Man in those days, in an Assembly of Bishops, told *Ruffandus*, the Pope’s Nuncio and the King’s Procurator, in these words; ‘All Churches are the Pope’s, as all Temporal ‘things are said to be the King’s, for Defence and Protection, not his in Propriety and Ownership, as we say; they are his to defend, not to destroy. The aforementioned Law of *St. Edward*, is to the same purpose; and what does this import more than a Trust? Does this look like absolute power? Such a kind of Power a Commander of an Army always has, that is, a delegated Power; and yet both at home and abroad he is never the less able to defend the People that chuse him. Our Parliaments would anciently have contended with our Kings about their Liberty and the Laws of *St. Edward*, to very little purpose; and ’twould have been an unequal match betwixt the Kings and them, if they had been of opinion, that the Power of the Sword belonged to him alone: for how unjust Laws soever their Kings would have imposed upon them, their *Charter*, tho never so great, would have been a weak Defence against Force. But
say

say you, *What would the Parliament be the better for the Militia, since without the King's Assent they cannot raise the least Farthing from the People towards the maintaining it?* Take you no thought for that: For in the first place you go upon a false supposition, *That Parliaments cannot impose Taxes without the King's Assent*, upon the People that send them, and whose concerns they undertake. In the next place, you that are so officious an enquirer into other mens matters, cannot but have heard, That the People of their own accord, by bringing in their Plate to be melted down, raised a great Sum of Money towards the carrying on of this War against the King. Then you mention the largeness of our King's Revenue: You mention over and over again *Five Hundred and Forty Thousands*: That *those of our Kings that have been eminent for their Bounty and Liberality, have used to give Large Boons out of their own Patrimony*. This you were glad to hear; 'twas by this Charm, that those Traytors to their Countrey allured you, as *Balaam* the Prophet was enticed of old, to curse the People of God, and exclaim against the Judicial Dispensations of his Providence. You Fool! what was that unjust and violent King the better for such abundance of Wealth? What are you the better for it? Who have been no partaker of any part of it, that I can hear of (how great hopes soever you may have conceiv'd of being vastly enriched by it) but only of a hundred pieces of Gold, in a Purse wrought with beads. Take that reward of thine Iniquity, *Balaam*, which thou hast loved, and enjoy it. You go on to play the Fool; *The setting up of a Standard is a Prerogative that belongs to the King only*. How so? Why because *Virgil* tells us in his *Aeneis*, 'That *Turnus* set up a Standard on the top of the Tower at *Laurentum*, for an Ensign of War. And do not you know, *Grammarians*, that every General of an Army does the same thing? But, says *Aristotle*, *The King must always be provided of a Military Power, that he may be able to defend the Laws; and therefore the King must be stronger than the whole body of the People*. This man makes Consequences just as *Oenus* does Ropes in Hell; which are of no use but to be eaten by Asses. For a number of Soldiers given to the King by the People, is one thing; and the sole power of the Militia is quite another thing; the latter, *Aristotle* does not allow that Kings ought to be Masters of, and that in this very place which you have quoted: *He ought*, says he, *to have so many armed men about him, as to make him stronger than any one man, than many men got together; but he must not be stronger than all the People*, *Polit. lib. 3. cap. 4*. Else instead of protecting them, it would be in his power to subject both People and Laws to himself. For this is the difference betwixt a King and a Tyrant: A King, by consent of the Senate and People, has about him so many armed men, as to enable him to resist Enemies, and suppress Seditions. A Tyrant, against the Will both of Senate and People, gets as great a number as he can, either of Enemies, or profligate Subjects to side with him against the Senate and the People. The Parliament therefore allowed the King, as they did whatever he had besides, the setting up of a *Standard*; not to wage War against his own People, but to defend them against such as the Parliament should declare Enemies to the State: If he acted otherwise, himself was to be accounted an Enemy; since according to the very Law of *St. Edward*, or according to a more sacred Law than that, the Law of Nature it self, he lost the name of a King, and was no longer such. Whence *Cicero* in his *Philip*. 'He forfeits his Command in the Army, and Interest in the Government, that employs them against the State. Neither could the King compel those that held of him by Knight-Service, to serve him in any other War, than such as was made by consent of Parliament; which is evident by many Statutes. So for Customs and other Subsidies for the maintenance of the Navy; the King could not exact them without an Act of Parliament; as was resolved about twelve years ago, by the ablest of our Lawyers, when the King's Authority was at the height. And long before them, *Fortescue*, an Eminent Lawyer, and Chancellor to King *Henry the 6th*, 'The King of England, says he, 'can neither alter the Laws, nor exact Subsidies without the People's consent; nor can any Testimonies be brought from Antiquity, to prove the Kingdom of England to have been merely Regal. 'The King, says *Bracton*, has a Jurisdiction over all his Subjects; that is, in his Courts of Justice, where Justice is administered in the King's name indeed, but according to our own Laws. 'All 'are subject to the King; that is, every particular man is; and so *Bracton* explains himself in the places that I have cited. What follows is but turning the same stone over and over again; (at which sport I believe you are able to tire Si-

siplius himself) and is sufficiently answered by what has been said already. For the rest, if our Parliaments have sometimes complimented good Kings with submissive expressions, tho neither favouring of Flattery nor Slavery, those are not to be accounted due to Tyrants, nor ought to prejudice the Peoples Right: good manners and civility do not infringe Liberty. Whereas you cite out of Sir *Edw. Coke* and others, 'That the Kingdom of *England* is an *Absolute Kingdom*; that is said with respect to any Foreign Prince, or the Emperor; because as *Camden* says, 'It is not under the Patronage of the Emperor: but both of them affirm that the Government of *England* resides not in the King alone, but in a Body Politick. Whence *Fortescue* in his Book *de Laud. Leg. Angl. cap. 9.* 'The King of *England*, says he, governs his People, not by a merely Regal, but a Political Power; for the *English* are govern'd by Laws of their own making. Foreign Authors were not ignorant of this: Hence *Philip de Comines*, a Grave Author, in the *Fifth Book of his Commentaries*, 'Of all the Kingdoms of the Earth, says he, that I have any knowledg of, there is none in my opinion, where the Government is more moderate, where the King has less power of hurting his People, than in *England*. Finally, 'Tis ridiculous, say you, for them to affirm that Kingdoms were ancients than Kings; which is as much as if they should say, that there was Light before the Sun was created. But with your good leave, Sir, we do not say that Kingdoms, but that the People were before Kings. In the mean time, who can be more ridiculous than you, who deny there was Light before the Sun had a being? You pretend to a curiosity in other mens matters, and have forgot the very first things that were taught you. You wonder how they that have seen the King upon his Throne, at a Session of Parliament (*sub aureo & serico Cœlo, under a golden and silken Heaven*) under a Canopy of State, should so much as make a question whether the Majesty resided in him, or in the Parliament? They are certainly hard of belief, whom so lucid an Argument coming down from Heaven, cannot convince. Which Golden Heaven, you, like a Stoick, have so devoutly and seriously gaz'd upon, that you seem to have forgot what kind of Heaven *Moses* and *Aristotle* describe to us; for you deny that there was any Light in *Moses's* Heaven, before the Sun; and in *Aristotle's* you make three temperate Zones. How many Zones you observed in that Golden and Silken Heaven of the King's, I know not; but I know you got one Zone (a Purse) well tempered with a Hundred Golden Stars by your Astronomy.

C H A P. X.

SINCE this whole Controversy, whether concerning the Right of Kings in general, or that of the King of *England* in particular, is rendred difficult and intricate, rather by the obstinacy of Parties, than by the nature of the thing itself; I hope they that prefer Truth before the Interest of a Faction, will be satisfied with what I have alledged out of the Law of God, the Laws of Nations, and the Municipal Laws of my own Countrey, That a King of *England* may be brought to Trial, and put to Death. As for those whose minds are either blinded with Superstition, or so dazzled with the Splendor and Grandure of a Court, that Magnanimity and true Liberty do not appear so glorious to them, as they are in themselves, it will be in vain to contend with them, either by Reason and Arguments, or Examples. But you *Salmasius*, seem very absurd, as in every other part of your Book, so particularly in this, who tho you rail perpetually at the *Independents*, and revile them with all the terms of Reproach imaginable, yet assert to the highest degree that can be, the *Independency* of a King, whom you defend; and will not allow him to owe his Sovereignty to the People, but to his *Descent*. And whereas in the beginning of your Book you complain'd that he was put to plead for his Life, here you complain, That he perish'd without being heard to speak for himself. But if you have a mind to look into the History of his Trial, which is very faithfully publish'd in *French*, it may be you'll be of another opinion. Whereas he had liberty given him for some days together, to say what he could for himself, he made use of it not to clear himself of the Crimes laid to his Charge, but to disprove the Authority of his Judges, and the Judicature that he was called before. And whenever a Criminal is either mute, or says nothing to the purpose, there is no Injustice in condemning him without hearing him, if his Crimes

Crimes are notorious, and publickly known. If you say that *Charles* died as he lived, I agree with you: If you say that he died piously, holily, and at ease, you may remember that his Grandmother *Mary*, Queen of *Scots*, an infamous Woman, died on a Scaffold with as much outward appearance of Piety, Sanctity, and Constancy, as he did. And lest you should ascribe too much to that presence of mind which some common Malefactors have so great a measure of at their death; many times despair, and a hardened heart puts on as it were a Vizard of Courage; and Stupidity, a shew of Quiet, and Tranquillity of Mind: Sometimes the worst of Men desire to appear good, undaunted, innocent, and now and then religious, not only in their life, but at their death; and in suffering death for their villanies, use to act the last part of their hypocrisy and cheats, with all the show imaginable; and like bad Poets or Stage-players, are very ambitious of being clapp'd at the end of the Play. Now, you say, you are come to enquire who they chiefly were, that gave Sentence against the King. Whereas it ought first to be enquired into, how you, a Foreigner, and a French Vagabond, came to have any thing to do to raise a question about our Affairs, to which you are so much a Stranger? And what Reward induced you to it? But we know enough of that, and who satisfied your curiosity in these matters of ours; even those Fugitives, and Traitors to their Countrey, that could easily hire such a vain Fellow as you, to speak ill of us. Then an account in writing, of the state of our Affairs, was put into your hands by some hair-brain'd, half-Protestant, half-Papist Chaplain or other, or by some sneaking Courtier, and you were put to translate it into *Latin*; out of that you took these Narratives, which, if you please, we'll examine a little: Not the hundred thousandth part of the People consented to this Sentence of Condemnation. What were the rest of the People then that suffer'd so great a thing to be transacted against their will? Were they Stocks and Stones, were they mere Trunks of Men only, or such Images of *Britains*, as *Virgil* describes to have been wrought in Tapstry?

Purpurea intexti tollunt aulea Britanni.

And *Britains* interwove held up the Purple Hangings.

For you describe no true *Britains* but painted ones, or rather Needle-wrought Men instead of them. Since therefore it is a thing so incredible that a warlike Nation should be subdued by so few, and those of the dregs of the People (which is the first thing that occurs in your Narrative) that appears in the very nature of the thing it self to be most false. The Bishops were turn'd out of the House of Lords by the Parliament it self. The more deplorable is your Madness (for are you not yet sensible that you rave) to complain of their being turn'd out of the Parliament, whom you your self in a large Book endeavour to prove ought to be turn'd out of the Church. One of the States of Parliament, to wit, the House of Lords, consisting of Dukes, Earls, and Viscounts, was removed. And deservedly were they removed; for they were not deputed to sit there by any Town or County, but represented themselves only; they had no Right over the People, but (as if they had been ordained for that very purpose) used frequently to oppose their Rights and Liberties. They were created by the King, they were his Companions, his Servants, and as it were, Shadows of him. He being removed, it was necessary they should be reduced to the same Level with the Body of the People, from amongst whom they took their rise. One part of the Parliament, and that the worst of all, ought not to have assum'd that Power of judging and condemning the King. But I have told you already, that the House of Commons was not only the chief part of our Parliament, while we had Kings, but was a perfect and entire Parliament of it self, without the Temporal Lords, much more without the Bishops. But, The whole House of Commons themselves were not admitted to have to do with the Trial of the King. To wit, that part of them was not admitted, that openly revolted to him in their Minds and Councils; whom, tho they stil'd him their King, yet they had so often acted against, as an Enemy. The Parliament of *England*, and the Deputies sent from the Parliament of *Scotland*, on the 13th of January, 1645, wrote to the King, in answer to a Letter of his, by which he desired a deceitful Truce, and that he might treat with them at *London*; that they could not admit him into that City, till he had made Satisfaction to the State for the Civil War that he had raised in the three Kingdoms, and for the Deaths of so many of his Subjects slain by his Order; and till he had agreed to a true and firm Peace upon such Terms as the Parliaments of both Kingdoms

Kingdoms had offered him so often already, and should offer him again. He on the other hand either refused to hear, or by ambiguous Answers eluded their just and equal Proposals, tho most humbly presented to him seven times over. The Parliament at last, after so many years patience, lest the King should overturn the State by his Wiles and Delays, when in Prison, which he could not subdue in the Field, and lest the vanquish'd Enemy pleased with our Divisions, should recover himself, and triumph unexpectedly over his Conquerors, vote that for the future they would have no regard to him, that they would send him no more Proposals, nor receive any from him: After which Vote, there were found even some Members of Parliament, who out of the hatred they bore that invincible Army, whose Glory they envied, and which they would have had disbanded, and sent home with disgrace, after they had deserved so well of their Nation, and out of a servile compliance with some Seditious Ministers, finding their opportunity, when many, whom they knew to be otherwise minded than themselves, having been sent by the House it self to suppress the Presbyterians, who began already to be turbulent, were absent in the several Counties, with a strange Levity, not to say Perfidiousness, vote that that inveterate Enemy of the State, who had nothing of a King but the Name, without giving any Satisfaction or Security, should be brought back to *London*, and restored to his Dignity and Government, as if he had deserved well of the Nation by what he had done. So that they prefer'd the King before their Religion, their Liberty, and that very celebrated Covenant of theirs. What did they do in the mean time, who were found themselves, and saw such pernicious Councils on foot? Ought they therefore to have been wanting to the Nation, and not provide for its safety, because the Infection had spread it self even in their own House? But, who secluded those ill affected Members? *The English Army*, you say: So that it was not an Army of Foreigners, but of most valiant, and faithful, honest Natives, whose Officers for the most part were Members of Parliament; and whom those good secluded Members would have secluded their Country, and banished into *Ireland*; while in the mean time the *Scots*, whose Alliance began to be doubtful, had very considerable Forces in four of our Northern Counties, and kept Garisons in the best Towns of those Parts, and had the King himself in Custody; whilst they likewise encouraged the tumultuating of those of their own Faction, who did more than threaten the Parliament, both in City and Country, and through whose means not only a Civil, but a War with *Scotland* too shortly after brake out. If it has been always accounted praise-worthy in private Men to assist the State, and promote the publick Good, whether by Advice or Action; our Army sure was in no fault, who being ordered by the Parliament to come to Town, obey'd and came, and when they were come, quell'd with ease the Faction and Uproar of the King's Party, who sometimes threatned the House it self. For things were brought to that pass, that of necessity either we must be run down by them, or they by us. They had on their side most of the Shopkeepers and Handicrafts-men of *London*, and generally those of the Ministers, that were most factious. On our side was the Army, whose Fidelity, Moderation, and Courage were sufficiently known. It being in our Power by their means to retain our Liberty, our State, our common Safety, do you think we had not been Fools to have lost all by our negligence and folly? They who had had places of Command in the Kings Army, after their Party were subdued, had laid down their Arms indeed against their Wills, but continued Enemies to us in their Hearts; and they flock'd to Town, and were here watching all opportunities of renewing the War. With these Men, tho they were the greatest Enemies they had in the World, and thirsted after their Blood, did the *Presbyterians*, because they were not permitted to exercise a Civil, as well as an Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over all others, hold secret Correspondence, and took measures very unworthy of what they had formerly both said and done; and they came to that Spleen at last, that they would rather enthrall themselves to the King again, than admit their own Brethren to share in their Liberty, which they likewise had purchased at the price of their own Blood; they chose rather to be lorded over once more by a Tyrant, polluted with the Blood of so many of his own Subjects, and who was enraged, and breath'd out nothing but revenge against those of them that were left, than endure their Brethren and Friends to be upon the square with them. The *Independents*, as they are called, were the only men, that from first to last kept to their point, and knew what use to make of their Victory.

They

They refus'd (and wisely, in my opinion) to make him King again, being then an Enemy; who when he was their King, had made himself their Enemy: Nor were they ever the less averse to a Peace, but they very prudently dreaded a new War, or a perpetual Slavery under the name of a Peace. To load our Army with the more reproaches, you begin a silly confused Narrative of our Affairs; in which tho I find many things false, many things frivolous, many things laid to our charge, for which we rather merit; yet I think it will be to no purpose for me to write a true relation, in answer to your false one. For you and I are arguing, not writing Histories, and both sides will believe our reasons, but not our narrative; and indeed the nature of the things themselves is such, that they cannot be related as they ought to be, but in a set History; so that I think it better, as *Salust* said of *Carthage*, rather to say nothing at all, than to say but a little of things of this weight and importance. Nay, and I scorn so much as to mention the praises of great Men, and of Almighty God himself (who in so wonderful a course of Affairs ought to be frequently acknowledged) amongst your Slanders and Reproaches. I'll therefore only pick out such things as seem to have any colour of argument. You say, *the English and Scotch promised by a Solemn Covenant, to preserve the Majesty of the King*. But you omit upon what terms they promised it; to wit, if it might consist with the safety of their Religion and their Liberty. To both which, Religion and Liberty, that King was so averse to his last breath, and watcht all opportunities of gaining advantages upon them, that it was evident that his Life was dangerous to their Religion, and the certain ruin of their Liberty. But then you fall upon the King's Judges again: *If we consider the thing aright, the conclusion of this abominable action must be imputed to the Independents, yet so as the Presbyterians may justly challenge the glory of its beginning and progress*. Hark, ye Presbyterians, what good has it done you? How is your Innocence and Loyalty the more cleared by, your seeming so much to abhor the putting the King to death? You your selves in the opinion of this everlasting talkative Advocate of the King, your accuser, went more than half-way towards it; you were seen acting the fourth Act and more, in this Tragedy; you may justly be charged with the King's death, since you shew'd the way to it; 'twas you and only you that laid his head upon the Block. Wo be to you in the first place, if ever *Charles* his Posterity recover the Crown of *England*; assure your selves, you are like to be put in the Black List. But pay your Vows to God, and love your Brethren who have delivered you, who have prevented that calamity from falling upon you, who have saved you from inevitable ruin, tho against your own wills. You are accused likewise for that *some years ago you endeavoured by sundry Petitions to lessen the Kings authority, that you publisht some scandalous Expressions of the King himself in the Papers you presented him with in the name of the Parliament*; to wit, in that Declaration of the Lords and Commons of the 26th of May 1642, you declar'd openly in some mad Positions that breath'd nothing but Rebellion, what your thoughts were of the King's authority: *Hotham by order of Parliament shut the gates of Hull against the King*; you had a mind to make a trial by this first act of Rebellion how much the King would bear. What could this Man say more if it were his design to reconcile the minds of all English Men to one another, and alienate them wholly from the King? for he gives them here to understand, that if ever the King be brought back, they must not only expect to be punisht for his Father's death, but for the Petitions they made long ago, and some Acts that past in full Parliament, concerning the putting down the Common-Prayer and Bishops, and that of the Triennial Parliament, and several other things that were enacted with the greatest consent and applause of all the People that could be; all which will be look'd upon as the Seditions and mad Positions of the Presbyterians. But this vain fellow changes his mind all of a sudden; and what but of late, when he considered it aright, he thought was to be imputed wholly to the Presbyterians, now that he considers the same thing from first to last, he thinks the Independents were the sole Actors of it. But even now he told us, *The Presbyterians took up Arms against the King, that by them he was beaten, taken captive, and put in prison*; Now he says, *this whole Doctrine of Rebellion is the Independents Principle*. O! the faithfulness of this Man's Narrative. How consistent he is with himself! What need is there of a Counter Narrative to this of his, that cuts its own Throat? But if any man should question whether you are an honest Man or a Knave, let him read these following lines of yours: *It is time to explain whence and at what time this Sect of Enemies to Kingship first began. Why truly these rare Puritans began*

in Queen Elizabeths time to crawl out of Hell, and disturb not only the Church, but the State likewise ; for they are no less plagues to the latter than to the former. Now your very speech bewrays you to be a right *Balaam* ; for where you designed to spit out the most bitter Poyson you could, there unwittingly and against your will you have pronounc'd a Blessing. For it's notoriously known all over *England* that if any endeavour'd to follow the example of those Churches, whether in *France* or *Germany*, which they accounted best reformed, and to exercise the publick Worship of God in a more pure manner, which our Bishops had almost universally corrupted with their Ceremonies and Superstitions ; or if any seem'd either in point of Religion or Morality to be better than others, such persons were by the Favourers of Episcopacy termed *Puritans*. These are they whose Principles you say are so opposite to Kingship. Nor are they the only persons, *most of the Reformed Religion, that have not sucked in the rest of their principles, yet seem to have approved of those that strike at Kingly Government.* So that while you inveigh bitterly against the *Independents*, and endeavour to separate them from Christ's flock, with the same breath you praise them ; and those Principles which almost every where you affirm to be peculiar to the *Independents*, here you confess have been approved of by most of the Reformed Religion. Nay you are arriv'd to that degree of impudence, impiety and apostacy, that though formerly you maintained Bishops ought to be extirpated out of the Church, root and branch, as so many pests and limbs of Antichrist, here you say the King ought to protect them, for the saving of his Coronation-Oath. You cannot show your self a more infamous Villain than you have done already, but by abjuring the Protestant Reformed Religion, to which you are a scandal. Whereas you tax us with giving a *Toleration of all Sects and Heresies*, you ought not to find fault with us for that ; since the Church bears with such a profligate Wretch as you your self, such a vain Fellow, such a Lyar, such a Mercenary Slanderer, such an Apostate, one who has the impudence to affirm, That the best and most pious of Christians, and even most of those who profess the Reformed Religion, are crept out of Hell, because they differ in opinion from you. I had best pass by the Calumnies that fill up the rest of this Chapter, and those prodigious Tenets that you ascribe to the *Independents*, to render them odious ; for neither do they at all concern the Cause you have in hand, and they are such for the most part as deserve to be laugh'd at, and despis'd, rather than receive a serious Answer.

C H A P. XI.

YOU seem to begin this Eleventh Chapter, *Salmasius*, though with no modesty, yet with some sense of your weakness and trifling in this Discourse. For whereas you propos'd to your self to enquire in this place, by what authority sentence was given against the King ? you add immediately, which no body expected from you, that *'tis in vain to make any such enquiry ; to wit, because the quality of the persons that did it, leaves hardly any room for such a question.* And therefore as you have been found guilty of a great deal of Impudence and Sauciness in the undertaking of this Cause, so since you seem here conscious of your own impertinence, I shall give you the shorter answer. To your question then ; by what authority the House of Commons either condemn'd the King themselves, or delegated that Power to others ; I answer, they did it by virtue of the Supreme Authority on Earth. How they come to have the Supreme Power, you may learn by what I have said already, when I refuted your Impertinencies upon that Subject. If you believed your self that you could ever say enough upon any Subject, you would not be so tedious in repeating the same things so many times over. And the House of Commons might delegate their Judicial Power by the same reason, by which you say the King may delegate his, who received all he had from the People. Hence in that Solemn League and Covenant that you object to us, the Parliaments of *England* and *Scotland* solemnly protest and engage to each other, to punish the Traitors in such manner as *the Supreme, Judicial Authority in both Nations, or such as should have a delegate power from them,* should think fit. Now you hear the Parliaments of both Nations protest with one voice, that they may delegate their Judicial Power, which they call
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the Supreme ; so that you move a vain and frivolous Controversy about delegating this power. But, say you, *there were added to these Judges that were made choice of out of the House of Commons, some Officers of the Army, and it never was known that Soldiers had any right to try a Subject for his life.* I'll silence you in a very few words : You may remember that we are not now discoursing of a Subject, but of an Enemy ; whom if a General of an Army, after he has taken him Prisoner, resolves to dispatch, would he be thought to proceed otherwise than according to Custom and Martial Law, if he himself with some of his Officers should sit upon him, and try and condemn him ? An Enemy to a State made a Prisoner of War, cannot be lookt upon to be so much as a Member, much less a King in that State. This is declar'd by that Sacred Law of St. Edward, which denies that a bad King is a King at all, or ought to be call'd so. Whereas you say, *it was not the whole but a part of the House of Commons that try'd and condemn'd the King,* I give you this answer : The number of them, who gave their Votes for putting the King to death, was far greater than is necessary according to the custom of our Parliaments to transact the greatest Affairs of the Kingdom, in the absence of the rest ; who since they were absent through their own fault (for to revolt to the common Enemy in their hearts is the worst sort of absence) their absence ought not to hinder the rest who continued faithful to the cause, from preserving the State ; which when it was in a tottering condition, and almost quite reduced to Slavery and utter Ruin, the whole body of the People had at first committed to their fidelity, prudence and courage. And they acted their parts like men ; they set themselves in opposition to the unruly wilfulness, the rage, the secret designs of an inveterate and exasperated King ; they prefer'd the common Liberty and Safety before their own ; they out-did all former Parliaments, they out-did all their Ancestors in Conduct, Magnanimity and Stedfastness to their cause. Yet these very men did a great part of the People ungratefully desert in the midst of their undertaking, tho' they had promised them all fidelity, all the help and assistance they could afford them. These were for Slavery and Peace with sloth and luxury upon any terms : Others demanded their Liberty, nor would accept of a Peace that was not sure and honourable. What should the Parliament do in this case ? ought they to have defended this part of the People, that was sound and continued faithful to them and their Country, or to have sided with those that deserted both ? I know what you will say they ought to have done. You are not *Eurylochus*, but *Elpenor*, a miserable enchanted Beast, a filthy Swine, accustomed to a sordid Slavery even under a Woman ; so that you have not the least relish of true Magnanimity, nor consequently of Liberty which is the effect of it : You would have all other men Slaves, because you find in your self no generous, ingenuous inclinations ; you say nothing, you breathe nothing but what's mean and servile. You raise another scruple, to wit, *That he was the King of Scotland too, whom we condemn'd* ; as if he might therefore do what he would in *England*. But that you may conclude this Chapter, which of all others is the most weak and insipid, at least with some witty querk, *There are two little words, say you, that are made up of the same number of Letters, and differ only in the placing of them, but whose significations are wide asunder, to wit, Vis and Jus, (might and right.)* 'Tis no great wonder that such a three letter'd man as you, (*Fur a Thief*) should make such a Witticism upon three Letters : 'Tis the greater wonder (which yet you assert throughout your Book) that two things so directly opposite to one another as those two are, should yet meet and become one and the same thing in Kings. For what violence was ever acted by Kings, which you do not affirm to be their Right ? These are all the passages that I could pick out of nine long Pages, that I thought deserved an answer. The rest consists either of repetitions of things that have been answered more than once, or such as have no relation to the matter in hand. So that my being more brief in this Chapter than in the rest, is not to be imputed to want of diligence in me, which, how irksom soever you are to me, I have not slackned, but to your tedious impertinence, so void of matter and sense.

C H A P. XII.

I Wish, *Salmasius*, that you had left out this part of your Discourse concerning the King's crimes, which it had been more advisable for your self and your party to have done ; for I'm afraid lest in giving you an answer to it, I should appear too sharp and severe upon him, now he is dead, and hath receiv-

ved his punishment. But since you chose rather to discourse confidently and at large upon that Subject, I'll make you sensible, that you could not have done a more inconsiderate thing, than to reserve the worst part of your cause to the last, to wit that of ripping up and enquiring into the Kings Crimes; which when I shall have proved them to have been true and most exorbitant, they will render his memory unpleasant and odious to all good men, and imprint now in the close of the Controversy, a just hatred of you, who undertake his defence, on the Readers minds. Say you, *His accusation may be divided into two parts, one is conversant about his Morals, the other taxeth him with such faults as he might commit in his publick capacity.* I'll be content to pass by in silence that part of his life that he spent in Banquerings, at Plays, and in the conversation of Women; for what can there be in Luxury and Excess, worth relating? And what would those things have been to us, if he had been a private person? But since he would be a King, as he could not live a private Life, so neither could his Vices be like those of a private Person. For in the first place, he did a great deal of mischief by his Example: In the second place, all that time that he spent upon his lust, and in his sports, which was a great part of his time, he stole from the State, the Government of which he had undertaken. Thirdly and lastly, he squandered away vast Sums of Money, which were not his own, but the publick Revenue of the Nation, in his Domestick Luxury and Extravagance. So that in his private life at home he first began to be an ill King. But let us rather pass over to those Crimes *that he is charged with on the account of misgovernment.* Here you lament his being condemned as a Tyrant, a Traitor, and a Murderer. That he had no wrong done him, shall now be made appear. But first let us define a Tyrant, not according to vulgar conceits, but the judgment of *Aristotle*, and of all Learned Men. He is a Tyrant who regards his own welfare and profit only, and not that of the People. So *Aristotle* defines one in the Tenth Book of his *Ethicks*, and elsewhere, and so do very many others. Whether *Charles* regarded his own or the Peoples good, these few things of many that I shall but touch upon, will evince. When his Rents and other publick Revenues of the Crown would not defray the Expences of the Court, he laid most heavy Taxes upon the People; and when they were squandred away, he invented new ones; not for the benefit, honour, or defence of the State, but that he might hoard up, or lavish out in one House, the Riches and Wealth, not of one but of three Nations. When at this rate he broke loose, and acted without any colour of Law to warrant his proceedings, knowing that a Parliament was the only thing that could give him check, he endeavoured either wholly to lay aside the very calling of Parliaments, or calling them just as often, and no oftner, than to serve his own turn, to make them entirely at his devotion. Which Bridle when he had cast off himself, he put another Bridle upon the People; he put Garisons of *German Horse* and *Irish Foot* in many Towns and Cities, and that in time of Peace. Do you think he does not begin to look like a Tyrant? In which very thing, as in many other Particulars, which you have formerly given me occasion to instance (tho you scorn to have *Charles* compared with so cruel a Tyrant as *Nero*) he resembled him extremely much. For *Nero* likewise often threatened to take away the Senate. Besides he bore extreme hard upon the Consciences of good men, and compelled them to the use of Ceremonies and Superstitious Worship, borrowed from Popery, and by him re-introduced into the Church. They that would not conform, were imprisoned or banisht. He made War upon the *Scots* twice for no other cause than that. By all these actions he has surely deserved the name of a Tyrant once over at least. Now I'll tell you why the word Traitor was put into his Indictment: When he assured his Parliament by Promises, by Proclamations, by Imprecations, that he had no design against the State, at that very time did he list *Papists* in *Ireland*, he sent a private Embassie to the King of *Denmark* to beg assistance from him of Arms, Horses and Men, expressly against the Parliament; and was endeavouring to raise an Army first in *England*, and then in *Scotland*. To the *English* he promised the Plunder of the City of *London*, to the *Scots*, that the four *Northern* Counties should be added to *Scotland*, if they would but help him to get rid of the Parliament, by what means soever. These Projects not succeeding, he sent over one *Dillon* a Traitor, into *Ireland* with private Instructions to the Natives, to fall suddenly upon all the *English* that inhabited there. These are the most remarkable instances of his Treasons, not taken up upon hear-say and idle reports, but discovered by Letters under his own Hand and Seal. And finally I suppose no

man will deny that he was a Murderer, by whose order the *Irish* took Arms, and put to death with most exquisite Torments, above a hundred thousand *English*, who lived peaceably by them, and without any apprehension of danger ; and who raised so great a Civil War in the other two Kingdoms. Add to all this, that at the Treaty in the Isle of *Wight*, the King openly took upon himself the guilt of the War, and clear'd the Parliament in the Confession he made there, which is publicly known. Thus you have in short why King *Charles* was adjudg'd a *Tyrant*, a *Traitor*, and a *Murderer*. But, say you, *why was he not declared so before, neither in that Solemn League and Covenant, nor afterwards when he was delivered to them, either by the Presbyterians or the Independents, but on the other hand was receiv'd as a King ought to be, with all reverence ?* This very thing is sufficient to persuade any rational man, that the Parliament entred not into any Councils of quite deposing the King, but as their last refuge, after they had suffered and undergone all that possibly they could, and had attempted all other ways and means. You alone endeavour maliciously to lay that to their charge, which to all good men cannot but evidence their great Patience, Moderation, and perhaps a too long forbearing with the King's Pride and Arrogance. But in the month of August, before the King suffered, the House of Commons, which then bore the only sway, and was governed by the Independents, wrote Letters to the Scots, in which they acquainted them that they never intended to alter the Form of Government that had obtain'd so long in England under King, Lords, and Commons. You may see from hence, how little reason there is to ascribe the deposing of the King, to the principles of the Independents. They, that never us'd to dissemble and conceal their Tenets, even then, when they had the sole management of affairs, profess, *That they never intended to alter the Government*. But if afterwards a thing came into their minds, which at first they intended not, why might they not take such a course, tho before not intended, as appear'd most advisable, and most for the Nation's Interest ? Especially when they found that the King could not possibly be intreated or induced to assent to those just demands that they had made from time to time, and which were always the same from first to last. He persisted in those perverse sentiments with respect to Religion and his own Right, which he had all along espoused, and which were so destructive to us ; not in the least altered from the man that he was, when in Peace and War, he did us all so much mischief. If he assented to any thing, he gave no obscure hints that he did it against his will, and that whenever he should come into power again, he would look upon such his assent as null and void. The same thing his Son declared by writing under his hand, when in those days he ran away with part of the Fleet, and so did the King himself by Letters to some of his own party in *London*. In the mean time, against the avowed sense of the Parliament, he struck up a private Peace with the *Irish*, the most barbarous Enemies imaginable to *England*, upon base dishonourable terms ; but whenever he invited the *English* to Treaties of Peace, at those very times with all the power he had, and interest he could make, he was preparing for War. In this case, what should they do, who were intrusted with the care of the Government ? Ought they to have betrayed the safety of us all to our most bitter Adversary ? Or would you have had them left us to undergo the Calamities of another seven years War, not to say worse ? God put a better mind into them, of preferring, pursuant to that very solemn League and Covenant, their Religion, and Liberties, before those thoughts they once had, of not rejecting the King ; for they had not gone so far as to vote it ; all which they saw at last (tho indeed later than they might have done) could not possibly subsist, as long as the King continued King. The Parliament ought and must of necessity be entirely free, and at liberty to provide for the good of the Nation, as occasion requires ; nor ought they so to be wedded to their first Sentiments, as to scruple the altering their minds, for their own, or the Nation's good, if God put an opportunity into their hands of procuring it. But the Scots were of another opinion ; for they, in a Letter to Charles, the King's Son, call his Father a most Sacred Prince, and the putting him to death, a most execrable Villany. Do not you talk of the Scots, whom you know not ; we know them well enough, and know the time, when they called that same King, a most execrable person, a Murderer, and Traitor ; and the putting a Tyrant to death a most sacred action. Then you pick holes in the King's Charge, as not being properly penn'd ; and you ask why we needed to call him a Traitor and a Murderer, after we had stiled him a Tyrant ; since the word Tyrant, includes all the Crimes that maybe : And then you explain to us grammatically and critically, what a Tyrant is. Away with those

Trifles, you Pedagogue, which that one definition of *Aristotle's*, that has lately been cited, will utterly confound; and teach such a Doctor as you, That the word Tyrant (for all your concern is barely to have some understanding of words) may be applied to one, who is neither a Traitor nor a Murderer. But *the Laws of England do not make it Treason in the King to stir up Sedition against himself or the People*. Nor do they say, That the Parliament can be guilty of Treason by deposing a bad King, nor that any Parliament ever was so, tho they have often done it; but our Laws plainly and clearly declare, that a King may violate, diminish, nay, and wholly lose his Royalty. For that expression in the Law of *St. Edward*, of *losing the name of a King*, signifies neither more nor less, than being deprived of the Kingly Office and Dignity; which beset *Chilperic King of France*, whose example, for illustration sake, is taken notice of in the Law it self. There is not a Lawyer amongst us that can deny, but that the highest Treason may be committed against the Kingdom as well as against the King. I appeal to *Glanville* himself, whom you cite, 'If any man attempt to put the King to death, or raise 'Sedition in the Realm, it is High Treason. So that attempt of some Papists to blow up the Parliament-House, and the Lords and Commons there with Gunpowder, was by King *James* himself, and both Houses of Parliament, declared to be *High Treason*, not against the King only, but against the Parliament and the whole Kingdom. 'T would be to no purpose to quote more of our Statutes, to prove so clear a Truth; which yet I could easily do. For the thing it self is ridiculous, and absurd to imagine, That High Treason may be committed against the King, and not against the People, for whose good, nay, and by whose leave, as I may say, the King is what he is: So that you babble over so many Statutes of ours to no purpose; you toil and wallow in our Ancient Law-Books, to no purpose; for the Laws themselves stand or fall by Authority of Parliament, who always had power to confirm or repeal them; and the Parliament is the sole Judge of what is Rebellion, what High Treason (*lesa Majestas*) and what not. Majesty never was vested to that degree in the Person of the King, as not to be more conspicuous, and more august in Parliament, as I have often shown: But who can endure to hear such a senseless Fellow, such a *French Mountebank* as you, declare what our Laws are? And, you *English* Fugitives, so many Bishops, Doctors, Lawyers, who pretend that all Learning and Ingenuous Literature is fled out of *England* with your selves, was there not one of you that could defend the King's Cause and your own, and that in good *Latin* also, to be submitted to the judgment of other Nations, but that this brain-sick, beggarly *Frenchman* must be hired to undertake the Defence of a poor indigent King, surrounded with so many Infant-Priests and Doctors? This very thing I assure you, will be a great imputation to you amongst Foreigners; and you will be thought deservedly to have lost that Cause that you were so far from being able to defend by Force of Arms, as that you cannot so much as write in behalf of it. But now I come to you again, Good-man Gooscap, who scribble so finely; if at least you are come to your self again; for I find you here towards the latter end of your Book, in a deep sleep, and dreaming of some voluntary *Death* or other that's nothing to the purpose. Then you deny that 'tis possible for a King in his right wits to embroil his People in Seditions, to betray his own Forces to be slaughtered by Enemies, and raise Factions against himself. All which things having been done by many Kings, and particularly by *Charles* the late King of *England*, you will no longer doubt, I hope, especially being addicted to Stoicism, but that all Tyrants, as well as profligate Villains, are downright mad. Hear what *Horace* says, 'Whoever through a senseless Stupidity, or any other 'cause whatsoever, hath his Understanding so blinded, as not to discern truth, 'the *Stoicks* account of him as of a mad-man: And such are whole Nations, such 'are Kings and Princes, such are all Mankind; except those very few that are 'wise. So that if you would clear King *Charles* from the Imputation of acting like a Mad-man, you must first vindicate his integrity and show that he never acted like an ill man. But a King, you say, cannot commit Treason against his own Subjects and Vassals. In the first place, since we are as free as any People under Heaven, we will not be impos'd upon by any Barbarous Custom of any other Nation whatsoever. In the second place, Suppose we had been the King's Vassals; that Relation would not have obliged us to endure a Tyrant to reign and lord it over us. All Subjection to Magistrates, as our own Laws declare, is circumscribed, and confined within the bounds of *Honesty*, and the *Publick Good*. Read *Leg. Hen. 1. Cap. 55*. The obligation betwixt a Lord and his Tenants, is mutual, and remains

remains so long as the Lord protects his Tenant; (this all our Lawyers tell us) but if the Lord be too severe and cruel to his Tenant, and do him some heinous Injury, *The whole Relation betwixt them, and whatever Obligation the Tenant is under by having done Homage to his Lord, is utterly dissolv'd and extinguish'd.* These are the very words of *Bracton* and *Fleta*. So that in some Case, the Law it self warrants even a Slave, or a Vassal to oppose his Lord, and allows the Slave to kill him, if he vanquish him in Battle. If a City, or a whole Nation may not lawfully take this Course with a Tyrant, the Condition of Freemen will be worse than that of Slaves. Then you go about to excuse King *Charles's* shedding of Innocent Blood, partly by Murders committed by other Kings, and partly by some Instances of Men put to death by them lawfully. For the matter of the *Irish Massacre*, you refer the Reader to *Εικων Βασιλειαν*; and I refer you to *Eiconoclastes*. The Town of *Rochel* being taken, and the Townsmen betray'd, assistance shown but not afforded them, you will not have laid at *Charles's* door; nor have I any thing to say, whether he was faulty in that business or not; he did mischief enough at home; we need not enquire into what Misdemeanors he was guilty of abroad. But you in the mean time would make all the Protestant Churches, that have at any time defended themselves by force of Arms against Princes, who were profess'd Enemies of their Religion to have been guilty of Rebellion. Let them consider how much it concerns them for the maintaining their Ecclesiastical Discipline, and asserting their own Integrity, not to pass by so great an Indignity offered them by a Person bred up by and amongst themselves. That which troubles us most, is, that the *English* likewise were betray'd in that Expedition. He, who had design'd long ago to convert the Government of *England* into a Tyranny, thought he could not bring it to pass, till the Flower and Strength of the Military Power of the Nation were cut off. Another of his Crimes was, the causing some words to be struck out of the usual Coronation-Oath, before he himself would take it. Unworthy and abominable Action! The act was wicked in it self; what shall be said of him that undertakes to justify it? For, by the Eternal God, what greater breach of Faith, and Violation of all Laws can possibly be imagin'd? What ought to be more sacred to him, next to the Holy Sacraments themselves, than that Oath? Which of the two do you think the more flagitious Person, him that offends against the Law, or him that endeavours to make the Law equally guilty with himself? Or rather him who subverts the Law it self, that he may not seem to offend against it? For thus, that King violated that Oath which he ought most religiously to have sworn to; but that he might not seem openly and publickly to violate it, he craftily adulterated and corrupted it; and lest he himself should be accounted perjurd, he turn'd the very Oath into a Perjury. What other could be expected, than that his Reign would be full of Injustice, Craft, and Misfortune, who began it with so detestable an Injury to his People? And who durst pervert and adulterate that Law which he thought the only Obstacle that stood in his way, and hindred him from perverting all the rest of the Laws? But that Oath (thus you justify him) *lays no other Obligation upon Kings, than the Laws themselves do; and Kings pretend that they will be bound and limited by Laws, tho indeed they are altogether free under the Power of Laws.* Is it not prodigious, that a Man should dare to express himself so sacrilegiously, and so senselessly, as to assert that an Oath sacredly sworn upon the Holy Evangelists, may be dispensed with, and set aside as a little insignificant thing, without any Cause whatsoever! *Charles* himself refutes you, you Prodigy of Impiety: Who thinking that Oath no light matter, chose rather by a Subterfuge to avoid the force of it, or by a Fallacy to elude it, than openly to violate it; and would rather falsify and corrupt the Oath, than manifestly forswear himself after he had taken it. But, *The King indeed swears to his People, as the People do to him; but the People swear Fidelity to the King, not the King to them.* Pretty Invention! Does not he that promises, and binds himself by an Oath to do any thing to, or for another, oblige his Fidelity to them that require the Oath of him? Of a truth, every King swears *Fidelity*, and *Service*, and *Obedience* to the People, with respect to the performance of whatever he promises upon Oath to do. Then you run back to *William* the Conqueror, who was forced more than once to swear to perform, not what he himself would, but what the People, and the great Men of the Realm requir'd of him. If many Kings are *Crown'd* without the usual Solemnity, and Reign without taking any Oath, the same thing may be said of the People; a great many of whom never took the Oath of Allegiance. If the King by not taking an Oath be at Li-

berty,

berty, the People are so too. And that part of the People that has sworn, swore not to the King only, but to the Realm, and the Laws, by which the King came to his Crown; and no otherwise to the King, than whilst he should act according to those Laws, that *the Common People*, that is, the House of Commons, should chuse; (*Quas Vulgus elegerit.*) For it were folly to alter the Phrase of our Law, and turn it into more genuine Latin. This Clause (*Quas Vulgus elegerit*) Which the Commons shall chuse, Charles before he was crown'd, procured to be razed out. But, say you, without the King's assent the People can chuse no Laws; and for this you cite two Statutes, viz. Anno 37. H. 6. Cap. 15. and 13. Edw. 4. Cap. 8. but those two Statutes are so far from appearing in our Statute-Books, that in the years you mention, neither of those Kings enacted any Laws at all. Go now and complain, that those Fugitives who pretended to furnish you with matter out of our Statutes, imposed upon you in it; and let other People in the mean time stand astonish'd at your Impudence and Vanity, who are not ashamed to pretend to be thoroughly vers'd in such Books, as it is so evident you have never look'd into, nor so much as seen. And that Clause in the Coronation Oath, which such a brazen-fac'd Brawler as you call fictitious, *The King's Friends*, you say your self, acknowledge that it may possibly be extant in some Ancient Copies, but that it grew into disuse, because it had no convenient signification. But for that very reason, did our Ancestors insert it in the Oath, that the Oath might have such a signification as would not be for a Tyrant's conveniency. If it had really grown into disuse, which yet is most false, there was the greater need of reviving it; but even that would have been to no purpose, according to your Doctrine: For that Custom of taking an Oath, as Kings now-adays generally use it, is no more, you say, than a bare Ceremony. And yet the King, when the Bishops were to be put down, pretended that he could not do it by reason of that Oath. And consequently, that reverend and sacred Oath, as it serves for the Kings turn, or not, must be solemn and binding, or an empty Ceremony: Which I earnestly entreat my Country-men to take notice of, and to consider what manner of a King they are like to have, if he ever come back. For it would never have entred into the thoughts of this Rascally foreign Grammarian to write a Discourse of the Rights of the Crown of England, unless both Charles Stuart now in Banishment, and tainted with his Fathers Principles, and those Profligate Tutors that he has along with him, had industriously suggested to him, what they would have writ. They dictated to him, That the whole Parliament were liable to be proceeded against as Traitors, because they declar'd without the Kings Assent all them to be Traitors, who had taken up Arms against the Parliament of England; and that Parliaments were but the King's Vassals: That the Oath which our Kings take at their Coronation, is but a Ceremony: And why not that a Vassal too? So that no reverence of Laws, no sacredness of an Oath, will be sufficient to protect your Lives and Fortunes, either from the Exorbitance of a furious, or the Revenge of an exasperated Prince, who has been so instructed from his Cradle, as to think Laws, Religion, nay, and Oaths themselves ought to be subject to his Will and Pleasure. How much better is it, and more becoming your selves, if you desire Riches, Liberty, Peace, and Empire, to obtain them assuredly by your own Vertue, Industry, Prudence and Valour, than to long after, and hope for them in vain under the Rule of a King? They, who are of opinion that these things cannot be compass'd but under a King, and a Lord; it cannot well be express'd how mean, how base, I do not say, how unworthy thoughts they have of themselves; for in effect, what do they other than confess, that they themselves are lazy, weak, senseless, silly Persons, and fram'd for Slavery both in Body and Mind? And indeed all manner of Slavery is scandalous and disgraceful to a freeborn ingenious Person; but for you, after you have recovered your lost Liberty, by God's Assistance, and your own Arms; after the performance of so many valiant Exploits, and the making so remarkable an Example of a most Potent King, to desire to return again into a Condition of Bondage and Slavery, will not only be scandalous and disgraceful, but an impious and wicked thing; and equal to that of the Israelites, who for desiring to return to the Egyptian Slavery, were so severely punish'd for that forbid, slavish Temper of mind, and so many of them destroy'd by that God, who had been their Deliverer. But what say you now, who would persuade us to become Slaves? The King, say you, had a Power of pardoning such as were guilty of Treason, and other Crimes; which evinces sufficiently that the King himself was under no Law. The King might indeed pardon Treason, not against the Kingdom, but against

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against himself; and so may any body else pardon wrongs done to themselves; and he might, perhaps, pardon some other Offences, tho not always; but does it follow, because in some Cases he had the Right of saving a Malefactor's life, that therefore he must have a Right to destroy all good Men? If the King be impleaded in an inferior Court, he is not obliged to answer, but by his Attorney: Does it therefore follow, that when he is summon'd by all his Subjects to appear in Parliament, he may chuse whether he will appear or no, and refuse to answer in Person? You say, *That we endeavour to justify what we have done by the Hollanders Example*; and upon this occasion, fearing the loss of that Stipend with which the *Hollanders* feed such a Murrain and Pest as you are, if by reviling the *English*, you should consequentially reflect upon them that maintain you, you endeavour to demonstrate *how unlike their Actions and ours are*. The Comparison that you make betwixt them, I resolve to omit (tho many things in it are most false, and other things flattery all over, which yet you thought your self obliged to put down, to deserve your Pension.) For the *English* think they need not alledg the Examples of Foreigners for their Justification. They have Municipal Laws of their own, by which they have acted; Laws with relation to the matter in hand, the best in the World: They have the Examples of their Ancestors, great and gallant Men, for their imitation, who never gave way to the Exorbitant Power of Princes, and who have put many of them to death, when their Government became insupportable. They were born free, they stand in need of no other Nation, they can make what Laws they please for their own good Government. One Law in particular they have a great veneration for, and a very Ancient one it is, enacted by Nature it self, That all Human Laws, all Civil Right and Government must have a respect to the safety and welfare of good Men, and not be subject to the Lusts of Princes. From hence to the end of your Book, I find nothing but Rubbish and Trifles, pick'd out of the former Chapters; of which you have here raised so great a heap, that I cannot imagine what other design you could have in it, than to preface the ruin of your whole Fabrick. At last, after an infinite deal of tittle tattle you make an end, calling *God to witness*, that you undertook the defence of this Cause, not only because you were desired so to do, but because your own Conscience told you, that you could not possibly undertake the Defence of a better. Is it fit for you to intermeddle with our matters, with which you have nothing to do, because you were desired, when we our selves did not desire you? to reproach with contumelious and opprobrious Language, and in a Printed Book, the Supreme Magistracy of the *English* Nation, when according to the authority and power that they are entrusted with, they do but their duty within their own Jurisdiction, and all this without the least injury or provocation from them? (for they did not so much as know that there was such a man in the world as you.) And I pray by whom were you desired? By your Wife, I suppose, who, they say, exercises a Kingly Right and Jurisdiction over you; and whenever she has a mind to it (as *Fulvia* is made to speak in that obscene Epigram, that you collected some Centoes out of, *Pag. 320.*) cries, *Either write, or let's fight*; That made you write perhaps, lest the Signal should be given. Or were you asked by *Charles* the Younger, and that profligate Gang of Vagabond Courtiers, and like a second *Balaam* call'd upon by another *Balak* to restore a desperate Cause by ill writing, that was lost by ill fighting? That may be; but there's this difference, for he was a wise understanding man, and rid upon an Ass that could speak, to curse the People of God: Thou art a very talkative Ass thy self, and rid by a Woman, and being surrounded with the healed heads of the Bishops that heretofore thou hadst wounded, thou seem'st to represent that Beast in the *Revelation*. But they say that a little after you had written this Book, you repented of what you had done. 'Tis well if it be so; and to make your repentance publick, I think the best course that you can take will be, for this long Book that you have writ, to take a Halter, and make one long Letter of your self. So *Judas Iscariot* repented, to whom you are like; and that young *Charles* knew, which made him send you the Purse, *Judas* his Badg; for he had heard before, and found afterward by experience, that you were an Apostate and a Devil. *Judas* betray'd *Christ* himself, and you betray his Church; you have taught heretofore that Bishops were *Antichristian*, and you are now revolted to their Party. You now undertake the Defence of their Cause, whom formerly you damn'd to the pit of Hell. *Christ* delivered all men from Bondage, and you endeavour to enslave all Mankind. Never question, since you have been such

a Villain to God himself, his Church, and all Mankind in general, but that the same fate attends you that befel your equal, out of despair rather than repentance, to be weary of your life, and hang your self, and burst asunder as he did; and to send before-hand that faithless and treacherous Conscience of yours, that railing Conscience at good and holy men, to that place of torment that's prepared for you. And now I think, through God's assistance, I have finished the Work I undertook, to wit, the defence of the Noble Actions of my Country-men at home and abroad, against the raging and envious madness of this distracted Sophister; and the asserting of the common Rights of the People against the unjust domination of Kings, not out of any hatred to Kings, but Tyrants: Nor have I purposely left unanswered any one argument alledged by my adversary, nor any one example or authority quoted by him, that seem'd to have any force in it, or the least colour of an argument. Perhaps I have been guilty rather of the other extreme, of replying to some of his fooleries and trifles, as if they were solid arguments; and thereby may seem to have attributed more to them than they deserved. One thing yet remains to be done, which perhaps is of the greatest concern of all, and that is, That you, my Country-men, refute this adversary of yours your selves; which I do not see any other means of your effecting, than by a constant endeavour to outdo all mens bad words by your own good deeds. When you laboured under more sorts of oppression than one, you betook your selves to God for refuge, and he was graciously pleased to hear your most earnest Prayers and Desires. He has gloriously delivered you the first of Nations, from the two greatest mischiefs of this life, and most pernicious to Vertue, Tyranny and Superstition; he has endued you with greatness of mind to be first of Mankind, who after having conquered their own King, and having had him delivered into their hands, have not scrupled to condemn him judicially, and pursuant to that Sentence of Condemnation, to put him to death. After the performing so glorious an Action as this, you ought to do nothing that's mean and little, not so much as to think of, much less to do any thing but what is great and sublime. Which to attain to, this is your only way; as you have subdued your Enemies in Field, so to make appear, that unarmed, and in the highest outward Peace and Tranquillity, you of all Mankind are best able to subdue Ambition, Avarice, the love of Riches, and can best avoid the corruptions that Prosperity is apt to introduce, (which generally subdue and triumph over other Nations) to show as great Justice, Temperance and Moderation in the maintaing your Liberty, as you have shown Courage in freeing your selves from Slavery. These are the only Arguments by which you will be able to evince that you are not such Persons as this Fellow represents you, *Traitors, Robbers, Murderers, Parricides, Madmen*; that you did not put your King to death out of any ambitious design, or a desire of invading the Rights of others, not out of any seditious Principles or sinister Ends; that it was not an act of Fury or Madness; but that it was wholly out of love to your Liberty, your Religion, to Justice, Vertue, and your Countrey, that you punished a Tyrant. But if it should fall out otherwise (which God forbid) if as you have been valiant in War, you should grow debauch'd in Peace, you that have had such visible demonstrations of the Goodness of God to your selves, and his Wrath against your Enemies; and that you should not have learned by so eminent, so remarkable an Example before your Eyes, to fear God, and work Righteousness; for my part, I shall easily grant and confess (for I cannot deny it) whatever ill men may speak or think of you, to be very true. And you will find in a little time, that God's Displeasure against you, will be greater than it has been against your Adversaries, greater than his Grace and Favour has been to your selves, which you have had larger experience of, than any other Nation under Heaven.

F I V E TRACTS

Published betwixt the Years 1650, and 1660.

With two PAPERS never before published.

V I Z.

- I. Letters of State to most of the Sovereign Princes and Republicks of *Europe*, during the Administration of the Commonwealth, and the Protectors *Oliver* and *Richard Cromwell*.
- II. A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes; shewing 'tis not lawful for any Power on Earth to compel in Matters of Religion.
- III. Considerations touching the likeliest Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church, &c.
- IV. A Letter to a Friend concerning the Ruptures of the Commonwealth, publish'd from the MS.
- V. The ready and easy way to establish a Free Commonwealth, the Excellence thereof, &c.
- VI. The present Means, and brief Delineation of a Free Commonwealth; in a Letter to General *Monk*. Publish'd from the MS.
- VII. Brief Notes upon a late Sermon, titl'd, *The Fear of God and the King*, preach'd by *Matthew Griffith*, D.D.

To which is added,

A Tract entitled, Of True Religion, Heresie, Schism, Toleration, &c. printed in the Year 1673.

AMSTERDAM, MDCXCIV.



Letters of State

During the Administration of the Commonwealth,
and the Protectors *Oliver* and *Richard Cromwel*.

LETTERS written in the Name of the *Parliament*.

The Senate and People of England, to the most Noble Senate of the City of Hamborough.

FOR how long a Series of past Years, and for what important Reasons the Friendship enter'd into by our Ancestors with your most Noble City, has continu'd to this day, we both willingly acknowledg, together with your selves; nor is it a thing displeasing to us, frequently also to call to our remembrance. But as to what we understand by your Letters dated the 25th of *June*, that some of our People deal not with that Fidelity and Probity, as they were wont to do in their Trading and Commerce among ye; we presently referr'd it to the Consideration of certain Persons well skill'd in those matters, to the end they might make a more strict enquiry into the Frauds of the Clothiers and other Artificers of the Woolen Manufacture. And we farther promise to take such effectual care, as to make you sensible of our unalterable Intentions, to preserve sincerity and justice among our selves, as also never to neglect any good Offices of our kindness that may redound to the welfare of your Commonwealth. On the other hand, there is something likewise which we not only require, but which Equity it self, and all the Laws of God and Man demand of your selves, That you will not only conserve inviolable to the Merchants of our Nation their Privileges, but by your Authority and Power defend and protect their Lives and Estates, as it becomes your City to do. Which as we most earnestly desir'd in our former Letters; so upon the repeated Complaints of our Merchants that are daily made before us, we now more earnestly sollicite and request it: they complaining, That their safety, and all that they have in the World, is again in great jeopardy among ye. For although they acknowledg themselves to have reap'd some Benefit for a short time of our former Letters sent you, and to have had some respite from the Injuries of a sort of profligate People; yet since the coming of the same *Coc—m* to your City (of whom we complain'd before) who pretends to be honour'd with a sort of Embassy from ——— the Son of the lately deceas'd King, they have been assaulted with all manner of ill Language, Threats, and naked Swords of Ruffians and Homicides, and have wanted your accustomed Protection and Defence; insomuch, that when two or three of the Merchants, together with the President of the Society, were hurry'd away by surprize aboard a certain Privateer, and that the rest implor'd your Aid, yet they could not obtain any Assistance from you, till the Merchants themselves were forc'd to embody their own strength, and rescue from the hands of Pirates the Persons seiz'd on in that River, of which your City is the Mistress, not without extream hazard of their Lives. Nay, when they had fortunately brought 'em home again, and as it were by force of Arms recover'd 'em from an ignominious Captivity, and carry'd the Pirates themselves into Custody; we are inform'd that *Coc—m* was so audacious as to demand the release of the Pirates, and that the Merchants might be deliver'd Prisoners into his hands. We therefore again, and again, beseech and adjure ye, if it

be your intention that Contracts and Leagues, and the very antient Commerce between both Nations should be preserv'd, the thing which you desire, That our People may be able to assure themselves of some certain and firm support and reliance upon your Word, your Prudence and Authority; that you would lend 'em a favourable Audience concerning these matters, and that you would inflict deserved Punishment as well upon *Coc—m*, and the rest of his Accomplices in that wicked act, as upon those who lately assaulted the Preacher, hitherto unpunish'd, or command 'em to depart your Territories; nor that you would believe that expell'd and exil'd *Tarquins* are to be prefer'd before the Friendship, and the Wealth, and Power of our Republick. For if you do not carefully provide to the contrary, but that the enemies of our Republick shall presume to think lawful the committing of any Violences against us in your City, how unsafe, how ignominious the Residence of our People there will be, do you consider with your selves. These things we recommend to your Prudence and Equity, your selves to the Protection of Heaven.

Westminster, Aug. 10. 1649.

To the Senate of Hamborough.

YOUR conspicuous Favour in the doubtful Condition of our Affairs, is now the reason, that after Victory and prosperous Success, we can no longer question your good Will and friendly Inclination towards us. As for our parts, the War being almost now determin'd, and our Enemies every where vanquish'd, we have deem'd nothing more just, or more conducing to the firm Establishment of the Republick, then that they who by our means (the Almighty being always our Captain and Conductor) have either recover'd their Liberty, or obtain'd their Lives and Fortunes, after the pernicious Ravages of a Civil War, of our free Gift and Grace, should testify and pay in exchange to their Magistrates Allegiance and Duty in a solemn manner, if need requir'd: More especially when so many turbulent and exasperated Persons, more then once receiv'd into Protection, will make no end, either at home or abroad, of acting perfidiously, and raising new Disturbances. To that purpose we took care to enjoin a certain form of an Oath, by which all who held any Office in the Common-wealth, or being fortify'd with the Protection of the Law, enjoy'd both Safety, Ease, and all other conveniencies of Life, should bind themselves to Obedience in words prescrib'd. This we also thought proper to be sent to all Colonies abroad, or where-ever else our People resided for the convenience of Trade; to the end that the Fidelity of those over whom we are set, might be prov'd and known to us as it is but reasonable and necessary. Which makes us wonder so much the more at what our Merchants write from your City, that they are not permitted to execute our Commands by some or other of your *Order* and Degree. Certainly what the most Potent United Provinces of the Low Countries, most jealous of their Power and their Interests, never thought any way belonging to their inspection, namely whether the *English* Foreigners swore Fidelity and Allegiance to their Magistrates at home, either in these or those Words, how that should come to be so suspected and troublesom to your City, we must plainly acknowledg that we do not understand. But this proceeding from the private inclinations or fears of some, whom certain Vagabond *Scots*, expell'd their Country, are said to have enforc'd by Menaces, on purpose to deter our Merchants from swearing Fidelity to us, we impute not to your City. Most earnestly therefore we intreat and conjure ye (for it is not now the interest of Trade, but the honour of the Republick it self that lies at stake) not to suffer any one among ye, who can have no reason to concern himself in this Affair, to interpose his Authority, whatever it be, with that Supremacy which we challenge over our own Subjects, not by the judgment and opinion of Foreigners, but by the Laws of our Country; for who would not take it amiss, if we should forbid your *Hamburgers*, residing here, to swear Fidelity to you that are their Magistrates at Home? Farewel.

Jan. 4. 1649.

To

*To the most Serene and Potent Prince Philip the Fourth, King of Spain.
The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, Greeting.*

WE send to your Majesty *Anthony Ascham*, a person of Integrity, Learned, and descended of an ancient Family, to treat of matters very advantageous, as we hope, as well to the *Spanish*, as to the *English* Nation. Wherefore in friendly manner, we desire that you would be pleas'd to grant, and order him a Safe and Honourable Passage to your Royal City, and the same in his return from thence, readily prepar'd to repay the kindness when occasion offers. Or if your Majesty be otherwise inclin'd, that it may be signify'd to him with the soonest, what your Pleasure is in this particular, and that he may be at liberty to depart without molestation.

Feb. 4. 1649.

*To the most Serene and Potent Prince, Philip the Fourth, King of Spain.
The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, Greeting.*

WHAT is the Condition of our Affairs, and by what heinous Injuries provok'd and broken, at length we began to think of recovering our Liberty by force of Arms; what constituted form of Government we now make use of, can neither be conceal'd from your Majesty, nor any other Person who has but cast an impartial Eye upon our Writings publish'd on these Occasions. Neither ought we to think it a difficult thing, among fit and proper judges of things, to render our Fidelity, our Equity, and Patience, manifest to all men, and justly meriting their Approbation; as also to defend our Authority, Honour, and Grandeur, against the infamous Tongues of Exiles and Fugitives. Now then, as to what is more the concern of foreign Nations, after having subdu'd and vanquish'd the Enemies of our Country through the miraculous Assistance of Heaven, we openly and cordially profess our selves readily prepar'd to have Peace and Friendship, more desirable than all enlargement of Empire, with our Neighbour Nations. For these reasons we have sent into *Spain* to your Majesty, *Anthony Ascham*, of approv'd Dexterity and Probity, to treat with your Majesty concerning Friendship, and the accusom'd Commerce between both Nations; or else, if it be your Pleasure, to open a way for the ratifying of new Articles and Alliances. Our Request therefore is, that you will grant him free Liberty of Access to your Majesty, and give such Order that care may be taken of his Safety and Honour, while he resides a Publick Minister with your Majesty; to the end he may freely propose what he has in charge from us, for the Benefit, as we hope, of both Nations; and certify to us with the soonest, what are your Majesty's sentiments concerning these matters.

Westminster, Feb. 4. 1649.

To the most Serene Prince, John the Fourth, King of Portugal. The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, Greeting.

AFTER we had suffer'd many, and those the utmost Mischiefs of a faithless Peace, and intestine War, Our being reduc'd to those Exigencies, that if we had any regard to the safety of the Republick, there was a necessity of altering for the chiefeft part the form of Government, is a thing which we make no question is well known to your Majesty, by what we have both publickly written and declar'd in justification of our Proceedings. To which, as it is but reason, if credit might be rather given than to the most malicious Calumnies of loose and wicked men; perhaps we should find those Persons

more

more amicably inclin'd, who now abroad have the worst sentiments of our Actions. For as to what we justify our selves to have justly and strenuously perform'd after the Example of our Ancestors, in pursuance of our Rights, and for recovery of the native Liberty of *Englishmen*, certainly it is not the work of Human force or wit to eradicate the perverse and obdurate Opinions of People wickedly inclin'd concerning what we have done. But after all, in reference to what is common to us with all foreign Nations, and more for the general Interest on both sides, we are willing to let the World know, that there is nothing which we more ardently desire, than that the Friendship and Commerce which our People have been accusom'd to maintain with all our Neighbours, should be enlarg'd and settled in the most ample and solemn manner. And whereas our People have always driven a very great Trade, and gainful to both Nations, in your Kingdom; we shall take care, as much as in us lies, that they may not meet with any Impediment to interrupt their dealings. However, we foresee that all our Industry will be in vain, if, as it is reported, the Pyrates and Revolters of our Nation shall be suffer'd to have refuge in your Ports, and after they have taken and plunder'd the laden Vessels of the *English*, shall be permitted to sell their Goods by publick Outcries at *Lisbon*. To the end therefore that a more speedy Remedy may be apply'd to this growing Mischief, and that we may be more clearly satisfy'd concerning the Peace which we desire, we have sent to *Your Majesty* the most noble *Charles Vane*, under the Character of our Agent, with Instructions and a Commission, a plenary Testimonial of the Trust we have repos'd, and the Employment we have conferr'd upon him. Him therefore we most earnestly desire your Majesty graciously to hear, to give him Credit, and to take such Order that he may be safe in his Person and his Honour, within the bounds of your Dominions. These things, as they will be most acceptable to us, so we promise, whenever occasion offers, that the same Offices of kindness to your Majesty shall be mutually observ'd on all our parts.

Westminster, Feb. 4. 1649.

To the most Serene Prince, John the Fourth, King of Portugal. The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, Greeting.

A Almost daily and most grievous Complaints are brought before us, that certain of our Seamen and Officers who revolted from us the last Year, and treacherously and wickedly carry'd away the Ships with the Command of which they were entrusted, and who having made their escape from the Port of *Ireland*, where being blockt up for almost a whole Summer together, they very narrowly avoided the Punishment due to their Crimes, have now betaken themselves to the Coast of *Portugal*, and the mouth of the River *Tagus*; that there they practise furious Piracy, taking and plundering all the *English* Vessels they meet with sailing to and fro upon the account of Trade; and that all the adjoining Seas are become almost impassable by reason of their notorious and infamous Robberies. To which increasing Mischief, unless a speedy Remedy be apply'd, who does not see but that there will be a final end of that vast Trade so gainful to both Nations, which our People were wont to drive with the *Portugueses*? Wherefore we again and again request *Your Majesty*, that you will command those Pyrates and Revolters to depart the Territories of *Portugal*: And that if any pretended Embassadors present themselves from ***** that you will not vouchsafe to give them Audience; but that you will rather acknowledg us, upon whom the Supream Power of *England*, by the conspicuous Favour and Assistance of the Almighty, is devolv'd; and that the Ports and Rivers of *Portugal*, may not be bar'd and defended against your Friends and Confederates Fleet, no less serviceable to your Emolument, than the Trade of the *English*.

To Philip the Fourth, King of Spain.

HOW heinously, and with what Detestation your Majesty resenteth the villanous Murder of our Agent, *Anthony Ascham*, and what has hitherto been done in the prosecution and punishment of his Assassinatees, we have been given to understand, as well by your Majesty's own Letters, as from your Embassador *Don Alphonso de Cardenas*. Nevertheless, so often as we consider the horridness of that bloody Fact, which utterly subverts the very Foundations of Correspondence and Commerce, and of the Privilege of Embassadors, most sacred among all Nations, so villanously violated without severity of Punishment, We cannot but with utmost importunity repeat our most urgent suit to your Majesty, That those Parricides may with all the speed imaginable be brought to Justice, and that you would not suffer their merited Pains to be suspended any longer by any delay or pretence of Religion. For tho' most certainly we highly value the Friendship of a Potent Prince; yet it behoves us to use our utmost endeavours, that the Authors of such an enormous Parricide should receive the deserved Reward of their Impiety. Indeed, we cannot but with a grateful Mind acknowledg that Civility, of which by your Command, our People were not unsensible, as also your surpassing Affection for us, which lately your Embassador at large unfolded to us: Nor will it be displeasing to us to return the same good Offices to your Majesty, and the *Spanish* Nation, whenever opportunity offers. Nevertheless, if Justice be not satisfy'd without delay, which we still most earnestly request, we see not upon what foundations a sincere and lasting Friendship can subsist. For the preservation of which, however, we shall omit no just and laudable occasion; to which purpose we are likewise apt to believe that the presence of your Embassador does not a little conduce.

To the Spanish Embassador.

Most Excellent Lord,

THE Council of State, so soon as their weighty Affairs would permit 'em, having carried into Parliament the four Writings, which it pleas'd your Excellency to impart to the Council upon the 19th of *December* last, have receiv'd in Command from the Parliament to return this Answer to the first Head of those Writings, touching the villanous Assassinatees of their late Agent, *Anthony Ascham*.

The Parliament have so long time, so often, and so justly demanded their being brought to deserved Punishment, that there needs nothing further to be said on a thing of so great importance, wherein (as your Excellency well observ'd) his Royal Majesty's Authority it self is so deeply concern'd, that unless Justice be done upon such notorious Offenders, all the foundations of Human Society, all the ways of preserving Friendship among Nations, of necessity must be overturn'd and abolish'd. Nor can we apprehend by any Argument drawn from Religion, that the Blood of the Innocent, shed by a propensely malicious Murder, is not to be aveng'd. The Parliament therefore once more most urgently presses, and expects from his Royal Majesty, according to their first Demands, That Satisfaction be given 'em effectually, and sincerely in this matter.

To the most Serene Prince Leopold, Archduke of Austria, Governor of the Spanish Low Countries; under King Philip.

SO soon as word was brought us, not without a most grievous Complaint, that *Jane Puckering*, an Heiress of an illustrious and opulent Family, while yet by reason of her Age, she was under Guardians, not far from the House

House wherein she then liv'd at *Greenwich*, was violently forc'd from the Hands and Embraces of her Attendants; and of a sudden in a Vessel to that purpose ready prepar'd, carri'd off into *Flanders* by the Treachery of one *Walsh*, who has endeavour'd all the ways imaginable, in contempt of Law both Human and Divine, to constrain a wealthy Virgin to Marriage, even by terrifying her with menaces of present Death. We deeming it proper to apply some speedy Remedy to so enormous and unheard-of piece of Villany, gave order to some Persons to treat with the Governours of *Newport* and *Ostend* (for the unfortunate Captive was said to be landed in one of those two places) about rescuing the *free-born* Lady out of the Hands of the Ravisher. Who, both out of their singular Humanity and love of Vertue, lent their assisting Aid to the young Virgin in servitude, and by down-right Robbery rifl'd from her Habitation: So that to avoid the violence of her imperious Masters, she was as it were deposited in a Nunnery, and committed to the charge of the Governess of the Society. Wherefore the same *Walsh* to get her again into his Clutches, has commenc'd a Suit against her in the Ecclesiastical Court of the Bishop of *Ypre*, pretending a Matrimonial Contract between him and her. Now in regard that both the *Ravisher* and the *Ravish'd* Person, are Natives of our Country, as by the Witnesses upon their Oaths abundantly appears; as also for that the splendid Inheritance after which most certainly the Criminal chiefly gapes, lies within our Territories; so that we conceive that the whole cognizance and determination of this Cause belongs solely to our selves: Therefore let him repair hither, he who calls himself the Husband, here let him commence his Suit, and demand the delivery of the Person whom he claims for his Wife. In the mean time, this it is that we most earnestly request from your Highness, which is no more then what we have already requested by our Agent residing at *Brussels*, that you will permit an afflicted and many ways misus'd Virgin, born of honest Parents, but pyrated out of her Native Country, to return, as far as lies in your Power, with freedom and safety home again. This not only We upon all opportunities offer'd, as readily prepar'd to return the same Favour and Kindness to your Highness, but also Humanity it self, and that same hatred of Infamy, which ought to accompany all Persons of Vertue and Courage in defending the Honour of the Female Sex, seem altogether jointly to require at your hands.

Westminster, March 28. 1650.

To the most Serene Prince, John the Fourth, King of Portugal.

U Nderstanding that *Your Majesty* had both honourably receiv'd our Agent, and immediately given him a favourable Audience, we thought it became us to assure your Majesty without delay, by speedy Letters from us, that nothing could happen more acceptable to us, and that there is nothing which we have decreed more sacred, than not to violate by any word or deed of ours, not first provok'd, the Peace, the Friendship and Commerce, now for some time settl'd between us and the greatest number of other Foreign Nations, and amongst the rest with the *Portugueses*. Nor did we send the *English* Fleet to the mouth of the River *Tagus* with any other intention or design, then in pursuit of Enemies so often put to flight, and for recovery of our Vessels, which being carry'd away from their Owners by Force and Treachery, the same Rabble of Fugitives conducted to your Coasts, and even to *Lisbon* it self, as to the most certain Fairs for the sale of their Plunder. But we are apt to believe that by this time almost all the *Portugueses* are abundantly convinc'd, from the flagitious manners of those People, of their Audaciousness, their Fury and their Madness. Which is the reason we are in hopes that we shall more easily obtain from your Majesty, First, That you will, as far as in you lies, be assistant to the most illustrious *Edward Popham*, whom we have made Admiral of our new Fleet, for the subduing those detested Freebooters, and that you will no longer suffer 'em, together with their Captain, not Guests, but Pyrats, not Merchants, but the Pests of Commerce, and Violaters of the

Law

Law of Nations, to harbour in the Ports and under the shelter of the Fortresses of your Kingdom; but that where-ever the Confines of *Portugal* extend themselves, you will command 'em to expell'd as well by Land as by Sea. Or if you are unwilling to proceed to that extremity, at least that with your leave it may be lawful for us with our proper Forces to assail our own Revolters and Sea-Robbers; and if it be the pleasure of Heaven, to reduce 'em into our Power. This, as we have earnestly desired in our former Letters, so now again with the greatest ardency and importunity we request of your Majesty. By this, whether Equity, or act of Kindness, you will not only enlarge the fame of your Justice over all well govern'd and civil Nations, but also in a greater measure bind both us and the People of *England*, who never yet had other than a good opinion of the *Portugueses*, to your self and to your Subjects. Farewel.

Westminster, 27 April, 1650.

To the Hamburgers.

More then once we have written concerning the Controversies of the Merchants, and some other things which more nearly concern the Dignity of our Republick, yet no Answer has been return'd. But understanding that Affairs of that nature can hardly be determin'd by Letters only, and that in the mean time certain seditious Persons have been sent to your City by ***** authoriz'd with no other Commission than that of Malice and Audaciousness, who make it their business utterly to extirpate the ancient Trade of our People in your City, especially of those whose fidelity to their Country is most conspicuous; therefore we have commanded the worthy and most eminent *Richard Bradshaw* to reside as our Agent among ye, to the end he may be able more at large to treat and negotiate with your Lordships such Matters and Affairs, as are interwoven with the Benefit and Advantages of both Republicks. Him therefore we request ye, with the soonest to admit to a favourable Audience; and that in all things that Credit may be given to him, that Honour paid him, as as is usual in all Countries, and among all Nations paid to those that bear his Character. Farewel.

Westminster, April 2. 1650.

To the Hamburgers.

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Illustrious, our dearest Friends;

That your Sedulities in the Reception of our Agent were so cordial and so egregious, we both gladly understand, and earnestly exhort ye that you would persevere in your good Will and Affection toward us. And this we do with so much the greater vehemence, as being inform'd that the same Exiles of ours, concerning whom we have so frequently written, now carry themselves more insolently in your City than they were wont to do, and that they not only openly affront, but give out threatening language in a most despiteful manner against our Resident. Therefore once more by these our Letters we would have the safety of his Person, and the Honour due to his Quality, recommended to your Care. On the other side, if you inflict severe and timely Punishment upon those Fugitives and Ruffians, as well the old ones as the new comers, it will be most acceptable to us, and becoming your Authority and Prudence.

Westminster, May 31. 1650.

To Philip the Fourth, King of Spain.

TO our infinite sorrow we are given to understand, That *Anthony Aschani*, by us lately sent our Agent to your Majesty, and under that Character most civilly and publickly receiv'd by your Governours, upon his first coming to your Royal City, naked of all defence and guard, was most bloodily murder'd in a certain Inn, together with *John Baptista de Ripa* his Interpreter, butcher'd at the same time. Wherefore we most earnestly request your Majesty, That deserved Punishment may be speedily inflicted upon those Parricides already apprehended, as it is reported, and committed to custody, who have not only presum'd to wound our selves through his sides, but have also dar'd to stab as it were to the very Heart, your Faith of Word and Royal Honour. So that we make no question but what we so ardently desire, would nevertheless be done effectually, by a Prince of his own accord so just and pious, though no body requir'd it. As to what remains we make it our farther suit, That the breathless Carcass may be deliver'd to his Friends and Attendants to be brought back and inter'd in his own Country, and that such care may be taken for the security of those that remain alive, as is but requisite; till having obtain'd an Answer to these Letters, if it may be done, they shall return to us the Witnesses of your Piety and Justice.

Westminster, June 28. 1650.

To the most Excellent Lord, Anthony John Lewis dela Cerda, Duke of Medina Celi, Governor of Andalusia. The Council of State constituted by Authority of Parliament, Greeting.

WE have receiv'd Advice from those most accomplish'd Persons, whom we lately sent with our Fleet into *Portugal* in pursuit of Traitors, and for the recovery of our Vessels, that they were most civilly receiv'd by your Excellency, as often as they happen'd to touch upon the Coast of *Gallaecia*, which is under your Government, and assisted with all things necessary to those that perform long Voyages. This Civility of yours, as it was always most acceptable to us, so it is now more especially at this time, while we are sensible of the ill will of others in some places towards us without any just cause giv'n on our side: Therefore we make it our request to your *Illustrious Lordship*, that you will persevere in the same good Will and Affection to us, and that you would continue your Favour and Assistance to our People, according to your wonted Civility, as often as our Ships put in to your Harbours: and be assur'd that there is nothing which we desire of your Lordship in the way of Kindness, which we shall not be ready to repay both to you and yours, whenever the like occasion shall be offer'd us.

Seal'd with the Seal of the Council,

*Westminster, Nov. 7.
1650.*

J. Bradshaw, President.

To the Illustrious and Magnificent Senate of the City of Dantzick.

Magnificent and most Noble Lords, our dearest Friends;

MAny Letters are brought us from our Merchants trading upon the Coast of *Borussia*, wherein they complain of a grievous Tribute impos'd upon 'em in the Grand Council of the *Polanders*, enforcing 'em to pay the tenth part of all their Goods for the Relief of the King of *Scots*, our Enemy. Which in regard it is plainly contrary to the Law of Nations, that Guests and Strangers should be dealt withal in such a manner; and most unjust that they

they should be compell'd to pay publick Stipends in a Foreign Commonwealth to him from whom they are, by God's Assistance, deliver'd at home; we make no question but that out of respect to that Liberty, which as we understand you your selves enjoy, you will not suffer so heavy a Burden to be laid upon Merchants in your City, wherein they have maintain'd a continual Amity and Commerce, to the extraordinary Advantage of the place for many years together. If therefore you think it convenient to undertake the Protection of our Merchants trading among ye, which we assuredly expect as well from your Prudence and Equity, as from the Dignity and Grandeur of your City; We shall take that care, that you shall be sensible from time to time, of our grateful acceptance of your Kindness, as often as the *Dantzichers* shall have any dealings within our Territories, or their Ships, as frequently it happens, put into our Ports.

Westminster, Febr. 6. 1650.

To the Portugal Agent.

Most Illustrious Lord,

WE receiv'd your Letters dated from *Hampton* the 15th of this Month, wherein you signify, That you are sent by the King of *Portugal* to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*; but say not under what Character, whether of Embassador, or Agent, or Envoy, which we would willingly understand by your Credential Letters from the King, a Copy of which you may send us with all the speed you can. We would also further know, whether you come with a Plenary Commission, to give us Satisfaction for the Injuries, and to make Reparation for the Damages which your King has done this Republick, protecting our Enemy all the last Summer in his Harbours, and prohibiting the *English* Fleet, then ready to assail Rebels and Fugitives, which our Admiral had pursu'd so far; but never restraining the Enemy from falling upon ours. If you return us word that you have ample and full Commission to give us Satisfaction concerning all these Matters, and send us withal a Copy of your Recommendatory Letters, we shall then take care, that you may with all speed repair to us upon the *Publick Faith*: At which time, when we have read the King's Letters, you shall have liberty freely to declare what further Commands you have brought along with you.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, to the most Serene Prince D. Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Tuscany, &c.

WE have receiv'd your Highness's Letters, dated *April 22. 1651.* and deliver'd to us by your Resident, *Signor Almerick Salvetti*, wherein we readily perceive how greatly your Highness favours the *English Name*, and the Value you have for this Nation; which not only our Merchants, that for many Years have traded in your Ports, but also certain of our young Nobility, either travelling through your Cities, or residing there for the improvement of their Studies, both testify and confirm. Which as they are things most grateful and acceptable to us; we also on our parts make this Request to your Highness, That your Serenity will persevere in your accustom'd good Will and Affection towards our Merchants, and other Citizens of our Republick, travelling through the *Tuscan Territories*. On the other side, we promise and undertake, as to what concerns the Parliament, That nothing shall be wanting which may any way conduce to the Confirmation and Establishment of that Commerce and mutual Friendship that now has been of long continuance between both Nations, and which it is our earnest wish and desire should be preserv'd to perpetuity by all Offices of Humanity, Civility, and mutual Observance.

*Westminster,
Jan. 20. 1651.*

Sealed with the Seal of the Parliament, and subscribed by
William Lenthall Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*.

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The

*The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, to the Illustrious and
Magnificent Senate of the City of Hamborough.*

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Illustrious, our dearest Friends ;

THE Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, out of their earnest desire to continue and preserve the ancient Friendship and mutual Commerce between the *English* Nation and your City, not long since sent thither *Richard Bradshaw* Esq; with the Character of our Resident ; and among other Instructions tending to the same purpose, gave him an express Charge to demand Justice against certain Persons within your Jurisdiction, who endeavour'd to murder the *Preacher* belonging to the *English* Society, and who likewise laid impious hands upon the Deputy-President, and some of the principal Merchants of the same Company, and hurri'd 'em away aboard a Privateer. And although the aforesaid Resident, upon his first Reception and Audience, made known to your Lordships in a particular manner the Commands which he receiv'd from us ; upon which it was expected that you would have made those Criminals ere this a severe Example of your Justice : yet when we understood our Expectations were not answer'd, considering with our selves what danger both our People and their Estates were in, if sufficient Provision were not made for their Security and Protection against the Malice of their Enemies, We again sent Orders to our aforesaid Resident, to represent to your Lordships our Judgment upon the whole Matter ; as also to exhort and perswade ye, in the Name of this Republick, to be careful of preserving the Friendship and Alliance contracted between this Commonwealth and your City, as also the Traffick and Commerce no less advantageous for the Interest of both ; and to that end, that you would not fail to protect our Merchants, together with their Privileges, from all Violation, and more particularly against the Insolencies of one *Garmes*, who has carry'd himself contumeliously toward this Republick, and publicly cited to the *Chamber of Spire*, certain Merchants of the *English* Company residing in your City, to the great contempt of this Commonwealth, and trouble of our Merchants ; for which we expect such Reparation, as shall be consentaneous to Equity and Justice.

To treat of these Heads, and whatever else more largely belongs to the common Friendship of both Republicks, we have order'd our Resident aforesaid to attend your Lordships, requesting that ample Credit may be given to him in such Matters as he shall propose relating to these Affairs.

Westminster,
Mar. 12. 1651.

Seal'd with the Parliament Seal, and subscrib'd
Speaker; &c.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, to the most Serene Christiana, Queen of the Swedes, Goths and Vandals, &c. Greeting.

Most Serene Queen ;

WE have receiv'd and read your Majesty's Letters to the Parliament of England, dated from *Stockholm* the 26th of September last, and deliver'd by *Peter Spering Silvercroon* ; and there is nothing which we more vehemently and cordially desire, than that the ancient Peace, Traffick and Commerce of long continuance between the *English* and *Swedes*, may prove diuturnal, and every day encrease. Nor did we question but that your Majesty's Embassador was come amply instructed to make those Proposals chiefly which should be most for the Interest and Honour of both Nations, and which we were no less readily prepar'd to have heard, and to have done effectually that which should have been thought most secure and beneficial on both sides. But it pleas'd the Supreme Moderator and Governour of all things, that before he had desir'd to be heard as to those Matters which he had in charge from your Majesty to propound to the Parliament, he departed this Life, (whose loss

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we took with that heaviness and sorrow, as became Persons whom it no less behov'd to acquiesce in the Will of the Almighty) whence it comes to pass that we are prevented hitherto from knowing your Majesty's Pleasure, and that there is a stop at present put to this Negotiation. Wherefore we thought we could do no less then by these our Letters, which we have given to our Mèllenger on purpose sent with these unhappy Tydings, to signify to your Majesty, how acceptable your Letters, how grateful your publick Minister were to the *Parlament of the Commonwealth of England*; as also how earnestly we expect your Friendship, and how highly we shall value the Amity of so great a Princess; assuring your Majesty, that we have those Thoughts of encreasing the Commerce between this Republick and your Majesty's Kingdom, as we ought to have of a thing of the highest Importance, which for that reason will be most acceptable to the *Parlament of the Commonwealth of England*. And so we recommend your Majesty to the protection of the Divine Providence.

Westminster,
March—1651.

Seal'd with the Parliament Seal, and Subscrib'd,
Speaker, &c.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, to the most Serene and Potent Prince, Philip the Fourth, King of Spain, Greeting.

THE Merchants of this Commonwealth, who trade in your Majesties Territories, make loud Complaints of extraordinary Violence and Injuries offer'd 'em, and of new Tributes impos'd upon 'em by the Governours and other Officers of your Ports and Places where they traffick, and particularly in the *Canary Islands*, and this against the Articles, of the League solemnly ratifi'd by both Nations on the account of Trade; the truth of which Complaints they have confirm'd by Oath. And they make it out before us, that unless they can enjoy their Privileges, and that their Losses be repair'd; lastly, That except they may have some certain Safeguard and Protection for themselves and their Estates against those Violences and Injuries, they can no longer traffick in those Places. Which Complaints of theirs being duly weigh'd by us, and believing the unjust Proceedings of those Ministers, either not at all to have reach'd your Knowledge, or else to have been untruly represented to your Majesty, we deem'd it convenient to send the Complaints themselves, together with these our Letters, to your Majesty. Nor do we question but that your Majesty, as well out of your love of Justice, as for the sake of that Commerce no less gainful to your Subjects than our People, will command your Governours to desist from those unjust Oppressions of our Merchants, and so order it, that they may obtain speedy Justice, and due Satisfaction for those Injuries done 'em by *Don Pedro de Carillo de Guzman*, and others; and that your Majesty will take care that the Merchants aforesaid may reap the Fruit of those Articles; and be so far under your Protection, that both their Persons and their Estates may be secure and free from all manner of Injury and Vexation. And this they believe they shall for the greatest part obtain, if your Majesty will be pleas'd to restore 'em that Expedient, taken from 'em, of a Judg Conservator, who may be able to defend 'em from a new Consulship more uneasy to 'em; lest if no shelter from Injustice be allow'd 'em, there should follow a necessity of breaking off that Commerce which has hitherto brought great Advantages to both Nations, while the Articles of the League are violated in such a manner.

Westm. Aug.—1651.

To

*To the most Serene Prince, the Duke of Venice, and the
most Illustrious Senate.*

Most Serene Prince, most Illustrious Senate, our dearest Friends;

CERTAIN of our Merchants, by name *John Dickins*, and *Job Throkmorton*, with others, have made their Complaints unto us, That upon the 28th of November 1651, having seiz'd upon a hundred Buts of *Caveare* in the Vessel called the *Swallow*, riding in the *Downs*, *Isaac Taylour* Master, which were their own proper Goods, and laden aboard the same Ship in the *Muscovite* Bay of *Archangel*, and this by the Authority of our Court of Admiralty; in which Court, the Suit being there depending, they obtain'd a Decree for the delivery of the said Buts of *Caveare* into their possession, they having first given Security to abide by the Sentence of that Court: And that the said Court, to the end the said Suit might be brought to a Conclusion, having written Letters, according to custom, to the Magistrates and Judges of *Venice*; wherein they requested liberty to cite *John Piatti* to appear by his Protector in the *English* Court of Admiralty, where the Suit depended, and prove his Right: Nevertheless that the said *Piatti*, and one *David Rutts* a *Hollander*, while this Cause depends here in our Court, put the said *John Dickins*, and those other Merchants, to a vast deal of trouble about the said *Caveare*, and sollicite the Seizure of their Goods and Estates as forfeited for Debt. All which things, and whatever else has hitherto been done in our foresaid Court, is more at large set forth in those Letters of Request aforementioned; which after we had view'd, we thought proper to be transmitted to the most Serene Republick of *Venice*, to the end they might be assistant to our Merchants in this Cause. Upon the whole therefore, it is our earnest Request to your Highness, and the most Illustrious Senate, That not only those Letters may obtain their due Force and Weight; but also that the Goods and Estates of the Merchants, which the foresaid *Piatti* and *David Rutts*, have endeavour'd to make liable to Forfeiture, may be discharg'd; and that the said Defendants may be referr'd hither to our Court, to try what Right they have in their Claim to this *Caveare*. Wherein your Highness, and the most Serene Republick will do as well what is most just in it self, as what is truly becoming the spotless Amity between both Republicks: And lastly, what will gratefully be recompenc'd by the good Will and kind Offices of this Republick, whenever Occasion offers.

Whitehall, Feb. —
1652.

Seal'd with the Seal of the Council, and Subscrib'd
President of the Council.

To the Spanish Embassador.

Most Excellent Lord,

THE Council of State, according to a Command from the Parliament, dated the 2d of *March*, having taken into serious deliberation your Excellencies Paper of the 15th of *February*, deliver'd to the Commissioners of this Council, wherein it seem'd good to your Excellency to propose that a Reply might be given to two certain Heads therein specify'd as previous, returns the following Answer to your Excellency.

The Parliament when they gave an Answer to those things which were propos'd by your Excellency at your first Audience, as also in those Letters which they wrote to the most Serene King of *Spain*, gave real and ample Demonstrations how grateful and how acceptable that Friendship and that mutual Alliance which was offer'd by his Royal Majesty, and by your self in his Name, would be to 'em; and how fully they were resolv'd, as far as in them lay, to make the same Returns of Friendship and good Offices.

After that, it seem'd good to your Excellency, at your first Audience in Council upon the 19th of *December* *Oldstile*, to propound to this Council, as

a certain Ground or Method for an auspicious Commencement of a stricter Amity, that some of their Body might be nominated, who might hear what your Excellency had to propose; and who having well weigh'd the benefit that might redound from thence, should speedily report the same to the Council. To which request of yours that satisfaction might be given, the Council appointed certain of their number to attend your Excellency, which was done accordingly. But instead of those things which were expected to have bin propounded, the Conference produc'd no more than the abovemention'd Paper: To which the Answer of the Council is this.

When the Parliament shall have declar'd their Minds, and your Excellency shall have made the Progress as above expected, we shall be ready to confer with your Excellency, and to treat of such Matters as you shall propose in the Name of the King your Master, as well in reference to the Friendship already concluded, as the entring into another more strict and binding; or as to any thing else which shall be offer'd by our selves in the Name of this Republick: And when we descend to Particulars, we shall return such Answers as are most proper, and the Nature of the thing propos'd shall require.

Whitehall, March 21. 1652.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, to the most Serene Prince Frederick the Third, King of Denmark, &c. Greeting.

Most Serene and Potent King,

WE have receiv'd your Majesty's Letters, dated from *Copenhagen* the 21st of *December* last, and deliver'd to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England* by the Noble *Henry Willemsem Rosenwyng de Lynsacker*, and most gladly perus'd 'em, with that affection of mind which the Matters therein propounded justly merit, and request your Majesty to be fully perswaded of this, That the same Inclinations, the same Desires of continuing and preserving the ancient Friendship, Commerce, and Alliance for so many Years maintain'd between *England* and *Denmark*, which are in your Majesty, are also in us. Not being ignorant, that though it has pleas'd Divine Providence, beholding this Nation with such a benign and favourable Aspect, to change for the better the receiv'd Form of the former Government among us; nevertheless, that the same Interests on both sides, the same common Advantages, the same mutual Alliance and Free Traffick which produc'd the former Leagues and Confederacies between both Nations, still endure and obtain their former Force and Virtue, and oblige both to make it their common study, by rendring those Leagues the most beneficial that may be to each other, to establish also a nearer and sounder Friendship for the time to come. And if your Majesty shall be pleas'd to pursue those Counsels which are manifested in your Royal Letters, the Parliament will be ready to embrace the same with all Alacrity and Fidelity, and to contribute all those things to the utmost of their power, which they shall think may conduce to that end. And they perswade themselves that your Majesty for this reason, will take those Counsels in reference to this Republick, which may facilitate the good success of those things propounded by your Majesty to our selves so desirous of your Amity. In the mean time the Parliament wishes all Happiness and Prosperity to your Majesty and People.

*Westminster, April —
1652.*

Under the Seal of the Parliament, and subscrib'd
in its Name, and by the Authority of it,
Speaker, &c.

The

The Parliament of the Common-wealth of England, to the most Illustrious and Magnificent, the Proconsuls and Senators of the Hanse-Towns, Greeting.

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Illustrious, our dearest Friends ;

THE Parliament of the Common-wealth of England, has both receiv'd and perus'd your Letters of the 16th of January last, deliver'd by your Publick Minister *Leo ab Aysema*, and by their Authority have given him Audience ; at what time he declar'd the cordial and friendly Inclinations of your Cities toward this Republick, and desir'd that the ancient Friendship might still remain on both sides. The Parliament therefore, for their parts, declare and assure your Lordships, That they deem nothing more grateful to themselves, than that the same Friendship and Alliance which has hitherto bin maintain'd between this Nation and those Cities, should be renew'd, and firmly ratify'd ; and that they will be ready upon all occasions fitly offer'd, what they promise in Words, solemnly to perform in real Deeds ; and expect that their ancient Friends and Confederates should deal by them with the same Truth and Integrity. But as to those things which your Resident has more particularly in charge, in regard they were by us referr'd entire to the *Council of State*, and his Proposals were to be there consider'd, they transacted with him there, and gave him such Answers, as seem'd most consentaneous to Equity and Reason, of which your Resident is able to give you an Account ; whose Prudence and conspicuous Probity proclaim him worthy the publick Character by you conferr'd upon him.

*Westminster, April—
1652.*

Under the Seal of the Parliament, in the Name, and by the Authority of it, Subscrib'd, *Speaker, &c.*

The Parliament of the Common-wealth of England, to the Illustrious and Magnificent Senate of the City of Hamborough, Greeting.

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Illustrious, our dearest Friends ;

THE Parliament of the Common-wealth of England has receiv'd and perus'd your Letters, dated from Hamborough the 15th of January last, and deliver'd by the Noble *Leo ab Aysema*, yours and the rest of the *Hanse-atic* Cities Resident, and by their own Authority gave him Audience ; and as to what other particular Commands he had from your City, they have referr'd 'em to the Council of State, and gave 'em Orders to receive his Proposals, and to treat with him as soon as might be, concerning all such things as seem'd to be Just and Equal : which was also done accordingly. And as the Parliament has made it manifest, that they will have a due regard to what shall be propos'd by your Lordships, and have testify'd their singular Goodwill toward your City, by sending their Resident thither, and commanding his Abode there ; so on the other side they expect and deservedly require from your Lordships, that the same Equity be return'd to them, in things which are to the Benefit of this Republick, either already propos'd, or hereafter to be propounded by our said Resident in their Name to your City, anciently our Friend and Confederate.

*Westminster, April—
1652.*

Under the Seal of the Parliament, in the Name, and by the Authority of it, Subscrib'd, *Speaker, &c.*

The Council of State of the Republick of England, to the most Serene Prince Ferdinand the Second, Grand Duke of Tuscany, Greeting.

THE Council of State being inform'd by Letters from Charles Longland, who takes care of the Affairs of the *English* in your Highnesses Court of *Leghorn*, that lately fourteen Men of War, belonging to the *United Provinces*, came into that Harbour, and openly threatned to sink or burn the *English* Ships that were riding in your Port; but that your Serenity, whose Protection and Succour the *English* Merchants implor'd, gave Command to the Governour of *Leghorn*, that he should assist and defend the *English* Vessels, they deem'd it their Duty to certify to your Highness how acceptable that Kindness and Protection which you so favourably afforded the *English* Nation, was to this Republick; and do promise your Highness that they will always keep in remembrance the Merit of so deserving a Favour, and will be ready upon all occasions to make the same returns of Friendship and good Offices to your People, and to do all things else which may conduce to the preservation and continuance of the usual Amity and Commerce between both Nations. And whereas the *Dutch* Men of War, even in the time of Treaty offer'd by themselves, were so highly perfidious, as to fall upon our Fleet in our own Roads, (in which foul Attempt, God, as most just Arbiter, shew'd himself offended and opposite to their Design) but also in the Ports of Foreigners endeavour'd to take or sink our Merchant Vessels; we thought it also necessary to send this Declaration also of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*, to your Highness, the publishing of which was occasion'd by the Controversies at present arisen between this Republick and the *United Provinces*. By which your Highness may easily perceive how unjust and contrary to all the Laws of God and of Nations those People have acted against this Republick; and how cordially the Parliament labour'd, for the sake of publick Tranquillity, to have retain'd their pristin Friendship and Alliance.

White-Hall, July 29.
1652.

In the Name, and by the Authority of
the Council, subscrib'd, *President*.

To the Spanish Ambassador.

Most Excellent Lord,

THE Council of State, upon mature deliberation of that Paper which they receiv'd from your Excellency, ^{27 May} 6 of June 1652. as also upon that which your Excellency at your Audience the ⁴ of this Month deliver'd to the Council, return this Answer to both those Papers: That the Parliament, &c. was always very desirous of preserving the firm Friendship and good Peace settled at present between this Republick and his Royal Majesty of *Spain*, from the time that first your Excellency signify'd the tendency of his Majesty's Inclinations that way, and was always ready to ratify and confirm the same to the benefit and advantage of both Nations. And this the Council of State in the Name, and by Command of the Parliament, in their Papers oftentimes made known to your Excellency; and particularly, according to your Excellency's desire, made choice of Commissioners to attend and receive from your Excellency such Proposals as might conduce to the same purpose. At which meeting, instead of making such Proposals, it seem'd good to your Excellency only to propound some general Matters, as it were previous to a future Conference, concerning which it seem'd to the Council that the Parliament had in former Papers fully made known their Sentiments. Nevertheless, for more ample and accumulative satisfaction, and to remove all Scruples from your Excellency concerning those Matters which they at that time propos'd, the Council in that Paper, dated ^{31 March,} 10 April, declar'd themselves ready to come

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to a Conference with your Excellency concerning those things which you had in charge from his Royal Majesty, as well in reference to the present Amity, as to any farther Negotiation; as also touching such Matters as should be exhibited by us, in the name of this Republick; and when we came to such Particulars as were to the purpose, and the nature of the thing requir'd, then to give convenient Answers. To which it seem'd good to your Excellency to make no Reply, nor to proceed any farther in that Affair for almost two Months. About that time the Council receiv'd from your Excellency your first Paper, dated ^{17 May,}_{6 June} wherein you only made this Proposal, That the Articles of Peace and League between the late King *Charles* and your Master, dated the ¹/₁ of *November* 1630. might be review'd, and that the several Heads of it might be either enlarg'd or left out according to the present condition of times and things, and the late *Alteration of Government*. Which being no more than what we our selves briefly and clearly signify'd in our foresaid Paper of the ^{21 March,}_{10 April} the Council expected that some particular Articles would have bin propounded out of that League, with those Amplifications and Alterations of which you made mention; since otherwise it is impossible for us to return any other Answer concerning this matter than what we have already given. And whereas your Excellency in your last Paper seems to charge us with delay, the Council therefore took a second review of the foresaid Paper of the ^{27 of May,}_{6 of June} and of what was therein propounded, and are still of opinion, that they have fully satisfy'd your Excellency in that former Paper: to which they can only farther add, That so soon as your Excellency shall be pleas'd, either out of the Leagues already made, or in any other manner, to frame such Conditions as shall be accommodated to the present state of Things and Times, upon which you desire to have the foundations of Friendship laid on your side, they will immediately return you such Answers as by them shall be thought just and reasonable, and which shall be sufficient Testimonials that the Parliament still perseveres in the same desires of preserving an untainted and firm Amity with the King your Master, and that on their parts they will omit no honest Endeavours, and worthy of themselves, to advance it to the highest Perfection.

Furthermore the Council deems it to be a part of their Duty, that your Excellency should be put in mind of that Paper of ours, dated *Jan. 30. 1651.* to which in regard your Excellency has return'd no Answer as yet, we press and expect that satisfaction be given to the Parliament, as to what is therein mention'd.

The Answer of the Council of State to the Reply of the Lords Embassadors Extraordinary from the King of Denmark and Norway, deliver'd to the Commissioners of the Council, to the Answer which the Council gave to their fourteen Demands.

TO the end that Satisfaction may be given to the foresaid Lords Embassadors in reference to the Answer of the Council to the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth Article, the Council consents that this following Clause shall be added at the end of their Answers: That is to say, besides such Colonies, Islands, Ports and Places under the Dominion of either Party, to which it is by Law provided that no body shall resort upon the account of Trade or Commerce, unless upon special leave first obtain'd of that Party to which that Colony, Island, Port or Places belong.

The receiving of any Person into any Ship that shall be driven in by stress of Weather into the Rivers, Ports or Bays belonging to either Party, shall not render that Vessel liable to any trouble or search, by the Answer of the Council to the eleventh Article, as the foresaid Lords Embassadors in their Reply seem to have understood, unless it be where such a receiving shall be against the Laws, Statutes, or Custom of that Place where the Vessel put in, wherein it seems to the Council, that there is nothing of severity ordain'd; but what equally conduces to the security of both Republicks.

As to the proving the Property of such Ships and Goods as shall be cast ashore by Shipwrack, the Council deems it necessary that an Oath be administered in those Courts which are already, or shall hereafter be constituted, where the Claimers may be severally heard, and every body's Right be determin'd and adjudg'd, which cannot be so clearly and strictly done by written Certificates, whence many Scruples and Doubts may arise, and many Frauds and Deceits creep into that sort of Proof, which it concerns both Parties to prevent. The Council also deems it just, that a certain time be prefix'd, before which time, whoever does not prove himself the lawful Owner of the said Goods, shall be excluded to avoid Suits. But as to the manner of putting perishable Goods to sale that are cast ashore by Shipwrack, the Council thinks it meet to propose the way of selling by inch of Candle, as being the most probable means to procure the true Value of the Goods for the best advantage of the Proprietors. Nevertheless, if the foresaid Lords Embassadors shall propose any other method already found out which may more properly conduce to this end, the Council will be no hinderance, but that what is just may be put in practice. Neither is it to be understood, that the Consideration of this matter shall put any stop to the Treaty.

As to the Punishment of those who shall violate the propounded Treaty, the Council has made that Addition which is mention'd in their Answer to the fourteenth Article, for the greater force and efficacy of that Article, and thereby to render the League it self more firm and lasting.

As to the last Clause of the fourteenth Article, we think it not proper to give our Assent to those Leagues and Alliances, of which mention is made in the aforesaid Answers, and which are only generally propounded, before it be more clearly apparent to us what they are. But when your Excellencies shall be pleas'd to explain those Matters more clearly to the Council, we may be able to give a more express Answer to those Particulars.

A Reply of the Council of State to the Answer of the foresaid Lords Embassadors, which was return'd to the six Articles propounded by the Council aforesaid, in the Name of the Republick of England.

THE Council having view'd the Commissions of the foresaid Lords Embassadors, giving them Power to transact with the Parliament or their Commissioners, concerning all things expedient to be transacted in order to the reviving the old Leagues or adding new ones, believ'd indeed the foresaid Lords to have bin furnish'd with that Authority as to be able to return Answers, and negotiate all things, as well such as should be propounded by this Republick, as on the behalf of the *King of Denmark and Norway*, and so did not expect the Replies which it has pleas'd the foresaid Lords Embassadors to give to the *first, second, third and fifth* Demand of the Council, whereby of necessity a stop will be put to this Treaty, in regard it is but just in it self, and so resolv'd on in Council to comprehend the whole League, and to treat at the same time as well concerning those things which regard this Republick, as those other Matters which concern the *King of Denmark and Norway*. Wherefore it is the earnest desire of the Council, that your Excellencies would be pleas'd to return an Answer to our first, second, third and fifth Demand.

As to the fourth Article concerning the Customs of *Gluckstadt*, in regard they are now abolish'd, as your Excellencies have mention'd in your Answer, the Council presses that their Abrogation may be ratifi'd by this Treaty, lest they should be re-impos'd hereafter.

As to the sixth Article concerning Piracy, the Council inserted it, as equally appertaining to the benefit of both, and to the establishing of Trade in common, which is much disturb'd by Pyrates and Sea-Robbers. And whereas the Answer of the Lords Embassadors, as to this Article, relates only to Enemies, but makes no mention of Pyrates, the Council therefore desires a more distinct Reply to it.

And whereas the foresaid Lords Embassadors in their Reply to the Answer of the Council have pass'd over both their tenth Article, and the Answer of the Council to it, the Council have thought it necessary to add this following Article to their following Demands :

That the people and Inhabitants of the Republick of *England* trading into any Kingdoms, Regions, or Territories of the King of *Denmark* and *Norway*, shall not for the future pay any more Customs, Tribute, Taxes, Duties or Stipends, or in any other manner than the People of the *United Provinces*, or any other Foreign Nation that pays the least, coming in or going out of Harbour ; and shall enjoy the same and as equally ample Freedom, Privileges and Immunities, both coming and going, and so long as they shall reside in the Country, as also in fishing, trading, or in any other manner which any other People of a Foreign Nation enjoys, or may enjoy in the foresaid Kingdoms, and throughout the whole Dominions of the said King of *Denmark* and *Norway*: Which Privileges also the Subjects of the King of *Denmark* and *Norway* shall equally enjoy throughout all the Territories and Dominions of the Republick of *England*.

The Council of State of the Republick of England, to the most Serene Prince, Ferdinand the Second, Grand Duke of Tuscany, Greeting.

Most Serene Prince, our dearest Friend ;

THE Council of State understanding, as well by your Highness's Agent here residing, as by *Charles Longland*, chief Factor for the *English* at *Leghorn*, with what Affection and Fidelity your Highness undertook the Protection of the *English* Vessels putting into the Port of *Leghorn* for shelter, against the *Dutch* Men of War threatening 'em with nothing but Ransack and Destruction, by their Leters of the 29th of *July* (which they hope are by this time come to your Highness's hands) have made known to your Highness how grateful and how acceptable it was to 'em ; and at the same time sent to your Serenity a Declaration of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England* concerning the present Differences between this Republick and the *United Provinces*. And whereas the Council has again bin inform'd by the same *Charles Longland*, what further Commands your Highness gave for the security and defence of the *English* Vessels, notwithstanding the opposite Endeavours of the *Dutch*, they deem'd this opportunity not to be pass'd over, to let your Highness understand once more, how highly they esteem your Justice and singular Constancy in defending their Vessels, and how acceptable they took so great a piece of Service. Which being no mean testimony of your solid Friendship and Affection to this Republick, your Highness may assure your self, that the same Offices of Kindness and good Will towards your Highness shall never be wanting in us ; such as may be able to demonstrate how firmly we are resolv'd to cultivate both long and constantly, to the utmost of our Power, that Friendship which is between your Serenity and this Republick. In the mean time we have expressly commanded all our Ships upon their entrance into your Ports, not to fail of paying the accustomed Salutes by firing their Guns, and to give all other due Honours to your Highness.

Seal'd with the Council-Seal,
and subscrib'd, *President.*

White-Hall, Sept. — 1652.

To the Spanish Ambassador, Alphonso de Cardenas.

Most Excellent Lord,

YOUR Excellency's Letters of the $\frac{1}{11}$ of *November* 1652. deliver'd by your Secretary, together with two Petitions inclos'd, concerning the Ships, the *Sampson* and *Sun Salvadore*, were read in Council. To which the Council

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returns this Answer, That the *English* Man of War meeting with the afore-said Ships, not in the *Downs*, as your Excellency writes, but in the open Sea, brought 'em into Port as Enemies Ships, and therefore lawful Prize; and the Court of Admiralty, to which it properly belongs to take cognizance of all Causes of this nature, have undertaken to determin the Right in dispute. Where all Parties concern'd on both sides shall be fully and freely heard, and you may be assur'd that Right shall take place. We have also sent your Excellency's request to the Judges of that Court, to the end we may more certainly understand what progress they have made in their proceeding to Judgment. Of which so soon as we are rightly inform'd, we shall take care that such Orders shall be given in this matter, as shall correspond with Justice, and become the Friendship that is between this Republick and your King. Nor are we less confident, that his Royal Majesty will by no means permit the Goods of the Enemies of this Commonwealth to be conceal'd, and escape due Confiscation under the shelter of being own'd by his Subjects.

Seal'd with the Council-Seal, and subscrib'd,

White-Hall, Nov. 11.
1652.

William Masham, President.

To the Spanish Ambassador.

Most Excellent Lord,

BUT lately the Council has bin inform'd by Captain *Badiley*, Admiral of the Fleet of this *Republick* in the *Streights*, that after he himself, together with three other Men of War, had for two days together engag'd eleven of the *Dutch*, put into *Porto Longone*, as well to repair the Damages he had receiv'd in the Fight, as also to supply himself with Warlike Ammunition; where the Governour of the Place perform'd all the good Offices of a most just and courteous Person, as well towards his own, as the rest of the Men of War under his Conduct. Now in regard that that same Place is under the Dominion of the most Serene King of *Spain*, the *Council* cannot but look upon the singular Civility of that Garison to be the copious fruit of that stricter mutual Amity so auspiciously commenc'd; and therefore deem it to be a part of their Duty to return their Thanks to his Majesty for a Kindness so opportunely receiv'd, and desire your Excellency to signify this to your most Serene King, and to assure him that the *Parlament of the Commonwealth of England* will be always ready to make the same returns of Friendship and Civility upon all occasions offer'd.

Seal'd with the Council-Seal, and subscrib'd;

Westminster, Nov. 11.
1652:

William Masham, President.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, to the most Serene Prince, Ferdinand the Second, Grand Duke of Tuscany, Greeting.

Most Serene Prince, our dearest Friend;

THE *Parlament of the Commonwealth of England* has receiv'd your Letters dated from *Florence*, August 17. concerning the restitution of a certain Ship laden with Rice, which Ship is claim'd by Captain *Cardi* of *Leghorn*. And though the Judges of our Admiralty have already pronounc'd Sentence in that Cause against the foresaid *Cardi*, and that there be an Appeal depending before the Delegates; yet upon your Highness's Request, the *Parlament*, to testify how much they value the good Will and Alliance of a Prince so much their Friend, have given order to those who are entrusted with this Affair, that the said Ship, together with the Rice, or at least the full Price of it be restor'd to the foresaid Captain *Cardi*; the fruit of which Command his Proctor here has effectually already reap'd. And as your
Highness

Highness by favourably affording your Patronage and Protection to the Ships of the *English* in your Port of *Leghorn*; has in a more especial manner ty'd the Parliament to your Serenity; so will they, on the other side, take care, as often as opportunity offers, that all their Offices of sincere Friendship and good Will towards your Highness may be solidly effectual and permanent; withal recommending your Highness to the Divine Benignity and Protection of the Almighty.

Westminster, Nov. 1652.

Seal'd with the Seal of the Commonwealth, and subscrib'd,
Speaker, &c.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, to the most Serene and Potent Prince, King of Denmark, &c.

Most Serene and Potent King,

THE Parliament of the Commonwealth of England have receiv'd Information from their Admiral of that Fleet so lately sent to *Copenhagen*, your Majesty's Port, to convoy our Merchants homeward bound, that the foresaid Ships are not permitted to return along with him, as being detain'd by your Majesty's Command; and upon his producing your Royal Letters declaring your Justifications of the matter of Fact, the Parliament denies that the Reasons laid down in those Letters for the detaining of those Ships are any way satisfactory to 'em. Therefore that some speedy Remedy may be appli'd in a matter of so great moment, and so highly conducing to the prosperity of both Nations, for preventing a greater perhaps ensuing mischief, the Parliament have sent their Resident at *Hamborough*, *Richard Bradshaw*, Esquire, a Person of great Worth and known Fidelity, with express Commands to treat with your Majesty, as their Agent also in *Denmark*, concerning this Affair: And therefore we entreat your Majesty to give him a favourable Audience and ample Credit in whatever he shall propose to your Majesty on our behalf, in reference to this matter; in the mean time recommending your Majesty to the Protection of Divine Providence.

Westminster, Nov. 6. 1652.

Under the Seal of the Parliament, and in their Name, and by their Authority, subscrib'd,
Speaker, &c.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, to the most Serene Prince the Duke of Venice, Greeting.

THE Parliament of the Commonwealth of England has receiv'd your Highness's Letters, dated June 1. 1652. and deliver'd by *Lorenzo Pallutio*, wherein they not only gladly perceive both yours, and the cordial Inclinations of the Senate toward this Republick, but have willingly laid hold of this opportunity to declare their singular Affection and good Will towards the most Serene Republick of *Venice*; which they shall be always ready to make manifest both really and sincerely, as often as opportunity offers. To whom also all the ways and means that shall be propounded to 'em for the preserving or encreasing mutual Friendship and Alliance, shall be ever most acceptable. In the mean time we heartily pray that all things prosperous, all things favourable, may befall your Highness and the most Serene Republick.

Westminster, December, 1652.

Seal'd with the Parliament-Seal, and subscrib'd,
Speaker, &c.

*The Parliament of the Republick of England, to the most Serene Prince,
Ferdinand the Second, Grand Duke of Tuscany, Greeting.*

ALthough the Parliament of the Republick of *England* some time since redoubl'd their Commands to all the chief Captains and Masters of Ships arriving in the Ports belonging to your Highness, to carry themselves peacefully and civilly, and with becoming observance and Duty to a most Serene Prince, whose Friendship this Republick so earnestly endeavours to preserve, as having bin oblig'd by so many great Kindnesses; an Accident altogether unexpected has fallen out, through the Insolence, as they hear, of Captain *Appleton* in the Port of *Leghorn*, who offer'd Violence to the Sentinel then doing his Duty upon the Mole, against the Faith and Duty which he owes this Republick, and in contempt of the Reverence and Honour which is justly owing to your Highness: the relation of which Action, as it was really committed, the Parliament has understood by your Letters of the 7th and 9th of *December*, dated from *Florence*; as also more at large by the most Worthy *Almeric Salvetti*, your Resident here. And they have so sincerely laid to heart your Highness's Honour, which is the main concern of this Complaint, that they have referr'd it to the *Council of State*, to take care that Letters be sent to Capt. *Appleton*, to come away without stop or stay by Land, in order to his giving an Account of this unwonted and extraordinary Act (a Copy of which Letters is sent herewith enclos'd) who so soon as he shall arrive, and be accus'd of the Fact, we promise that such a course shall be taken with him, as may sufficiently testify that we no less heinously brook the violation of your Right, than the infringement of our own Authority. Moreover, upon mature Debate concerning the recover'd Ship, call'd the *Phoenix* of *Leghorn*, which Affair is also related and press'd by your Highness and your Resident here, to have bin done by Captain *Appleton*, contrary to promise given, whereby he was oblig'd not to fall upon even the *Hollanders* themselves within sight of the *Lanthorn*; and that your Highness, trusting to that Faith, promis'd security to the *Hollanders* upon your word; and therefore that we ought to take care for the satisfaction of those who suffer damage under the Protection of your Promise; the Parliament begs of your Excellency to be assur'd, That this Fact, as it was committed without their Advice or Command, so it is most remote from their Will and Intention that your Highness should undergo any Detriment or Diminution of your Honour by it. Rather they will make it their business that some Expedient may be found out for your Satisfaction, according to the nature of the Fact upon Examination of the whole matter. Which that they may so much the more fully understand, they deem it necessary that Captain *Appleton* himself should be heard, who was bound by the same Faith, and is thought by your Excellency at least to have consented to the violation of it; especially since he is so suddenly to return home. And so soon as the Parliament has heard him, and have more at large conferr'd with your Resident concerning this matter of no small moment, they will pronounce that Sentence that shall be just, and consentaneous to that extream good-will which they bear to your Highness, and no way unworthy the favours by you conferr'd upon 'em. Of which, that your Highness might not make the least question in the mean time, we were willing to certify your Highness by this Express on purpose sent, that we shall omit no opportunity to testify how greatly we value your Friendship.

Westminster, Decemb.
14. 1652.

Seal'd with the Parliament Seal,
and Subscrib'd,
Speaker, &c.

The Council of State of the Republick of England, to the most Serene Prince, Frederick, Heire of Norway, Duke of Sleswick, Holfatia, Stormaria, Ditmarsh, Count in Oldenburgh and Delmenhort, Greeting.

THough it has pleas'd the most wise God, and most merciful Moderator of all things, besides the Burden which he laid upon us in common with our Ancestors, to wage most just Wars in defence of our Liberty against Tyrannical Usurpation, signally also to succour us with those Auspices and that Divine Assistance, beyond what he afforded to our Predecessors, that we have bin able not only to extinguish a Civil War, but to extirpate the Causes of it for the future, as also to repel the unexpected Violences of Foreign Enemies; nevertheless, with grateful minds, as much as in us lies, acknowledging the same Favour and Benignity of the supreme Deity towards us, we are not so puffed up with the success of our Affairs, but that rather instructed in the singular Justice and Providence of God, and having had long experience our selves, we abominate the thoughts of War, if possible to be avoided, and most eagerly embrace Peace with all men. Therefore as hitherto we never were the first that violated or desir'd the violation of that Friendship, or those antient Privileges of Leagues that have bin ratify'd between us and any Princes or People whatever; so your Highness, in consideration of your antient Amity with the *English*, left us by our Ancestors, may with a most certain Assurance, promise both your self and your People all things equitable, and all things friendly from us. Lastly, as we highly value, which is no more than what is just and reasonable, the testimonies of your Affection and good Offices offer'd us, so we shall make it our business that you may not at any time be sensible of the want of ours, either to your self or yours. And so we most heartily recommend your Highness to the Omnipotent Protection of the Almighty God.

*Whitehall,
July—1653.*

Seal'd with the Council-Seal,
and Subscrib'd, *President.*

To the Count of Oldenburgh.

Most Illustrious Lord,

THE Parliament of the Commonwealth of England have receiv'd an extraordinary Congratulation from your Excellency, most kindly and courteously deliver'd to us by word of mouth by *Herman Mylius*, your Counsellor and Doctor of Laws; who wish'd all things lucky and prosperous, in your Name, to the Parliament and *English* Interest, and desir'd that the Friendship of this Republick might remain inviolable within your Territories. He also desir'd Letters of safe Conduct, to the end your Subjects may the more securely trade and sail from place to place; together with our Orders to our publick Ministers abroad, to be aiding and assisting to your Excellency and your Interests with their good Offices and Counsels. To which Requests of his we willingly consented, and granted both our Friendship, the Letters desir'd, and our Orders to our Publick Ministers under the Seal of the Parliament. And though it be some Months ago since your Publick Minister first came to us, however that delay neither arose from any unwillingness on our part to assent to the request made in your Excellency's Name, or that your Deputy was at any time wanting in his Sedulity (whose Solicitations were daily and earnest with all the Diligence and Importunity that became him, to the end he might be dispatch'd) but only it happen'd so, that at that time the greatest and most weighty Affairs of the Republick were under Debate and serious Negotiation. Of which we thought meet to certify your Illustrious Lordship, lest any body through a false construction of this delay, should think those Favours

Favours unwillingly or hardly obtain'd, which were most gladly granted by the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*. In whose Name these are commanded to be Sign'd,

Henry Scobel, Clerk of the Parliament.

To the most Illustrious and Noble Senators, Scultets, Landam, and Senators of the Evangelick Cantons of Switzerland, Zurick, Bern, Glaris, Bale, Schaffhausen, Appenzel, also of the Confederates of the same Religion in the Country of the Grisons, of Geneva, St. Gall, Mulhausen and Bienne; our dearest Friends.

YOUR Letters, most Illustrious Lords and dearest Confederates, dated December 24. full of civility, good-will, and singular affection towards us and our Republick, and what ought always to be greater and more sacred to us, breathing Fraternal and truly Christian Charity, we have receiv'd. And in the first place we return Thanks to Almighty God, who has rais'd and establish'd both you and so many noble *Cities*, not so much intrench'd and fortifi'd with those enclosures of Mountains, as with your innate Fortitude, Piety, most prudent and just Administration of Government, and the Faith of mutual Confederacies, to be a firm and inaccessible shelter for all the truly Orthodox. Now then that you, who over all *Europe* were the first of Mortals who after deluges of barbarous Tyrants from the North, Heaven prospering your Valour, recover'd your Liberty, and being obtain'd, for so many Years have preserv'd it untainted with no less Prudence and Moderation; that you should have such noble sentiments of our Liberty recover'd; that you, such sincere Worshipers of the Gospel, should be so constantly perswaded of our Love and Affection for the Orthodox Faith, is that which is most acceptable and welcome to us. But as to your exhorting us to Peace, with a Pious and Affectionate intent, as we are fully assur'd, certainly such an Admonition ought to be of great weight with us; as well in respect of the thing it self which you perswade, and which of all things is chiefly to be desir'd, as also for the great Authority which is to be allow'd your Lordships above others in this particular, who in the midst of loud tumultuous Wars on every side, enjoy the sweets of Peace both at home and abroad, and have approv'd your selves the best example to all others of embracing and improving Peace; and lastly, for that you perswade us to the very thing which we our selves of our own accords, and that more than once, consulting as well our own, as the interest of the whole Evangelical Communion, have begg'd by Embassadors, and other publick Ministers, namely, Friendship and a most strict League with the *United Provinces*. But how they treated our Embassadors sent to 'em to negotiate, not a bare Peace, but a brotherly Amity and most strict League; what Provocations to War they afterwards gave us, how they fell upon us in our own Roads in the midst of their Embassadors Negotiations for Peace and Alliance, little dreaming any such Violence, you will abundantly understand by our Declaration set forth upon this subject, and sent you together with these our Letters. But as for our parts, we are wholly intent upon this, by God's Assistance, though prosperous hitherto, so to carry our selves, that we may neither attribute any thing to our own Strength or Forces, but all things to God alone, nor be insolently puffed up with our Success; and we still retain the same ready Inclinations to embrace all occasions of making a just and honest Peace. In the mean time your selves, *Illustrious and most excellent Lords*, in whom this pious and noble Sedulity, out of meer Evangelical Affection, exerts it self to reconcile and pacify contending Brethren, as ye are worthy of all applause among men, so doubtless will ye obtain the Celestial Reward of Peace-makers with God; to whose supreme Benignity and Favour we heartily recommend in our Prayers both you and yours, no less ready to make returns of all good Offices both of Friends and Brethren, if in any thing we may be serviceable to your Lordships.

Westminster,
Octob. 1653.

Seal'd with the Parliament Seal, and Subscrib'd,
Speaker, &c.

S f f f

To

*To the Spanish Embassador.**Most Illustrious Lord,*

UPON grievous Complaints brought before us by *Philip Noel, John Godal*, and the Society of Merchants of *Foy* in *England*, that a certain Ship of theirs call'd the *Ann of Foy*, an *English* Ship by them fitted out, and laden with their own Goods, in her return home to the Port of *Foy* about *Michaelmas* last, was unjustly, and without any cause set upon and taken by a certain Privateer of *Ostend*, *Erasmus Bruer* Commander, and the Seamen unworthily and barbarously us'd : The Council of State wrote to the Marquis of *Leda* concerning it (a Copy of which Letter we also send enclos'd to your Excellency) and expected from him, that without delay Orders would have bin given for the doing of Justice in this matter. Nevertheless after all this, the foresaid *Noel*, together with the said Company make further heavy Complaint, that altho our Letters were deliver'd to the Marquess, and that those Merchants from that time forward betook themselves to *Bruges* to the Court there held for Maritim Causes. and there asserted and prov'd their Right, and the Verity of their Cause, yet that Justice was deni'd 'em ; and that they were so hardly dealt with, that though the Cause had bin ripe for Trial above three Months, nevertheless they could obtain no Sentence from that Court, but that their Ship and Goods are still detain'd, notwithstanding the great Expences they have bin at in prosecuting their Claim. Now your Excellency well knows it to be contrary to the Law of Nations, of Traffick, and that Friendship which is at present settl'd between the *English* and *Flemings*, that any *Ostender* should take any *English* Vessel, if bound for *England* with *English* Goods ; and that whatever was inhumanly and barbarously done to the *English* Seamen by that Commander, deserves a rigorous Punishment. The Council therefore recommends the whole matter to your Excellency, and makes it their request that you would write into *Flanders* concerning it, and take such speedy care that this business may no longer be delay'd, but that Justice may be done in such a manner that the foresaid Ship, together with the Damages, Costs and Interest, which the *English* have sustain'd and bin out of Purse, by reason of that illegal Seizure, may be restor'd and made good to 'em by the Authority of the Court, or in some other way ; and that care be taken that hereafter no such Violence may be committed, but that the Amity between our People and the *Flemings* may be preserv'd without any Infringment.

Sign'd in the Name, and by the Command of the Council
of State, appointed by Authority of Parliament.

To the Marquiss of Leda.

GREAT Complaints are brought before us by *Philip Noel, John Godal*, and the Company of *Foy* Merchants, concerning a Ship of theirs, call'd the *Ann of Foy*, which being an *English* Vessel by them fitted out, and laden with their own Goods, in her return home to her own Port about *Michaelmas* last, was taken unawares by a Freebooter of *Ostend*, *Erasmus Bruer* Commander. It is also further related, that the *Ostenders*, when the Ship was in their Power, us'd the Seamen too inhumanly, by setting lighted Match to their Fingers, and plunging the Master of the Ship in the Sea till they had almost drown'd him, on purpose to extort a false Confession from him, that the Ship and Goods belong'd to the *French*. Which though the Master and the rest of the Ships Crew resolutely deni'd, nevertheless the *Ostenders* carri'd away the Ship and Goods to their own Port. These things, upon strict enquiry and examination of Witnesses, have bin made manifest in the *Admiralty Court* in *England*, as will appear by the Copies of the *Affidavits* herewith sent your Lordship. Now in regard that that same Ship, call'd the *Ann of Foy*, and all her lading of Merchandize and Goods belong truly and properly to the *English*, so that there is no apparent reason why the *Ostender* should seize by

by force either the one or the other, much less carry away the Master of the Ship, and use the Seamen so unmercifully: and whereas according to the Law of Nations, and in respect to the Friendship between the *Flemings* and *English*, that Ship and Goods ought to be restor'd, we make it our earnest request to your Excellency, that the *English* may have speedy Justice done, and that Satisfaction may be given for their Losses, to the end the Traffick and Friendship which is between the *English* and *Flemings* may be long and inviolably preserv'd.

To the Spanish Ambassador.

THE Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*, understanding that several of the People of this City daily resort to the Houses of your Excellency and other Embassadors and Publick Ministers from Foreign Nations here residing, meerly to hear Mass, gave Order to the *Council of State* to let your Excellency understand, That whereas such Resort is prohibited by the Laws of the Nation, and of very evil Example in this our Republick, and extremely scandalous, that they deem it their duty to take care that no such thing be permitted henceforward, and to prohibit all such Assemblies for the future. Concerning which, 'tis our desire that your Excellency should have a fair Advertisment, to the end that henceforth your Excellency may be more careful of admitting any of the People of this Republick to hear Mass in your House. And as the Parliament will diligently provide that your Excellencies Rights and Privileges shall be preserv'd inviolable, so they perswade themselves that your Excellency, during your abode here, would by no means that the Laws of this Republick should be violated by your self or your Attendants.

A Summary of the particular real Damages sustain'd by the English Company, in many Places of the East-Indies, from the Dutch Company in Holland.

1. **T**HE Damages comprehended in the sixteen Articles, and formerly exhibited, amounting to 298555 Royals $\frac{1}{2}$, which is of our Money ————— 74638 l. 15 s. 00 d.
 2. We demand Satisfaction to be given for the incomes of the Island of *Pularon*, from the year 1622. to this time, of two hundred thousand Royals $\frac{1}{2}$, besides the future Expence, till the right of Jurisdiction over that Island be restor'd in the same Condition as when it was wrested out of our Hands, as was by League agreed to, amounting of our Money to — 50000 l. 00 s. 00 d.
 3. We demand Satisfaction for all the Merchandize, Provision and Furniture taken away by the Agents of the *Dutch Company* in the *Indies*, or to them deliver'd, or to any of their Ships bound thither, or returning home; which Sum amounts to 80635 Royals, of our Money — 20158 l. 00 s. 00 d.
 4. We demand Satisfaction for the Customs of *Dutch Merchandize* laden on board their Ships in *Persia*, or landed there from the year 1624, as was granted us by the King of *Persia*, which we cannot value at less than fourscore thousand Royals, ————— 2000 l. 00 s. 00 d.
 5. We demand Satisfaction for four Houses maliciously and unjustly burnt at *Jocatra*, together with the Warehouses, Magazines and Furniture, occasion'd by the *Dutch Governor* there, of all which we had Information from the Place it self, after we had exhibited our first Complaints; the Total of which Damage we value at ————— 50000 l. 00 s. 00 d.
- We demand Satisfaction for 32899 pound of Pepper taken out of the Ship *Endymion* in 1649, the Total of which Damage amounts to 6000 l. 00 s. 00 d.
- 220796 l. 15 s. 00 d.

A Summary of some particular damages sustain'd also from the Dutch East-India Company.

1. **F**OR Damages sustain'd by those who besieg'd *Bantam*, whence it came to pass that for six years together we were excluded from that Trade, and consequently from an opportunity of laying out in Pepper six hundred thousand Royals, with which we might have laden our homeward bound Ships; for want of which lading they rotted upon the Coast of *India*. In the mean time our Stock in *India* was wasted and consum'd in Mariners Wages, Provision and other Furniture; so that they could not value their Loss at less than twenty hundred and four thousand Royals ——— 600000 l. 00 s. 00 d.

2. More for Damages by reason of our due part lost of the Fruits in the *Molucca* Islands, *Banda* and *Amboyna*, from the time that by the slaughter of our men we were thence expell'd, till the time that we shall be satisfi'd for our Loss and Expences; which space of time from the year 1622, to this present year 1650, for the yearly Revenue of 250000 lib. amounts in 28 years to ——— 700000 l. 00 s. 00 d.

3. We demand Satisfaction for one hundred and two thousand nine hundred fifty nine Royals, taken from us by the *Mogul's* People, whom the *Dutch* protected in such a manner, that we never could repair our Losses out of the Money or Goods of that People which lay in their *Junks*, which we endeavour'd to do, and was in our Power had not the *Dutch* unjustly defended 'em. Which lost Money we could have trebled in *Europe*, and value at ——— 77020 l. 00 s. 00 d.

4. For the Customs of *Persia*, the half part of which was by the King of *Persia* granted to the *English*, Anno 1624. Which to the year 1629, is valued at eight thousand Royals; to which add the four thousand Lib. which they are bound to pay since 1629, which is now one and twenty Years, and it makes up the Sum of ——— 84000 l. 00 s. 00 d.

From the first Account ——— 220796 l. 15 s.

Sum Total ——— 1681996 l. 15 s.

The Interest from that time will far exceed the Principal.

LETTERS

Written in the Name of

OLIVER the PROTECTOR.

To the Count of Oldenburgh.

Most Illustrious Lords,

BY your Letters dated *January 20. 1654.* I have bin given to understand, That the noble *Frederick Matthias Wolfog*, and *Christopher Gripiander* were sent with certain Commands from your Illustrious Lordship into *England*; who when they came to us, not only in your Name congratulated our having taken upon us the Government of the *English Republick*, but also desir'd that you and your Territories might be comprehended in the Peace which we are about to make with the *Low-Countries*, and that we would confirm by our present Authority the Letters of safe Conduct lately granted your Lordship by the Parliament. Therefore in the first place we return your Lordship our hearty thanks for your friendly Congratulation, as it becomes us; and these will let you know that we have readily granted your two Requests. Nor shall you find us wanting upon any opportunity, which may at any time make manifest our Affection to your Lordship. And this we are apt to believe you will understand more at large from your Agents, whose Fidelity and Diligence in this Affair of yours, in our Court, has bin eminently conspicuous. As to what remains, we most heartily wish the Blessings of Prosperity and Peace, both upon you and your Affairs.

Your Illustrious Lordship's most Affectionate, *Oliver*
Protector of *England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c.*

To the Count of Oldenburgh.

Most Illustrious Lord,

VVE receiv'd your Letters, dated *May 2. from Oldenburgh*, most welcome upon more than one account; as well for that they were full of singular Civility and Good-will towards us, as because they were deliver'd by the hand of the most Illustrious Count *Antony*, your beloved Son; which we look upon as so much the greater Honour, as not having trusted to Report, but with our own Eyes, and by our own Observation discern'd his Vertues becoming such an illustrious Extraction, his noble Manners and Inclinations, and lastly his extraordinary Affection toward our selves. Nor is it be question'd but he displays to his own People the same fair hopes at home, that he will approve himself the Son of a most worthy and most excellent Father, whose signal Vertue and Prudence has all along so manag'd Affairs, that the whole Territory of *Oldenburgh* for many years has enjoy'd a profound Peace, and all the blessings of Tranquillity in the midst of the raging confusions of War thundring on every side. What reason therefore why we should not value such a Friendship that can so wisely and providently shun the Enmity of all men? Lastly, Most Illustrious Lord, 'tis for your Magnificent * Present that we return you Thanks; but 'tis of Right, and your Merits claim, that we are cordially

* *The*
which
him on.
Coach

Westminster,
June 29. 1654.

Your Illustrious Lordship's most Affectionate,
Oliver, &c.

Supercrib'd, *To the most Illustrious Lord, Antony Gunther, Count in Oldenburgh, and Delmenhorst, Lord in Jehvern and Kniphausen.*

Oliver

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c. To the most Serene Prince Charles Gustavus King of the Sweeds, Goths, and Vandals, Great Prince of Finland, Duke of Esthonia, Carelia, Breme, Verden, Stettin in Pomerania, Cassubia and Vandalia; Prince of Rugia, Lord of Ingria, Wismaria; as also Count Palatine of the Rhine, and Duke of Bavaria, Cleves, and Monts, &c. Greeting.

Most Serene King,

THough it be already divulg'd over all the World that the Kingdom of the *Sweeds* is translated to your Majesty with the extraordinary Applause and Desires of the People, and the free Suffrages of all the Orders of the Realm; yet that your Majesty should rather chuse that we should understand the welcome News by your most friendly Letters, than by the common voice of Fame, we thought no small Argument both of your good will toward us, and of the Honour done us among the first. Voluntarily therefore, and of Right we congratulate this accession of Dignity to your egregious Merits, and the most worthy guerdon of so much Vertue. And that it may be lucky and prosperous to your Majesty, to the Nation of the *Sweeds*, and the true Christian Interest, which is also what you chiefly wish, with joint Supplications we implore of God. And whereas your Majesty assures us, That the preserving entire the League and Alliance lately concluded between this Republick and the Kingdom of *Sweden* shall be so far your care, that the present Amity may not only continue firm and inviolable, but if possible, every day encrease and grow to a higher Perfection, to call it into question, would be a piece of Impiety; after the Word of so great a Prince once interpos'd, whose surpassing Fortitude has not only purchas'd your Majesty a hereditary Kingdom in a Foreign Land, but also could so far prevail, that the most august Queen, the Daughter of *Gustavus*, and a Heroess so matchless in all degrees of Praise and masculine Renown, that many Ages backward have not produc'd her equal, surrender'd the most just possession of her Empire to your Majesty, neither expecting nor willing to accept it. Now therefore 'tis our main desire, your Majesty should be every way assur'd, that your so singular Affection toward us, and so eminent a signification of your Mind can be no other than most dear and welcome to us; and that no Combat can offer it self to us more glorious, than such a one wherein we may, if possible, prove victorious in out-doing your Majesty's Civility by our kind Offices that never shall be wanting.

*Westminster,
July 4. 1654.*

Your Majesty's most Affectionate,

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c.

To the most Illustrious Lord, Lewis Mendez de Haro.

WHAT we have understood by your Letters, most Illustrious Lord, that there is an Embassador already nominated and appointed by the most Serene King of *Spain*, on purpose to come and congratulate our having undertaken the Government of the Republick, is not only deservedly acceptable of it self, but render'd much more welcome and pleasing to us by your singular Affection, and the speed of your Civility, as being desirous we should understand it first of all from your self. For, to be so belov'd and approv'd by your Lordship, who by your Vertue and Prudence have obtain'd so great Authority with your Prince, as to preside, his equal in Mind, over all the most important Affairs of that Kingdom, ought to be so much the more pleasing to us, as well understanding that the Judgment of a surpassing Person cannot but be much to our Honour and Ornament. Now as to our cordi-
al

al Inclinations toward the King of *Spain*, and ready Propensity to hold Friendship with that Kingdom, and encrease it to a stricter Perfection, we hope we have already satisfi'd the present Embassador, and shall more amply satisfy the other so soon as he arrives. As to what remains, *Most Illustrious Lord*, we heartily wish the Dignity and Favour wherein you now flourish with your Prince, perpetual to your Lordship; and that whatever Affairs you carry on for the Publick Good, may prosperously and happily succeed.

Whitehall, Sept.
1654.

Your Illustrious Lordship's most Affectionate,

OLIVER, &c.

To the most Serene Prince Charles Gustavus Adolphus, King of the
Sweeds, Goths, and Vandals, &c.

BEing so well assur'd of your Majesty's good Will towards me by your last Letters, in answer to which I wrote back with the same Affection, methinks I should do no more than what our mutual Amity requires, if as I communicate my grateful Tidings to reciprocal Joy, so when contrary Accidents fall out, that I should lay open the Sense and Grief of my Mind to your Majesty, as my dearest Friend. For my part this is my Opinion of my self, That I am now advanc'd to this degree in the Commonwealth, to the end I should consult in the first place, and as much as in me lies, the common Peace of Protestants. Which is the reason, that of necessity it behoves me more grievously to lay to heart what we are sorry to hear concerning the bloody Conflicts and mutual Slaughters of the *Bremeners* and *Sweedes*. But this I chiefly bewail, that being both our Friends, they should so despitefully combat one against another, and with so much danger to the Interests of the Protestants; and that the Peace of *Munster*, which it was thought would have prov'd an Asylum and Safeguard to all the Protestants, should be the occasion of such an unfortunate War, that now the Arms of the *Sweeds* are turn'd upon those whom but a little before, among the rest, they most stoutly defended for Religion's sake; and that this should be done more especially at this time when the Papists are said to persecute the Reformed all over *Germany*, and to return to their intermitted for some time Oppressions, and their pristine Violencies. Hearing therefore that a Truce for some days was made at *Breme*, I could not forbear signifying to your Majesty, upon this opportunity offer'd, how cordially I desire, and how earnestly I implore the God of Peace, that this Truce may prove successfully happy for the Good of both Parties, and that it may conclude in a most firm Peace, by a commodious Accommodation on both sides. To which purpose, if your Majesty judges that my Assistance may any ways conduce, I most willingly offer and promise it, as in a thing, without question, most acceptable to the most Holy God. In the mean time, from the bottom of my heart, I beseech the Almighty to direct and govern all your Counsels for the common Welfare of the Christian Interest, which I make no doubt but that your Majesty chiefly desires.

Whitehall,
Octob. 26. 1654.

Your Majesty's most Affectionate,

OLIVER, &c.

To the Magnificent and most Noble, the Consuls and Senators of the City of
Breme.

BY your Letters deliver'd to us by your Resident *Henry Oldenburgh*, that there is a difference kindled between your City and a most potent Neighbour, and to what straits you are thereby reduc'd, with so much the more Trouble and Grief we understand, by how much the more we love and embrace

brace the City of *Breme*, so eminent, above others, for their Profession of the Orthodox Faith. Neither is there any thing which we account more sacred in our wishes, than that the whole Protestant Name would knit and grow together in brotherly Unity and Concord. In the mean time, most certain it is, that the common Enemy of the Reformed rejoices at these our Dissensions, and more haughtily every where exerts his Fury. But in regard the Controversie which at present exercises your contending Arms, is not within the power of our decision, we implore the Almighty God, that the Truce begun may obtain a happy issue. Assuredly, as to what you desir'd, we have written to the King of the *Swedes*, exhorting him to Peace and Agreement, as being most chiefly grateful to Heaven, and have offer'd our Assistance in so pious a Work. On the other side we likewise exhort your selves to bear an equal Mind, and by no means to refuse any honest Conditions of Reconciliation. And so we recommend your City to Divine Protection and Providence.

Whitchall,
Octob. 26. 1654.

Your Lordship's most Affectionate,
Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

Oliver, Protector of the Republick of England, To the most Illustrious Prince of Tarentum.

YOUR Love of Religion apparently made known in your Letters to us deliver'd, and your excelling Piety and singular Affection to the Reformed Churches, more especially considering the Nobility and Splendor of your Character, and in a Kingdom too wherein there are so many and such abounding hopes propos'd to all of eminent Quality that revolt from the Orthodox Faith, so many Miseries to be undergone by the resolute and constant, gave us an occasion of great Joy and Consolation of Mind. Nor was it less grateful to us, that we had gain'd your good Opinion, upon the same account of Religion, which ought to render your Highness most chiefly belov'd and dear to our selves. We call God to witness, That whatever hopes or expectations the Churches, according to your relation, had of us, we may be able one day to give them satisfaction, if need require, or at least to demonstrate to all Men how much it is our desire never to fail 'em. Nor should we think any fruit of our Labours, or of this Dignity or Supream Employment which we hold in our Republick, greater than that we might be in a condition to be serviceable to the Enlargement, or the Welfare, or which is more sacred, to the Peace of the Reformed Church. In the mean time, we exhort and beseech your Lordship to remain stedfast to the last minute in the Orthodox Religion, with the same Resolution and Constancy as you profess it receiv'd from your Ancestors with Piety and Zeal. Nor indeed can there be any thing more worthy your self, or your religious Parents, nor in consideration of what you have deserv'd of us, though we wish all things for your own sake that we can wish more noble or advantageous to your Lordship, than that you would take such Methods, and apply your self to such Studies, that the Churches, especially of your Native Country, under the Discipline of which your Birth and Genius have render'd you Illustriously happy, may be sensible of so much the more assur'd Security in your Protection, by how much you excel others in Lustre and Ability.

Whitchall,
April —, 1654.

Oliver

Oliver the Protector, &c. To the most Serene Prince, Immanuel Duke of Savoy, Prince of Piemont, Greeting.

Most Serene Prince,

LETTERS have been sent us from *Geneva*, as also from the *Dauphinate*, and many other Places bordering upon your Territories, wherein we are given to understand, That such of your Royal Highness's Subjects as profess the Reformed Religion, are commanded by your Edict, and by your Authority, within three days after the Promulgation of your Edict, to depart their native Seats and Habitations, upon pain of capital Punishment, and Forfeiture of all their Fortunes and Estates, unless they will give Security to relinquish their Religion within twenty days, and embrace the Roman Catholick Faith. And that when they apply'd themselves to your Royal Highness in a most suppliant manner, imploring a Revocation of the said Edict, and that being receiv'd into pristin favour, they might be restor'd to the Liberty granted 'em by your Predecessors, a part of your Army fell upon 'em, most cruelly slew several, put others in Chains, and compell'd the rest to fly into desert Places, and to the Mountains cover'd with Snow, where some hundreds of Families are reduc'd to such Distress, that 'tis greatly to be fear'd they will in a short time all miserably perish through Cold and Hunger. These things, when they were related to us, we could not chuse but be touch'd with extream Grief and Compassion for the Sufferings and Calamities of this afflicted People. Now in regard we must acknowledg our selves link'd together not only by the same tie of Humanity, but by joynt Communion of the same Religion, we thought it impossible for us to satisfy our Duty to God, to brotherly Charity, or our Profession of the same Religion, if we should only be affected with a bare Sorrow for the Misery and Calamity of our Brethren, and not contribute all our Endeavours to relieve and succour 'em in their unexpected Adversity, as much as in us lies. Therefore in a greater measure we most earnestly beseech and conjure your Royal Highness, that you would call back to your Thoughts the Moderation of your most serene Predecessors, and the Liberty by them granted and confirm'd from time to time to their Subjects the *Vaudois*. In granting and confirming which, as they did that which without all question was most grateful to God, who has been pleas'd to reserve the Jurisdiction and Power over the Conscience to himself alone, so there is no doubt but that they had a due consideration of their Subjects also, whom they found stout and most faithful in War, and always obedient in Peace. And as your Royal Serenity in other things most laudably follows the Footsteps of your immortal Ancestors, so we again and again beseech your Royal Highness not to swerve from the Path wherein they trod in this particular; but that you would vouchsafe to abrogate both this Edict, and whatsoever else may be decreed to the Disturbance of your Subjects upon the account of the Reform'd Religion; that you would ratify to 'em their conceded Privileges and pristin Liberty, and command their Losses to be repair'd, and that an end be put to their Oppressions. Which if your Royal Highness shall be pleas'd to see perform'd, you will do a thing most acceptable to God, revive and comfort the miserable in dire Calamity, and most highly oblige all your Neighbours that profess the Reformed Religion, but more especially our selves, who shall be bound to look upon your Clemency and Benignity toward your Subjects, as the fruit of our earnest Solicitation. Which will both engage us to a reciprocal return of all good Offices, and lay the solid Foundations not only of establishing, but encreasing Alliance and Friendship between this Republick and your Dominions. Nor do we less promise this to our selves from your Justice and Moderation; to which we beseech Almighty God to encline your Mind and Thoughts. And so we cordially implore just Heaven to bestow upon your Highness and your People the Blessings of Peace and Truth, and prosperous Success in all your Affairs.

Whitehall,

May —, 1655.

T t t t

Oliver

Oliver, Protector of the Republick of England, to the most Serene Prince of Transilvania, Greeting.

Most Serene Prince,

BY your Letters of the 16th of November, 1654. you have made us sensible of your singular good Will and Affection toward us; and your *Envoy*, who deliver'd those Letters to us, more amply declar'd your desire of contracting Alliance and Friendship with us. Certainly for our parts, we do not a little rejoyce at this Opportunity offer'd us to declare and make manifest our Affection to your Highness, and how great a value we justly set upon your Person. But after fame had reported to us your egregious Merits and Labours undertaken in behalf of the Christian Republick, when you were pleas'd that all these things, and what you have farther in your Thoughts to do in the defence and for promoting the *Christian Interest*, should be in friendly manner imparted to us by Letters from your self, this afforded us a more plentiful occasion of Joy and Satisfaction, to hear that God, in those remoter Regions, had rais'd up to himself so potent and renowned a Minister of his Glory and Providence: And that this great Minister of Heaven, so fam'd for his Courage and Success, should be desirous to associate with us in the common Defence of the Protestant Religion, at this time wickedly assail'd by Words and Deeds. Nor is it to be question'd but that God, who has infus'd into us both, though separated by such a spacious Interval of many Climates, the same Desires and Thoughts of defending the Orthodox Religion, will be our Instructor and Author of the ways and means whereby we may be assistant and useful to our selves and the rest of the Reformed Cities, provided we watch all Opportunities that God shall put into our hands, and be not wanting to lay hold of 'em. In the mean time we cannot without an extream and penetrating Sorrow forbear putting your Highness in mind how unmercifully the Duke of *Savoy* has persecuted his own Subjects, professing the Orthodox Faith, in certain Valleys, at the feet of the *Alps*. Whom he has not only constrain'd by a most severe Edict, as many as refuse to embrace the Catholick Religion, to forsake their native Habitations, Goods and Estates, but has fall'n upon 'em with his Army, put several most cruelly to the Sword, others more barbarously tormented to Death, and driven the greatest number to the Mountains, there to be consum'd with Cold and Hunger, exposing their Houses to the Fury, and their Goods to the Plunder of his Executioners. These things, as they have already been related to your Highness, so we readily assure our selves, that so much Cruelty cannot but be grievously displeasing to your ears, and that you will not be wanting to afford your Aid and Succour to those miserable Wretches, if there be any that survive so many Slaughters and Calamities. For our parts, we have written to the Duke of *Savoy*, beseeching him to remove his incens'd Anger from his Subjects; as also to the King of *France*, that he would vouchsafe to do the same; and lastly, to the Princes of the Reformed Religion, to the end they might understand our Sentiments concerning so fierce and savage a piece of Cruelty. Which though first begun upon those poor and helpless People, however threatens all that profess the same Religion, and therefore imposes upon all a greater necessity of providing for themselves in general, and consulting the common Safety; which is the Course that we shall always follow, as God shall be pleas'd to direct us. Of which your Highness may be assur'd, as also of our Sincerity and Affection to your Serenity, whereby we are engag'd to wish all prosperous Success to your Affairs, and a happy issue of all your Enterprizes and Endeavours, in asserting the Liberty of the Gospel, and the Worshipers of it.

Whitchall,
May —, 1655.

Oliver

Oliver *Protector*, to the most Serene Prince, Charles Gustavus Adolphus,
King of the Swedes, Greeting.

WE make no question but that the fame of that most rigid Edict has reach'd your Dominions; whereby the Duke of *Savoy* has totally ruin'd his Protestant Subjects inhabiting the *Alpine* Valleys, and commanded 'em to be exterminated from their native Seats and Habitations, unless they will give security to renounce their Religion receiv'd from their Forefathers, in exchange for the *Roman* Catholick Superstition, and that within twenty days at farthest; so that many being kill'd, the rest stript to their Skins, and expos'd to most certain Destruction, are now forc'd to wander over desert Mountains, and through perpetual Winter, together with their Wives and Children, half dead with Cold and Hunger: and that your Majesty has laid it to heart, with a pious Sorrow and compassionate Consideration we as little doubt. For that the Protestant Name and Cause, although they differ among themselves in some things of little Consequence, is nevertheless the same in general, and united in one common Interest, the hatred of our Adversaries, alike incens'd against Protestants, very easily demonstrates. Now there is no body can be ignorant, that the Kings of the *Swedes* have always joyn'd with the Reformed, carrying their Victorious Arms into *Germany* in defence of the Protestants without distinction. Therefore we make it our chief Request, and that in a more especial manner to your Majesty, that you would solicit the Duke of *Savoy* by Letters, and by interposing your intermediating Authority, endeavour to avert the horrid Cruelty of this Edict, if possible, from People no less Innocent than Religious. For we think it superfluous to admonish your Majesty whither these rigorous Beginnings tend, and what they threaten to all the Protestants in general. But if he rather chuse to listen to his Anger, than to our joint Intreaties and Intercessions; if there be any Tye, any Charity or Communion of Religion to be believ'd and regarded, upon Consultations duly first communicated to your Majesty, and the chief of the Protestant Princes, some other course is to be speedily taken, that such a numerous multitude of our innocent Brethren may not miserably perish for want of Succour and Assistance. Which in regard we make no question but that it is your Majesty's Opinion and Determination, there can be nothing in our Opinion more prudently resolv'd, than to joyn our Reputation, Authority, Counsels, Forces, and whatever else is needful, with all the speed that may be, in pursuance of so pious a Design. In the mean time we beseech Almighty God to bless your Majesty.

Oliver *Protector*, &c. to the High and Mighty Lords, the States
of the United Provinces.

WE make no question but that you have already bin inform'd of the Duke of *Savoy's* Edict, set forth against his Subjects inhabiting the Valleys at the feet of the *Alps*, ancient Professors of the Orthodox Faith; by which Edict they are commanded to abandon their Native Habitations, stript of all their Fortunes, unless within twenty days they embrace the *Roman Faith*; and with what Cruelty the Authority of this Edict has rag'd against a needy and harmless People, many being slain by the Soldiers, the rest plunder'd and driven from their Houses, together with their Wives and Children, to combat Cold and Hunger among desert Mountains, and perpetual Snow. These things with what commotion of Mind you heard related, what a fellow-feeling of the Calamities of Brethren pierc'd your Breasts, we readily conjecture from the depth of our own Sorrow, which certainly is most heavy and afflictive. For being engag'd together by the same Tye of Religion, no wonder we should be so deeply mov'd with the same Affections upon the dreadful and undeserved Sufferings of our Brethren. Besides, that your conspicuous Piety and Charity toward the Orthodox, wherever overborn and

oppress'd, has bin frequently experienc'd in the most urging Straits and Calamities of the Churches. For my own part, unless my thoughts deceive me, there is nothing wherein I should desire more willingly to be overcome, than in Good-will and Charity toward Brethren of the same Religion, afflicted and wrong'd in their quiet Enjoyments; as being one that would be accounted always ready to prefer the Peace and Safety of the Churches before my particular Interests. So far therefore as hitherto lay in our Power, we have written to the Duke of *Savoy*, even almost to Supplication, beseeching him that he would admit into his Breast more placid Thoughts and kinder Effects of his Favour toward his most Innocent Subjects and Suppliants; that he would restore the Miserable to their Habitations and Estates, and grant 'em their pristine Freedom in the Exercise of their Religion. Moreover, we wrote to the chiefeft Princes and Magistrates of the *Protestants*, whom we thought most nearly concern'd in these Matters, that they would lend us their Assistance to intreat and pacify the Duke of *Savoy* in their behalf. And we make no doubt but you have done the same, and perhaps much more. For this so dangerous a Precedent, and lately renew'd Severity of utmost Cruelty toward the Reformed, if the Authors of it meet with prosperous Success, to what apparent Dangers it reduces our Religion, we need not admonish your Prudence. On the other side, If the Duke shall once but permit himself to be aton'd, and won by our united Applications, not only our afflicted Brethren, but we our selves shall reap the noble and abounding Harvest and reward of this laborious Undertaking. But if he still persist in the same obstinate Resolutions of reducing to utmost Extremity those People, among whom our Religion was either disseminated by the first Doctors of the Gospel, and preserv'd from the Defilement of Superstition, or else restor'd to its pristine Sincerity long before other Nations obtain'd that Felicity, and determines their utter Extirpation and Destruction; we are ready to take such other Course and Counsels with your selves, in common with the rest of our Reformed Friends and Confederates, as may be most necessary for the preservation of Just and Good Men, upon the brink of inevitable Ruin; and to make the Duke himself sensible, that we can no longer neglect the heavy Oppressions and Calamities of our Orthodox Brethren. Farewel.

To the Evangelick Cities of Switzerland.

WE make no question but the late Calamity of the *Piemontois*, professing our Religion, reached your Ears before the unwelcome News of it arriv'd with us: Who being a People under the protection and jurisdiction of the Duke of *Savoy*, and by a severe Edict of their Prince commanded to depart their Native Habitations, unless within three days they gave Security to embrace the *Roman* Religion, soon after were assail'd by armed Violence, that turn'd their Dwellings into Slaughter-houses, while others, without Number, were terrifi'd into Banishment, where now naked and afflicted, without House or Home, or any Covering from the Weather, and ready to perish through hunger and cold, they miserably wander thorough desert Mountains, and depths of Snow, together with their Wives and Children. And far less reason have we to doubt, but that so soon as they came to your knowledg, you laid these things to heart, with a Compassion no less sensible of their multipli'd Miseries, than our selves; the more deeply imprinted perhaps in your minds, as being next Neighbours to the Sufferers. Besides, that we have abundant proof of your singular Love and Affection for the Orthodox Faith, of your Constancy in retaining it, and your Fortitude in defending it. Seeing then, by the more strict Communion of Religion, that you, together with our selves, are all Brethren alike, or rather one Body with those unfortunate People, of which no Member can be afflicted without the feeling, without pain, without the detriment and hazard of the rest; we thought it convenient to write to your Lordships concerning this Matter, and let you understand how much we believe it to be the general

ral Interest of us all, as much as in us lies, with our common Aid and Succour, to relieve our exterminated and indigent Brethren; and not only to take care for removing their Miseries and Afflictions, but also to provide that the Mischief spread no farther, nor incroach upon our selves in general, encourag'd by Example and Success. We have written Letters to the Duke of *Savoy*, wherein we have most earnestly besought him, out of his wonted Clemency, to deal more gently and mildly with his most faithful Subjects, and to restore 'em, almost ruin'd as they are, to their Goods and Habitations. And we are in hopes, that by these our Intreaties, or rather by the united Intercessions of us all, the most Serene Prince at length will be atton'd, and grant what we have requested with so much importunity. But if his Mind be obstinately bent to other Determinations, we are ready to communicate our Consultations with yours, by what most prevalent means to relieve and re-establish most innocent Men, and our most dearly beloved Brethren in Christ, tormented and overlaid with so many Wrongs and Oppressions; and preserve 'em from inevitable and undeserved Ruin. Of whose Welfare and Safety, as I am assur'd, that you, according to your wonted Piety, are most cordially tender; so, for our own parts, we cannot but in our Opinion prefer their Preservation before our most important Interests, even the safeguard of our own Life. Farewel.

Westminster, May 19.
1655.

O. P.

Superscrib'd, To the most Illustrious and Potent Lords, the Consuls and Senators of the Protestant Cantons and Confederate Cities of *Switzerland*, Greeting.

To the most Serene and Potent Prince, Lewis King of France.

Most Serene and Potent King;

BY your Majesty's Letters which you wrote in answer to ours of the 25th of *May*, we readily understand, that we fail'd not in our Judgment, that the inhuman Slaughter, and barbarous Massacres of those Men who profess the Reformed Religion in *Savoy*, perpetrated by some of your Regiments, were the Effects neither of your Orders nor Commands. And it afforded us a singular occasion of Joy, to hear that your Majesty had so timely signifi'd to your Colonels and Officers, whose violent Precipitancy engag'd 'em in those inhuman Butcheries without the encouragement of lawful Allowance, how displeasing they were to your Majesty; that you had admonish'd the Duke himself to forbear such Acts of Cruelty; and that you had interpos'd with so much Fidelity and Humanity, all the high Veneration paid you in that Court, your near Alliance and Authority, for restoring to their ancient Abodes those unfortunate Exiles. And it was our hopes, That that Prince would in some measure have condescended to the good Pleasure and Intercessions of your Majesty. But finding not any thing obtain'd, either by your own, nor the Intreaties and Importunities of other Princes in the Cause of the Distressed, we deem'd it not foreign from our Duty to send this Noble Person, under the Character of our Extraordinary Envoy, to the Duke of *Savoy*, more amply and fully to lay before him, how deeply sensible we are of such exasperated Cruelties inflicted upon the Professors of the same Religion with our selves, and all this too out of a hatred of the same Worship. And we have reason to hope a Success of this Negotiation so much the more prosperous, if your Majesty would vouchsafe to employ your Authority and Assistance once again with so much the more urgent Importunity; and as you have undertaken for those Indigent People, that they will be Faithful and Obedient to their Prince, so you would be graciously pleas'd to take care of their Welfare and Safety, that no farther Oppressions of this nature, no more such dismal Calamities may be the Portion of the Innocent and Peaceful.

This

This being truly royal and just in it self, and highly agreeable to your Benignity and Clemency, which every where protects in soft security so many of your Subjects professing the same Religion, we cannot but expect, as it behoves us, from your Majesty. Which Act of yours, as it will more closely bind to your Subjection all the *Protestants* throughout your spacious Dominions, whose *Affection and Fidelity to your Predecessors and your self in most important Distresses have bin often conspicuously made known*; so will it fully convince all Foreign Princes, that the Advice or Intention of your Majesty were no way contributory to this prodigious Violence, whatever inflam'd your Ministers and Officers to promote it. More especially, if your Majesty shall inflict deserved Punishment upon those Captains and Ministers, who of their own Authority, and to gratifie their own Wills, adventur'd the perpetrating such dreadful Acts of Inhumanity. In the mean while, since your Majesty has assur'd us of your justly merited Aversion to these most inhuman and cruel Proceedings, we doubt not but you will afford a secure Sanctuary and Shelter within your Kingdom to all those miserable Exiles that shall flye to your Majesty for Protection; and that you will not give permission to any of your Subjects to assist the Duke of *Savoy* to their prejudice. It remains that we make known to your Majesty, how highly we esteem and value your Friendship: In testimony of which, we farther affirm there shall never be wanting upon all occasions the real assurances and effects of our Protestation.

White-Hall, July 29. 1655.

Your Majesty's most affectionate, *Oliver*
Protector of the Commonwealth of
England, &c.

To the most Eminent Lord, Cardinal Mazarine.

Most Eminent Lord Cardinal,

HAVING deem'd it necessary to send this Noble Person to the King with Letters, a Copy of which is here enclos'd, we gave him also farther in charge to salute your Excellency in our Name, as having entrusted to his Fidelity certain other matters to be communicated to your Eminency. In reference to which Affairs, I intreat your Eminency to give him entire Credit, as being a Person in whom I have repos'd a more than ordinary Confidence.

White-Hall, July 29. 1655.

Your Eminency's most affectionate,
Oliver Protector of the Common-
wealth of *England.*

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, to the most Serene Prince, Frederick III. King of Denmark, Norway, &c.

WITH what a severe and unmerciful Edict *Immanuel* Duke of *Savoy* has expell'd from their Native Seats his Subjects inhabiting the Valleys of *Piemont*, Men otherwise harmless, only for many years remarkably famous for embracing the Purity of Religion; and after a dreadful slaughter of some numbers, how he has expos'd the rest to the Hardships of those desert Mountains, stript to their Skins, and barr'd from all Relief, we believe your Majesty has long since heard, and doubt not but your Majesty is touch'd with a real Commiseration of their Sufferings, as becomes so puissant a Defender and Prince of the Reformed Faith: For indeed the Institutions of Christian Religion require, that whatever Mischiefs and Miseries any part of us undergo, it should behove us all to be deeply sensible of the same: Nor does any Man better than your Majesty foresee, if we may be thought able to give a right conjecture of your Piety and Prudence, what dangers the success and example of this Fact portend to our selves in particular, and to the whole

whole Protestant Name in general. We have written the more willingly to your self, to the end we might assure your Majesty, that the same Sorrow which we hope you have conceiv'd for the Calamity of our most innocent Brethren, the same Opinion, the same Judgment you have of the whole matter, is plainly and sincerely our own. We have therefore sent our Letters to the Duke of *Savoy*, wherein we have most importunately besought him to spare those miserable People that implore his Mercy, and that he would no longer suffer that dreadful Edict to be in force: Which if your Majesty and the rest of the Reformed Princes would vouchsafe to do, as we are apt to believe they have already done, there is some hope that the Anger of the most Serene Duke may be asswag'd, and that his Indignation will relent upon the Intercession and Importunities of his Neighbour Princes. Or if he persist in his Determinations, we protest our selves ready, together with your Majesty, and the rest of our Confederates of the Reformed Religion, to take such speedy methods as may enable us, as far as in us lies, to relieve the Distresses of so many miserable Creatures, and provide for their Liberty and Safety. In the mean time we beseech Almighty God to bless your Majesty with all Prosperity.

White-hall, May—1655.

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. to the most Noble the Consuls and Senators of the City of Geneva.

VVE had before made known to your Lordships our excessive Sorrow for the heavy and unheard of Calamities of the Protestants inhabiting the Valleys of *Piemont*, whom the Duke of *Savoy* persecutes with so much Cruelty, but that we made it our business that you should at the same time understand that we are not only affected with the multitude of their Sufferings, but are using the utmost of our Endeavours to relieve and comfort 'em in their Distresses. To that purpose we have taken care for a gathering of Alms to be made throughout this whole Republick; which upon good grounds we expect will be such, as will demonstrate the Affection of this Nation toward their Brethren labouring under the burden of such horrid Inhumanities; and that as the Communion of Religion is the same between both People, so the sense of their Calamities is no less the same. In the mean time while the Collections of the Money go forward, which in regard they will require some time to accomplish, and for that the Wants and Necessities of those deplorable People will admit of no delay, we thought it requisite to remit beforehand two thousand Pounds of the Value of *England*, with all possible speed to be distributed among such as shall be judg'd to be most in present need of Comfort and Succour. Now in regard we are not ignorant how deeply the Miseries and Wrongs of those most innocent People have affected your selves, and that you will not think amiss of any Labour or Pains where you can be assisting to their Relief, we made no scruple to commit the paying and distributing this Sum of Money to your Care; and to give ye this farther trouble, that according to your wonted Piety and Prudence, you would take care that the said Money may be distributed equally to the most necessitous, to the end that though the Sum be small, yet there may be something to refresh and revive the most poor and needy, till we can afford 'em a more plentiful Supply. And thus, not making any doubt but you will take in good part the trouble impos'd upon ye, we beseech Almighty God to stir up the Hearts of all his People professing the Orthodox Religion, to resolve upon the common Defence of themselves, and the mutual Assistance of each other against their imbitter'd and most implacable Enemies: In the prosecution of which we should rejoyce that our helping hand might be any way serviceable to the Church. Farewel.

Fifteen hundred Pounds of the foresaid two thousand will be remitted by Gerard Hench from Paris, and the other five hundred Pounds will be taken care of by Letters from the Lord Stoup.

June 8. 1655.

Oliver

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. to the most Serene Prince, the Duke of Venice.

Most Serene Prince,

AS it has bin always a great occasion of rejoycing to us when ever any prosperous Success attended your Arms, but more especially against the common Enemy of the Christian Name ; so neither are we sorry for the late Advantage gain'd by your Fleet, though as we understand, it happen'd not a little to the Detriment of our People : For certain of our Merchants, *William* and *Daniel Williams*, and *Edward Beale*, have set forth in a Petition presented to us, that a Ship of theirs, call'd the *Great Prince*, was lately sent by them with Goods and Merchandize to *Constantinople*, where the said Ship was detain'd by the Ministers of the *Port*, to carry Souldiers and Provisions to *Crete* ; and that the said Ship being constrain'd to sail along with the same Fleet of the *Turks*, which was set upon and vanquish'd by the Gallies of the *Venetians*, was taken, carri'd away to *Venice*, and there adjudg'd lawful Prize by the Judges of the Admiralty. Now therefore in regard the said Ship was press'd by the *Turks*, and forc'd into their Service without the Knowledg or Consent of the Owners directly or indirectly obtain'd, and that it was impossible for her, being ship'd with Souldiers, to withdraw from the Engagement, we most earnestly request your Serenity, that you will remit that Sentence of your Admiralty, as a Present to our Friendship, and take such care that the Ship may be restor'd to the Owners, no way deserving the Displeasure of your Republick by any Act of theirs. In the obtaining of which request, more especially upon our Intercession, while we find the Merchants themselves so well assur'd of your Clemency, it behoves us not to question it. And so we beseech the Almighty God to continue his prosperous Blessings upon your noble Designs, and the *Venetian Republick*.

Westminster, Decemb.—1655.

Your Serenity's, and the *Venetian Republick's*
most affectionate, *Oliver Protector* of the
Commonwealth of *England, &c.*

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. to the most Serene Prince, Lewis King of France.

Most Serene King,

CERTAIN of our Merchants, by name *Samuel Mico*, *William Cockain*, *George Poyner*, and several others, in a Petition to us have set forth, That in the year 1650. they laded a Ship of theirs, call'd the *Unicorn*, with Goods of a very considerable Value ; and that the said Ship being thus laden with Silk, Oil, and other Merchandize, amounting to above thirty four thousand of our Pounds, was taken by the Admiral and Vice-Admiral of your Majesty's Fleet in the *Mediterranean Sea*. Now it appears to us, that our People who were then in the Ship, by reason there was at that time a Peace between the *French* and us, that never had bin violated in the least, were not willing to make any Defence against your Majesty's Royal Ships, and therefore overrul'd besides by the fair Promises of the Captains *Paul* and *Terrery*, who faithfully engag'd to dismiss our People, they paid their Obedience to the Maritime Laws, and produc'd their Bills of Lading. Moreover, we find that the Merchants aforesaid sent their Agent into *France* to demand Restitution of the said Ship and Goods : And then it was, that after above three Years slipt away, when the Suit was brought so far that Sentence of Restitution or Condemnation was to have bin given, that his Eminency Cardinal *Mazarine* acknowledg'd to their Factor *Hugh Morel*, the Wrong that has bin done the Merchants, and undertook that Satisfaction should be given, so soon as the League between the two Nations, which was then under Negotiation, should

should be ratifi'd and confirm'd. Nay, since that, his Excellency M. de Bourdeaux, your Majesty's Embassador, assur'd us in exprefs words, by the Command of your Majesty and your Council, That care should be taken of that Ship and Goods in a particular Exception, apart from those Controversies, for the decision of which a general Provision was made by the League; of which promise, the Embassador, now opportunely arriv'd here to solicit some business of his own, is a Testimony no way to be question'd. Which being true, and the right of the Merchants in redemanding their Ship and Goods so undeniably apparent, we most earnestly request your Majesty, that they may meet with no delay in obtaining what is justly their due, but that your Majesty will admit the grant of this Favour, as the first fruits of our reviv'd Amity, and the lately renew'd League between us. The refusal of which, as we have no reason to doubt, so we beseech Almighty God to bless with all Prosperity both your Majesty and your Kingdom.

Westminster,
Dec. — 1655.

Your Majesty's most Affectionate,

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c.

To the Evangelic Cities of Switzerland.

IN what Condition your Affairs are, which is not the best, we are abundantly inform'd, as well by your publick Acts transmitted to us by our Agent at Geneva, as also by your Letters from Zurich, bearing date the 27th of December. Whereby, although we are sorry to find your Peace, and such a lasting League of Confederacy broken; nevertheless since it appears to have happen'd through no fault of yours, we are in hopes that the iniquity and perverseness of your Adversaries are contriving new occasions for ye to make known your long-ago experienc'd Fortitude and Resolution in defence of the Evangelick Faith. For as for those of the Canton of Schwits, who account it a capital Crime for any Person to embrace our Religion, what they are might and main designing, and whose instigations have incens'd 'em to resolutions of Hostility against the Orthodox Religion, no body can be ignorant, who has not yet forgot that most detestable Slaughter of our Brethren in Piemont. Wherefore, most beloved Friends, what you were always wont to be, with God's Assistance still continue, Magnanimous and Resolute; suffer not your Privileges, your Confederacies, the Liberty of your Consciences, your Religion it self to be trampled under foot by the worshippers of Idols; and so prepare your selves, that you may not seem to be the Defenders only of your own Freedom and Safety, but be ready likewise to aid and succour, as far as in you lies, your neighbouring Brethren, more especially those most deplorable Piedmontois; as being certainly convinc'd of this, that a Passage was lately intended to have bin open'd over their slaughter'd Bodies to your sides. As for our part be assur'd, that we are no less anxious and solicitous for your Welfare and Prosperity, than if this conflagration had broken forth in our Republick; or as if the Axes of the Schwits Canton had bin sharpen'd for our Necks, or that their Swords had bin drawn against our Breasts, as indeed they were against the bosoms of all the Reformed. Therefore so soon as we were inform'd of the Condition of your Affairs, and the obstinate Animosities of your Enemies, advising with some sincere and honest Persons, together with some Ministers of the Church most eminent for their Piety, about sending to your Assistance such Succour as the present posture of our Affairs would permit, we came to those Results which our Envoy Pell will impart to your Consideration. In the mean time we cease not to implore the Blessing of the Almighty upon all your Counsels, and the Protection of your most just Cause, as well in War as in Peace.

Westminster,
Jan. -- 1655.

Your Lordships and Worships most Affectionate, Oliver
Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene Prince Charles Gustavus, by the Grace of God King of the Swedes, Goths and Vandals, Great Prince of Finland, &c.

Most Serene King,

Seeing it is a thing well known to all men, that there ought to be a Communication of Concerns among Friends, whether in Prosperity or Adversity; it cannot but be most grateful to us, that your Majesty should vouchsafe to impart unto us by your Letters the most pleasing and delightful part of your Friendship, which is your joy. In regard it is a mark of singular Civility, and truly Royal, as not to live only to a man's self, so neither to rejoyce alone, unless he be sensible that his Friends and Confederates partake of his gladness. Certainly then, we have reason to rejoyce for the Birth of a young Prince born to such an excellent King, and sent into the World to be the Heir of his Father's Glory and Vertue; and this at such a lucky season, that we have no less cause to congratulate the Royal Parent with the memorable Omen that befel the famous Philip of Macedon, who at the same time receiv'd the Tydings of Alexander's Birth, and the Conquest of the Illyrians. For we make no question, but the wresting of the Kingdom of Poland from Papal Subjection, as it were a Horn dismembred from the Head of the Beast, and the Peace so much desir'd by all Good men, concluded with the Duke of Brandenburg, will be most highly conducing to the Tranquillity and Advantage of the Church. Heaven grant a Conclusion correspondent to such signal beginnings; and may the Son be like the Father in Vertue, Piety, and Renown, obtain'd by great Atchievements. Which is that we wish may luckily come to pass, and which we beg of the Almighty, so propitious hitherto to your Affairs.

Westminster,
Feb. --- 1655.

Your Majesty's most Affectionate, Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

To the King of Denmark.

Most Serene and Potent Prince,

John Freeman and Philip Travess, Citizens of this Republick, by a Petition presented to us, in their own and the Name of several other Merchants of London, have made a Complaint, That whereas about the Month of March in the year 1653. they freighted a certain Ship of *Sunderburgh*, call'd the *Saviour*, Nicolas Weinskinks Master, with Woollen Cloth, and other Commodities to the Value of above three thousand Pound, with Orders to the Master that he should sail directly up the *Baltick* for *Dantzick*, paying the usual Tribute at *Elsenore*, to which purpose in particular they gave him Money; nevertheless that the said Master, perfidiously and contrary to the Orders of the said Merchants, slipping by *Elsenore* without paying the usual Duty, thought to have proceeded in his Voyage, but that the Ship for this reason was immediately seiz'd and detain'd with all her Lading. After due consideration of which Complaints, we wrote in favour of the Merchants to your Majesty's Ambassador residing at London, who promis'd, as they say, that as soon as he return'd to your Majesty, he would take care that the Merchants should be taken into Consideration. But he being sent to negotiate your Majesty's Affairs in other Countries, the Merchants attended upon him in vain, both before and after his departure; so that they were forc'd to send their Agent to prosecute their Right and Claim at *Copenhagen*, and demand Restitution of the Ship and Goods; but all the benefit they reap'd by it, was only to add more expences to their former damages, and a great deal of labour and pains thrown away; the Goods being condemn'd to Confiscation, and still detain'd: Whereas by the Law of *Denmark*, as they set forth in their Petition, the Master is to be punish'd for his Offence, and the Ship is to be condemn'd, but not

not the Goods. And they look upon this misfortune to lie the more heavy upon 'em; in regard the Duty which is to be paid at *Elfenore*, as they tell us, is but very small. Wherefore seeing our Merchants seem to have given no cause of Proscription, and for that the Master confess'd before his Death, that this damage befel them only through his neglect; and the Father of the Master deceas'd, by his Petition to your Majesty, as we are given to understand, by laying all the blame upon his Son, has acquitted the Merchants, we could not but believe the detaining of the said Ship and Goods to be most unjust; and therefore we are confident, that so soon as your Majesty shall be rightly inform'd of the whole matter, you will not only disapprove of these Oppressions of your Ministers, but give command that they be call'd to an account; that the Goods be restor'd to the Owners or their Factors, and Reparation made 'em for the Losses they have sustain'd. All which we most earnestly request of your Majesty, as being no more than what is so just and consentaneous to reason, that a more equitable demand, or more legal Satisfaction cannot well be made, considering the Justice of our Merchants Cause, and which your own Subjects would think but fair and honest upon the like occasions.

To the most Serene Prince, John the Fourth, King of Portugal, &c.

Most Serene King,

THE Peace and Friendship which your Majesty desir'd, by your noble and splendid Embassy sent to us some time since, after certain Negotiations begun by the Parliament, in whom the Supream Power was vested at that time, as it was always most affectionately wish'd for by us, with the assistance of God, and that we might not be wanting in the Administration of the Government which we have now taken upon us, at length we brought to a happy Conclusion, and as we hope, as a sacred Act, have ratifi'd it to perpetuity. And therefore we send back to your Majesty your extraordinary Ambassador, the Lord *John Roderigo de Sita Meneses*, Count of *Pennaguiada*, a Person both approv'd by your Majesty's judgment, and by us experienc'd to excel in Civility, Ingenuity, Prudence and Fidelity, besides the merited applause which he has justly gain'd by accomplishing the ends of his Embassy, which is the Peace which he carries along with him to his Country. But as to what we perceive by your Letters dated from *Lisbon* the second of *April*, that is to say, how highly your Majesty esteems our Amity, how cordially you favour our Advancement, and rejoice at our having taken the Government of the Republick upon us, which you are pleas'd to manifest by singular Testimonies of Kindness and Affection, we shall make it our business, that all the World may understand, by our readiness at all times to serve your Majesty, that there could be nothing more acceptable or grateful to us. Nor are we less earnest in our Prayers to God for your Majesty's safety, the welfare of your Kingdom, and the prosperous success of your Affairs.

Your Majesty's most Affectionate, *Oliver, &c.*

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the High and Mighty States of the United Provinces.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends;

Certain Merchants, our Country-men, *Thomas Bassel*, *Richard Beare*, and others their Co-Partners, have made their Complaints before us, That a certain Ship of theirs, the *Edmund and John*, in her Voyage from the Coast of *Brasile* to *Lisbon*, was set upon by a Privateer of *Flushing*, call'd the *Red-Lyon*, commanded by *Lambert Bartelson*, but upon this condition, which the writing sign'd by *Lambert* himself testifies, That the Ship and whatsoever Goods belong'd to the *English* should be restor'd at *Flushing*: where when the Vessel

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arriv'd;

arriv'd, the Ship indeed with what peculiarly belong'd to the Seamen was restor'd, but the *English* Merchants Goods were detain'd and put forthwith to sale: For the Merchants who had receiv'd the Damage, when they had su'd for their Goods in the Court of *Flushing*, after great Expences for five years together, lost their Suit by the pronouncing of a most unjust Sentence against 'em by those Judges, of which some being interested in the Privateer, were both Judges and Adversaries, and no less criminal altogether. So that now they have no other hopes but only in your Equity and uncorrupted Faith, to which at last they fly for Succour; and which they believ'd they should find the more inclinable to do 'em Justice, if assist'd by our Recommendation. And men are surely to be pardon'd, if, afraid of all things in so great a struggle for their Estates, they rather call to mind what they have reason to fear from your Authority and high Power, than what they have to hope well of their Cause, especially before sincere and upright Judges: Though for our parts we make no question, but that induc'd by your Religion, your Justice, your Integrity, rather than by our Intreaties, you will give that Judgment which is just and equal, and truly becoming your selves. God preserve both you and your Republick to his own Glory, and the defence and succour of his Church.

Westminster,
April 1. 1656.

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of
England, &c.

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c. To the most Serene Prince, Charles Gustavus, King of the Swedes, Goths and Vandals, Great Prince of Finland, Duke of Esthonia, Carelia, Breme, Verden, Stettin, Pomerania, Cassubia and Vandalia, Prince of Rugia, Lord of Ingria and Wismaria, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria, Juliers, Cleves and Monts.

Most Serene Prince,

Peter Julius Coijt having accomplish'd the Affairs of his Embassy with us, and so acquitted himself, that he is not by us to be dismiss'd without the Ornament of his deserved Praises, is now returning to your Majesty. For he was most acceptable to us, as well and chiefly for your own sake, which ought with us to be of high Consideration, as for his own deserts in the diligent acquittal of his Trust. The Recommendation therefore which we receiv'd from you in his behalf, we freely testify to have bin made good by him, and deservedly given by your self; as he on the other side is able with the same Fidelity and Integrity to relate and most truly to declare our singular Affection and Observance toward your Majesty. It remains for us to beseech the most merciful and all-powerful God to bless your Majesty with all Felicity, and a perpetual course of Victory over all the Enemies of his Church.

Westminster,
April 17. 1656.

Your Majesty's most Affectionate,

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of
England, &c.

Oliver,

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince, Lewis King of France.

Most Serene Prince,

JOHN Dethic, Mayor of the City of London for this Year, and William Wakefield Merchant, have made their Addresses to us by way of Petition, complaining, That about the middle of October, 1649. they freighted a certain Ship call'd the *Jonas* of London, *Jonas Lightfoot* Master, with Goods that were to be sent to *Ostend*; which Vessel was taken in the Mouth of the River *Thames*, by one *White* of *Barking*, a Pyrate, robbing upon the Seas by virtue of a Commission from the Son of King *Charles* deceas'd, and carry'd to *Dunkirk*, then under the Jurisdiction of the French. Now in regard that by your Majesty's Edict in the Year 1647, renew'd in 1649. and by some other Decrees in favour of the Parliament of England, as they find it recorded, it was enacted, That no Vessel or Goods taken from the *English*, in the time of that War, should be carry'd into any of your Majesty's Ports to be there put to sale, they presently sent their Factor *Hugh Morel* to *Dunkirk*, to demand Restitution of the said Ship and Goods from *M. Leftrade* then Governor of the Town; more especially finding them in the place for the most part untouch'd, and neither exchang'd or sold. To which the Governor made answer, That the King had bestow'd that Government upon him of his free Gift for Service done the King in his Wars, and therefore he would take care to make the best of the Reward of his Labour. So that having little to hope from an Answer so unkind and unjust, after a great Expence of Time and Money, the Factor return'd home. So that all the remaining hopes which the Petitioners have, seem wholly to depend upon your Majesty's Justice and Clemency, to which they thought they might have the more easy access by means of our Letters; and therefore that neither your Clemency nor your Justice may be wanting to People despoil'd against all Law and Reason, and contrary to your repeated Prohibitions, we make it our Request. Wherein, if your Majesty vouchsafe to gratify us, since there is nothing requir'd but what is most just and equitable, we shall deem it as obtain'd rather from your innate Integrity, than any Intreaty of ours.

Your Majesty's most Affectionate,

Westminster,
May —, 1656. Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the United Provinces.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends;

JOHN Brown, Nicholas Williams, and others, Citizens of London, have set forth in their Petition to us, that when they had every one brought in their Proportions, and freighted a certain Ship call'd the *Good-hope* of London, bound for the *East-Indies*, they gave Orders to their Factor to take up at *Amsterdam* two thousand four hundred Dutch Pounds, to insure the said Ship; that afterwards this Ship in her Voyage to the Coast of *India* was taken by a Ship belonging to the *East-India Company*; upon which they who had engag'd to insure the said Vessel refus'd to pay the Money, and have for this six Years by various delays eluded our Merchants, who with extraordinary Diligence, and at vast Expences, endeavour'd the recovery of their just Right. Which in regard it is an unjust Grievance that lies so heavy upon the Petitioners, for that some of those who oblig'd themselves are dead or become insolvent, therefore that no farther Losses may accrue to their former Damages, we make it our earnest Request to your Lordships, that you will vouchsafe your Integrity to be the Harbour and Refuge for People toss'd so many Years, and almost shipwrack'd in your Courts of Justice, and that speedy Judgment may be given according to the Rules of Equity and Honesty in their Cause, which they

they believe to be most just. In the mean time we wish you all Prosperity to the Glory of God, and the Welfare of his Church.

Westminster,
May —, 1656.

Your High and Mighty Lordships most Affectionate,
Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the United Provinces.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends ;

THE same Persons in whose behalf we wrote to your Lordships in *September* the last year, *Thomas and William Lower*, the lawful Heirs of *Nicholas Lower* deceased, make grievous Complaints before us, that they are oppress'd either by the Favour or Wealth of their Adversaries, notwithstanding the Justice of their Cause; and when that would not suffice, although our Letters were often pleaded in their behalf, they have not been able hitherto to obtain Possession of the Inheritance left 'em by their Father's Will. From the Court of *Holland*, where the Suit was first commenc'd, they were sent to your Court, and from thence hurry'd away into *Zealand*, (to which three Places they carry'd our Letters) and now they are remanded, not unwillingly, back again to your supream Judicature; for where the supream Power is, there they expect supream Justice. If that hope fail 'em, eluded and frustrated, after being so long tofs'd from post to pillar for the recovery of their Right, where at length to find a resting place they know not. For as for our Letters, if they find no benefit of these the fourth time written, they can never promise themselves any advantage for the future from slighted Papers. However it would be most acceptable to us, if yet at length, after so many contempts, the injur'd Heirs might meet with some Relief by a speedy and just Judgment, if not out of respect to any Reputation we have among ye, yet out of a regard to your own Equity and Justice. Of the last of which we make no question, and confidently presume you will allow the other to our Friendship.

Westminster,
May —, 1656.

Your High and Mighty Lordships most Affectionate,
Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene Prince, John King of Portugal.

Most Serene King,

WHEREAS there is a considerable Sum of Money owing from certain *Portugal* Merchants of the *Brasile* Company to several *English* Merchants, upon the account of Freightage and Demorage, in the Years 1649 and 1650, which Money is detain'd by the said Company by your Majesties Command, the Merchants before-mention'd expected that the said Money should have been paid long since according to the Articles of the last League, but now they are afraid of being debarr'd all hopes and means of recovering their Debts; understanding your Majesty has order'd, That what Money is owing to 'em by the *Brasile* Company, shall be carry'd into your Treasury, and that no more than one half of the Duty of Freightage shall be expended toward the Payment of their Debts; by which means the Merchants will receive no more than the bare Interest of their Money, while at the same time they utterly lose their Principal. Which we considering to be very severe and heavy upon 'em, and being overcome by their most reasonable Supplications, have granted 'em these our Letters to your Majesty; chiefly requesting this at your hands, to take care that the aforesaid *Brasile* Company may give speedy Satisfaction to the Merchants of this Republick, and pay 'em not only the Principal Mo-
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ney which is owing to 'em, but the five Years Interest ; as being both just in it self, and conformable to the League so lately concluded between us ; which on their behalf in most friendly manner we request from your Majesty.

From our Palace at Westminster, July —, 1656.

Your Majesty's most Affectionate,
Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth, &c.

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene Prince Charles Gustavus, King of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, &c.

Most Serene King,

AS it is but just that we should highly value the Friendship of your Majesty, a Prince so potent and so renown'd for great Atchievements ; so is it but equally reasonable that your Extraordinary Embassador, the most illustrious Lord *Christiern Bond*, by whose Sedulity and Care a strict Alliance is most sacredly and solemnly ratifi'd between us, should be most acceptable to us, and no less deeply fix'd in our esteem. Him therefore, having now most worthily accomplish'd his Embassy, we thought it became us to send back to your Majesty, though not without the high Applause which the rest of his singular Vertues merit ; to the end, that he who was before conspicuous in your esteem and respect, may now be sensible of his having reap'd still more abundant fruits of his Sedulity and Prudence from our Recommendation. As for those things which yet remain to be transacted, we have determin'd in a short time to send an Embassy to your Majesty for the settling of those Affairs. In the mean time Almighty God preserve in Safety so great a Pillar of his Church, and of *Swedeland's* Welfare.

From our Palace at Westminster, July —, 1656.

Your Majesty's most Affectionate,
Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene Prince Lewis King of France.

Most Serene King, our most dear Friend and Confederate ;

CERTAIN Merchants of *London*, *Richard Baker* and others, have made their Complaint in a Petition to us, That a certain hir'd Ship of theirs, call'd the *Endeavour*, *William Jop* Master, laden at *Teneriff* with three hundred Pipes of rich Canary, and bound from thence for *London*, in her Voyage between *Palma* and that Island, upon the 21st of *November*, in the Year 1655. was taken by four French Vessels, seeming Ships of Burden, but fitted and mann'd like Privateers, under the Command of *Giles de la Roche* their Admiral, and carri'd with all her Freight, and the greatest part of the Seamen to the *East-Indies*, whither he pretended to be bound, (fourteen excepted, who were put ashore upon the Coast of *Guiney*) which the said *Giles* affirm'd he did with that intent, that none of 'em might escape from so remote and barbarous a Country, to do him any harm by their Testimony. For he confess'd he had neither any Commission to take the English Vessels, neither had he taken any, as he might have done before, well knowing there was a firm Peace at that time between the French and our Republick : But in regard he had design'd to revittle in *Portugal*, from whence he was driven by contrary Winds, he was constrain'd to supply his necessities with what he found in that Vessel ; and believ'd the Owners of his Ships would satisfy the Merchants for their Loss. Now the Loss of our Merchants amounts to sixteen thousand English Pounds, as will easily be made appear by Witnesses upon Oath. But if it shall be

be lawful, upon such trivial Excuses as these, for Pyrates to violate the most religious Acts of Princes, and make a sport of Merchants for their particular Benefits, certainly the Sanctity of Leagues must fall to the ground, all Faith and Authority of Princes will grow out of date, and be tramp'd under foot. Wherefore we not only request your Majesty, but believe it mainly to concern your Honour, that they who have adventur'd upon so light a pretence to violate the League and most sacred Oath of their Sovereign, should suffer the Punishment due to so much Perfidiousness and daring Insolence; and that in the mean time the Owners of those Ships, though to their Loss, should be bound to satisfy our Merchants for the vast Detriment which they have so wrongfully sustain'd. So may the Almighty long preserve your Majesty, and support the Interest of *France* against the common Enemy of us both.

From our Palace at Westminster, Aug. —, 1656.

Your Majesty's most Affectionate,

Oliver, Protector, &c.

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, To his Eminency Cardinal Mazarine.

Most Eminent Lord,

HAVING an occasion to send Letters to the King, we thought it likewise an offer'd opportunity to write to your Eminency. For we could not think it proper to conceal the subject of our writing from the sole and only Person, whose singular Prudence governs the most important Interests of the French Nation, and the most weighty Affairs of the Kingdom with equal Fidelity, Counsel and Vigilance. Not without reason we complain, in short, to find that League by your self, as it were a crime to doubt, most sacredly concluded, almost the very same day contemn'd and violated by one *Giles* a French-man, a petty Admiral of four Ships, and his Associates equally concern'd, as your Eminency will readily find by our Letters to the King, and the Demands themselves of our Merchants. Nor is it unknown to your Excellency, how much it concerns not only inferiour Magistrates, but even Royal Majesty it self, that those first Violators of solemn Alliances should be severely punish'd. But they, perhaps, by this time being arriv'd in the *East-Indies*, whither they pretended to be bound, enjoy in undisturb'd possession the Goods of our People as lawful Prize won from an Enemy, which they robb'd and pillag'd from the Owners, contrary to all Law, and the pledg'd Faith of our late sacred League. However, this is that which we request from your Eminency, That whatever Goods were taken from our Merchants by the Admiral of those Ships, as necessary for his Voyage, may be restor'd by the Owners of the same Vessels, which was no more than what the Rovers themselves thought just and equal; which, as we understand, it lies within your Power to do, considering the Authority and Sway you bear in the Kingdom.

Your Eminencies most Affectionate,

From our Palace at Westminster, Aug. —, 1656.

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth, &c.

Oliver,

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the^{most}
High and Mighty Lords, the States of the United Provinces.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dear Friends and Confederates ;

WE make no doubt but that all Men will bear us this Testimony, That no Considerations, in contracting Foreign Alliances, ever sway'd us beyond those of defending the Truth of Religion, or that we accounted any thing more sacred, than to unite the Minds of all the Friends and Protectors of the *Protestants*, and of all others who at least were not their Enemies. Whence it comes to pass, that we are touch'd with so much the more grief of Mind, to hear that the Protestant Princes and Cities, whom it so much behoves to live in Friendship and Concord together, should begin to be so jealous of each other, and so ill dispos'd to mutual Affection; more especially, that your Lordships and the King of *Sweden*, than whom the Orthodox Faith has not more magnanimous and courageous Defenders, nor our Republick Confederates more strictly conjoin'd in Interests, should seem to remit of your Confidence in each other; or rather, that there should appear some too apparent Signs of tottering Friendship and growing Discord between ye. What the Causes are, and what Progress this Alienation of your Affection has made, we protest our selves to be altogether ignorant. However, we cannot but conceive an extraordinary trouble of mind for these beginnings of the least Dissension arisen among Brethren, which infallibly must greatly endanger the Protestant Interests. Which if they should gather strength, how prejudicial it would prove to the Protestant Churches, what an occasion of Triumph it would afford our Enemies, and more especially the *Spaniards*, cannot be unknown to your Prudence, and most industrious Experience of Affairs. As for the *Spaniards*, it has already so enliven'd their Confidence, and rais'd their Courage, that they made no scruple by their Embassador residing in your Territories, boldly to obtrude their Counsels upon your Lordships, and that in reference to the highest Concerns of your Republick; presuming partly with Threats of renewing the War, to terrify; and partly with a false prospect of Advantage to solicit your Lordships to forsake your ancient and most faithful Friends, the *English*, *French* and *Danes*, and enter into a strict Confederacy with your old Enemy, and once your domineering Tyrant, now seemingly aton'd; but what is most to be fear'd, only at present treacherously fawning to advance his own Designs. Certainly he, who of an inveterate Enemy, lays hold of so slight an occasion of a sudden to become your Counsellor, what is it that he would not take upon him? Where would his Insolency stop, if once he could but see with his eyes, what now he only ruminates and labours in his thoughts; that is to say, Division, and a Civil War among the Protestants? We are not ignorant that your Lordships, out of your deep Wisdom, frequently revolve in your Minds what the Posture of all *Europe* is, and what more especially the Condition of the Protestants: That the Cantons of *Switzerland* adhering to the Orthodox Faith, are in daily expectation of new Troubles to be rais'd by their Country-men embracing the Popish Ceremonies; scarcely recover'd from that War, which for the sake of Religion was kindled and blown up by the *Spaniards*, who suppli'd their Enemies both with Commanders and Money: That the Councils of the *Spaniards* are still contriving to continue the Slaughter and Destruction of the *Piemontois*, which was cruelly put in execution the last Year: That the Protestants under the Jurisdiction of the Emperor, are most grievously harass'd, having much ado to keep possession of their native Homes: That the King of *Sweden*, whom God, as we hope, has rais'd up to be a most stout Defender of the Orthodox Faith, is at present waging with all the Force of his Kingdom, a doubtful and bloody War with the most Potent Enemies of the Reformed Religion: That your own Provinces are threatned with hostile Confederacies of the Princes your Neighbours, headed by the *Spaniards*; and lastly, that we our selves are busied in a War proclaim'd against the King of *Spain*. In this posture of Affairs, if any Contest should happen between your Lordships and the King of *Sweden*, how miserable would be the condition of all the

Reformed Churches over all *Europe*, expos'd to the Cruelty and Fury of un-sanctifi'd Enemies? These Cares not slightly seize us; and we hope your Sentiments to be the same; and that out of your continu'd Zeal for the common Cause of the Protestants, and to the end the present Peace between Brethren professing the same Faith, the same hope of Eternity, may be preserv'd inviolable, your Lordships will accommodate your Counsels to these Considerations, which are to be preferr'd before all others; and that you will leave nothing neglected that may conduce to the establishing Tranquillity and Union between your Lordships and the King of *Sweden*. Wherein if we can any way be useful, as far as our Authority, and the Favour you bear us will sway with your Lordships, we freely offer our utmost Assistance, prepared in like manner to be no less serviceable to the King of *Sweden*, to whom we design a speedy Embassy, to the end we may declare our Sentiments at large concerning these Matters. We hope moreover, that God will bend your Minds on both sides to moderate Counsels, and so restrain your Animosities, that no Provocation may be given, either by the one or the other, to fester your Differences to extremity: But that on the other side both Parties will remove whatever may give offence or occasion of jealousy to the other. Which if you shall vouchsafe to do, you will disappoint your Enemies, prove the Consolation of your Friends, and in the best manner provide for the Welfare of your Republick. And this we beseech you to be fully convinc'd of, that we shall use our utmost care to make appear, upon all occasions, our extraordinary Affection and Good-will to the States of the *United Provinces*. And so we most earnestly implore the Almighty God to perpetuate his Blessings of Peace, Wealth and Liberty, upon your Republick; but above all things to preserve it always flourishing in the Love of the Christian Faith, and the true Worship of his Name. *From our Palace at Westminster, Aug. — 1656.*

Your High and Mightinesses most Affectionate, *Oliver* Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, to the most Serene Prince, John King of Portugal.

Most Serene Prince;

UPON the 11th of July last, *Old-style*, we receiv'd by *Thomas Maynard* the Ratification of the Peace negotiated at *London* by your extraordinary Ambassador; as also of the private and preliminary Articles, all now confirm'd by your Majesty: And by our Letters from *Philip Meadows*, our Agent at *Lisbon*, dated the same time, we understand that our Ratification also of the same Peace and Articles, was by him, according to our Orders sent him, deliver'd to your Majesty: And thus the Instruments of the foremention'd Ratification being mutually interchang'd on both sides in the beginning of *June* last, there is now a firm and settl'd Peace between both Nations. And this Pacification has given us no small occasion of Joy and Satisfaction, as believing it will prove to the common Benefit of both Nations, and to the no slight detriment of our common Enemies, who as they found out a Means to disturb the former League, so they left nothing neglected to have hinder'd the renewing of this. Nor do we question in the least, that they will omit any occasion of creating new Matter for Scandals and Jealousies between us. Which we however have constantly determin'd, as much as in us lies, to remove at a remote distance from our thoughts; rather we so earnestly desire, that this our Alliance may beget a mutual Confidence, greater every day than other, that we shall take them for our Enemies, who shall by any Artifices endeavour to molest the Friendship by this Peace establish'd between our selves and both our People. And we readily perswade our selves, that your Majesty's Thoughts and Intentions are the same. And whereas it has pleas'd your Majesty, by your Letters dated the 24th of *June*, and some days after the delivery by our Agent of the interchang'd Instrument of confirm'd Peace,

to mention certain Clauses of the League, of which you desir'd some little Alteration, being of small moment to this Republick, as your Majesty believes, but of great importance to the Kingdom of *Portugal*; we shall be ready to enter into a particular Treaty in order to those Proposals made by your Majesty, or whatever else may conduce, in the judgment of both Parties, to the farther establishment and more strongly fastning of the League: wherein we shall have those due Considerations of your Majesty and your Subjects, as also of our own People, that all may be satisfi'd; and it shall be in your choice, whether these things shall be negotiated at *Lisbon*, or at *London*. However, the League being now confirm'd, and duly seal'd with the Seals of both Nations; to alter any part of it, would be the same thing as to annul the whole; which we are certainly assur'd your Majesty by no means desires to do. We heartily wish all things lucky, all things prosperous to your Majesty. *From our Palace at Westminster, August—1656.*

Your Majesty's most Affectionate, *Oliver* Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene Prince, John King of Portugal.

Most Serene King;

WE have receiv'd the unwelcome News of a wicked and inhuman Attempt to have murder'd our Agent *Philip Meadows*, residing with your Majesty, and by us sent upon the blessed Errand of Peace; the hainousness of which was such, that his Preservation is only to be attributed to the protection of Heaven. And we are given to understand, by your Letters dated the 26th of *May* last, and deliver'd to us by *Thomas Maynard*, that your Majesty, justly incens'd at the horridness of the Fact, has commanded enquiry to be made after the Criminals, to the end they may be brought to condign Punishment: But we do not hear that any of the Ruffians are yet apprehended, or that your Commands have wrought any effect in this Particular. Wherefore we thought it our Duty openly to declare, how deeply we resent this barbarous Outrage in part attempted, and in part committed: And therefore we make it our Request to your Majesty, That due Punishment may be inflicted upon the Authors, Associates, and Encouragers of this abominable Fact. And to the end that this may be the more speedily accomplish'd, we farther demand, That Persons of Honesty and Sincerity, well-wishers to the Peace of both Nations, may be entrusted with the Examination of this Business, that so a due Scrutiny may be made into the bottom of this malicious Contrivance, to the end both Authors and Assistants may be the more severely punish'd. Unless this be done, neither your Majesty's Justice, nor the Honour of this Republick can be vindicated; neither can there be any stable assurance of the Peace between both Nations. We wish your Majesty all things fortunate and prosperous. *From our Palace at Whitehall, August—1656.*

Your Majesty's most Affectionate, *Oliver* Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

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Oliver

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most
Illustrious Lord, the Conde d'Odemira.

Most Illustrious Lord,

YOur singular Good-will towards us and this Republick, has laid no mean Obligation upon us, nor slightly ti'd us to acknowledgment. We readily perceiv'd it by your Letters of the 25th of June last, as also by those which we receiv'd from our Agent *Philip Meadows*, sent into *Portugal* to conclude the Peace in Agitation, wherein he inform'd us of your extraordinary Zeal and Diligence to promote the Pacification, of which we most joyfully receiv'd the last Ratification; and we perswade our selves, that your Lordship will have no cause to repent either of your Pains and Diligence in procuring this Peace, or of your Good-will to the *English*, or your Fidelity towards the King, your Sovereign; more especially considering the great hopes we have that this Peace will be of high Advantage to both Nations, and not a little inconvenient to our Enemies. The only Accident that fell out unfortunate and mournful in this Negotiation, was that unhallow'd Villany nefariously attempted upon the Person of our Agent, *Philip Meadows*: The conceal'd Authors of which intended piece of Inhumanity, ought no less diligently to be sought after, and made Examples to Posterity, than the vilest of most openly detected Assassins. Nor can we doubt in the least of your King's Severity and Justice in the punishment of a Crime so horrid, nor of your Care and Sedulity to see that there be no remissness of Prosecution, as being a Person bearing due Veneration to the Laws of God, and Sanctity among Men, and no less zealous to maintain the Peace between both Nations; which never can subsist if such inhuman Barbarities as these escape unpunish'd and unreveng'd. But your abhorrence and detestation of the Fact is so well known, that there is no need of insisting any more at present upon this unpleasing Subject. Therefore, having thus declar'd our Good-will and Affection to your Lordship, of which we shall be always ready to give apparent Demonstrations, there nothing remains, but to implore the Blessings of Divine Favour and Protection upon you, and all yours.

From our Palace at
Westminster,
Aug.—1656.

Your Lordship's most affectionate, *Oliver*.
Protector of the Commonwealth of
England, &c.

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. to the most
Serene Prince Charles Gustavus, King of the Swedes, Goths and
Vandals, &c.

Most Serene King; our dearest Friend and Confederate;

BEing assur'd of your Majesty's Concurrence both in Thoughts and Counsels, for the defence of the Protestant Faith against the Enemies of it, if ever, now at this time most dangerously vexatious; though we cannot but rejoyce at your prosperous Successes, and the daily tidings of your Victories, yet on the other side we cannot but be as deeply afflicted to meet with one thing that disturbs and interrupts our Joy; we mean the bad News intermix'd with so many welcome Tidings, that the antient Friendship between your Majesty and the *States of the United Provinces*, looks with a dubious Aspect, and that the Mischief is exasperated to that height, especially in the *Baltick Sea*, as seems to bode an unhappy Rupture. We confess our selves ignorant of the Causes; but we too easily foresee that the Events, which God avert, will be fatal to the Interests of the Protestants. And therefore, as well in respect to that most strict Alliance between us and your Majesty, as out of that Affection and Love to the Reformed Religion, by which we all of us ought chiefly to be sway'd, we thought it our duty, as we
have

have most earnestly exhorted the States of the *United Provinces* to Peace and Moderation, so now to perswade your Majesty to the same. The Protestants have Enemies every where enow and to spare, inflam'd with inexorable Revenge; they never were known to have conspir'd more perniciously to our Destruction, witness the Valleys of *Piemont*, still reaking with the Blood and Slaughter of the miserable; witness *Austria*, lately turmoil'd with the Emperor's Edicts and Proscriptions; witness *Switzerland*. But to what purpose is it in many words to call back the bitter lamentations and remembrance of so many Calamities? Who so ignorant, as not to know that the Counsels of the *Spaniards*, and the *Roman Pontiff*, for these two Years have fill'd all these Places with Conflagrations, Slaughter, and Vexation of the *Orthodox*? If to these Mischiefs there should happen an access of Dissension among Protestant Brethren, more especially between two Potent States, upon whose Courage, Wealth and Fortitude, so far as human Strength may be reli'd upon, the Support and Hopes of all the Reformed Churches depend, of necessity the Protestant Religion must be in great jeopardy, if not upon the brink of Destruction. On the other side, if the whole Protestant Name would but observe perpetual Peace among themselves with that same brotherly Union as becomes their Profession, there would be no occasion to fear what all the Artifices or Puissance of our Enemies could do to hurt us, which our fraternal Concord and Harmony alone would easily repel and frustrate. And therefore we most earnestly request and beseech your Majesty to harbour in your Mind propitious thoughts of Peace, and Inclinations ready bent to repair the Breaches of your pristin Friendship with the *United Provinces*, if in any part it may have accidentally suffer'd the decays of Mistakes or Misconstruction. If there be any thing wherein our Labour, our Fidelity and Diligence may be useful toward this Composure, we offer and devote all to your service. And may the God of Heaven favour and prosper your noble and pious Resolutions, which together with all Felicity, and a perpetual course of Victory we cordially wish to your Majesty. •

From our Palace at
Westminster,
Aug. — 1656.

Your Majesty's most affectionate, *Oliver*
Protector of the Commonwealth of
England, &c.

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the States of Holland.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends;

IT has bin represented to us, by *William Cooper* a Minister of *London*, and our Country-man, that *John le Maire* of *Amsterdam*, his Father-in-law, about three and thirty Years ago devis'd a Project, by which the Revenues of your Republick might be very much advanc'd without any burden to the People, and made an Agreement with *John Vandebrook* to share between 'em the Reward which they should obtain for their Invention, which was the settling of a *little Seal* to be made use of in all the Provinces of your Territories, and for which your *High and Mightinesses* promis'd to pay the said *Vandebrook* and his Heirs the yearly Sum of 3000 *Gilders*, or 300 *English* Pounds. Now although the use and method of this *little Seal* has bin found very easy and expeditious, and that ever since great Incomes have thereby accru'd to your *High and Mightinesses*, and some of your Provinces, nevertheless nothing of the said Reward, tho with much importunity demanded, has bin paid to this day; so that the said *Vandebrook* and *le Maire* being tir'd out with long delays, the Right of the said Grant is devolv'd to the foresaid *William Cooper*, our Country-man; who desirous to reap the fruit of his Father-in-law's Industry, has petition'd us, that we would recommend his just Demands to your *High and Mightinesses*, which we thought not reasonable to deny him. Wherefore, in most friendly wise, we request your *High and Mightinesses* favourably to hear the Petition of the said *William Cooper*, and to
make

take such care that the Reward and Stipend, so well deserv'd, and by contract agreed and granted, may be paid him annually from this time forward, together with the Arrears of the Years already pass'd. Which not doubting but your *High and Mightinesses* will vouchsafe to perform, as what is no more than just and becoming your Magnificence, we shall be ready to shew the same favour to the Petitions of your Country-men upon any occasions of the same nature, whenever presented to us.

From our Palace at
White-Hall, Sep-
tember — 1656.

Your High and Mightinesses most
affectionate, *Oliver* Protector of
the Commonwealth, &c.

*Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most
Serene Prince, Lewis King of France.*

Most Serene King, our dearest Friend and Confederate;

Against our will it is that we so often trouble your Majesty with the Wrongs done by your Subjects, after a Peace so lately renew'd. But as we are fully perswaded that your Majesty disapproves their being committed, so neither can we be wanting to the Complaints of our People. That the Ship *Anthony* of *Dieppe* was legally taken before the League, manifestly appears by the Sentence of the Judges of our Admiralty-Court. Part of the Lading, that is to say, four thousand Hides, *Robert Brown*, a Merchant of *London*, fairly bought of those who were entrusted with the Sale, as they themselves testify. The same Merchant, after the Peace was confirm'd, carri'd to *Dieppe* about two hundred of the same Hides, and there having sold 'em to a Currier, thought to have receiv'd his Money, but found it stopt and attach'd in the hands of his Factor; and a Suit being commenc'd against him, he could obtain no favour in that Court: Wherefore, we thought it proper to request your Majesty, that the whole matter may be referr'd to your Council, that so the said Money may be discharg'd from an unjust and vexatious Action. For if Acts done and adjudg'd before the Peace, shall after Peace renew'd be call'd into question and controversy, we must look upon assurance of Treaties to be a thing of little moment. Nor will there be any end of these Complaints, if some of these Violators of Leagues be not made severe and timely Examples to others. Which we hope your Majesty will speedily take into your Care. To whom God Almighty in the mean time vouchsafe his most holy Protection.

From our Palace at
White-Hall, Sep-
tember — 1656.

Your Majesty's most affectionate, *Oliver*
Protector of the Commonwealth of
England, &c.

*Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most
Serene Prince, John King of Portugal.*

Most Serene King,

THE Peace being happily concluded between this Republick and the Kingdom of *Portugal*, and what refers to Trade being duly provided for and ratifi'd, we deem'd it necessary to send to your Majesty *Thomas Maynard*, from whom you will receive these Letters, to reside in your Dominions, under the Character and Employment of a *Consul*, and to take care of the Estates and Interests of our Merchants. Now in regard it may frequently so fall out, that he may be enforc'd to desire the Privilege of free Admission to your Majesty, as well in matters of Trade, as upon other occasions for the Interest of our Republick, we make it our request to your Majesty, that you

you will vouchsafe him favourable Access and Audience, which we shall acknowledge as a singular demonstration and testimony of your Majesties good Will towards us. In the mean time we beseech Almighty God to bless your Majesty with all Prosperity. *From our Court at Westminster, Octob. — 1656.*

Your Majesty's most Affectionate, *Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.*

To the King of the Swedes.

Most Serene and Potent King,

Although your Majesty's wonted and spontaneous Favour and Good-will toward all deserving men be such, that all recommendations in their behalf may seem superfluous, yet we were unwilling to dismiss without our Letters to your Majesty, this noble Person, *William Kavassour* Knight, serving under your Banners, and now returning to your Majesty: Which we have done so much the more willingly, being inform'd, that formerly following your Majesty's fortunate Conduct, he had lost his Blood in several Combats to assert the noble Cause for which you fight. Inasmuch, that the succeeding Kings of *Sweden* in remuneration of his Military Skill, and bold Achievements in War, rewarded him with Lands and Annual Pensions, as the Guer-dons of his Prowess. Nor do we question but that he may be of great use to your Majesty in your present Wars, who has bin so long conspicuous for his Fidelity and Experience in Military Affairs. 'Tis our desire therefore that he may be recommended to your Majesty according to his Merits; and we also farther request, That he may be paid the Arrears due to him. This, as it will be most acceptable to us, so we shall be ready upon the like occasion, whenever offer'd, to gratify your Majesty, to whom we wish all Happiness and Prosperity.

Your Majesty's most Affectionate, *Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.*

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene Prince, John King of Portugal.

Most Serene King, our dearest Friend and Confederate;

Thomas Evans, a Master of a Ship, and our Country-man, has presented a Petition to us, wherein he sets forth, that in the years 1649, and 1650, he serv'd the *Brasile* Company with his Ship the *Scipio*, being a Vessel of four hundred Tuns, and of which he was Master: that the said Ship was taken from him, with all the Lading and Furniture by your Majesties Command; by which he has receiv'd great Damage, besides the loss of six years gain arising out of such a Stock. The Commissioners by the League appointed on both sides for the deciding Controversies, valu'd the whole at seven thousand of our Pounds, or twice as many *Milreys* of *Portugal* Money, as they made their report to us. Which Loss falling so heavy upon the foresaid Thomas, and being constrain'd to make a Voyage to *Lisbon* for the recovery of his Estate, he humbly besought us that we would grant him our Letters to your Majesty in favour of his demands. We therefore, although we wrote the last year in behalf of our Merchants in general to whom the *Brasile* Company was indebted, nevertheless that we may not be wanting to any that implore our Aid, request your Majesty, in regard to that Friendship which is between us, that consideration may be had of this man in particular, and that your Majesty would give such Orders to all your Ministers and Officers, that no obstacle may hinder him from demanding and recovering without delay, what is owing to him from the *Brasile* Company, or any other Persons. God Almighty bless your Majesty with perpetual Felicity, and grant that our Friendship may long endure. *From our Palace at Westminster, Octob. — 1656.*

Your Majesty's most Affectionate, *Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.*

Oliver

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the Illustrious and Magnificent Senate of Hamborough.

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Right Worshipful ;

JAMES and Patrick Hays, Subjects of this Commonwealth, have made grievous Complaint before us, That they being lawful Heirs of their Brother Alexander, who dy'd Intestate, were so declar'd by a Sentence of your Court pronounc'd in their behalf against their Brother's Widow ; and the Estates of their deceas'd Brother, together with the Profits, only the Widows Dowry excepted, being adjudg'd to them by virtue of that Sentence ; nevertheless, to this very day they could never reap any benefit of their Pains and Expences in obtaining the said Judgment, notwithstanding their own declar'd Right, and Letters formerly written by King Charles in their behalf ; for that the great Power and Wealth of *Albert van Eyzen*, one of your Chief Magistrates, and with whom the greatest part of the Goods was deposited, was an Opposition too potent for them to surmount, whilst he strove all that in him lay that the Goods might not be restor'd to the Heirs. Thus disappointed and tir'd out with delays, and at length reduc'd to utmost Poverty, they are become suppliants to us that we would not forsake 'em, wrong'd and oppress'd as they are in a Confederated City. We therefore believing it to be a chief part of our duty, not to suffer any Country-man of ours in vain to desire our Patronage and Succour in distress, make this request to your Lordships, which we are apt to think we may easily obtain from your City, That the Sentence pronounc'd in behalf of the two Brothers may be ratifi'd and duly executed according to the Intents and Purposes for which it was given ; and that you will not suffer any longer delay of Justice, by any Appeal to the Chamber of *Spire*, upon any pretence whatever : For we have requir'd the Opinions of our Lawyers, which we have sent to your Lordships fairly written and sign'd. But if intreaty and fair means will nothing avail, of necessity (and which is no more than according to the customary Law of Nations, though we are unwilling to come to that extremity) the severity of Retaliation must take its course ; which we hope your Prudence will take care to prevent. *From our Palace at Westminster, Octob. 16. 1656.*

Your Lordships most Affectionate, *Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.*

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Lewis, King of France.

Most Serene and Potent King, our dearest Friend and Confederate ;

WE are apt to believe that your Majesty receiv'd our Letters dated the 14th of May, of the last year, wherein we wrote that *John Dethic*, Mayor of *London* that year, and *William Waterford*, Merchant, had by their Petition set forth, That a certain Vessel call'd the *Jonas*, freighted with Goods upon their Accompt, and bound for *Dunkirk*, then under the Jurisdiction of the *French*, was taken at the very Mouth of the *Thames*, by a Sea-Rover, pretending a Commission from the Son of the late King Charles : Which being directly contrary to your Edicts, and the Decrees of your Council, That no *English* Ship taken by the Enemies of the *Parlament*, should be admitted into any of your Ports, and there put to sale, they demanded Restitution of the said Ship and Goods from *M. Lestrade*, then Governour of the Town, who return'd 'em an answer no way becoming a Person of his Quality, or who pretended Obedience to his Sovereign ; That the Government was confer'd upon him for his good Service in the Wars, and therefore he would make his best advantage of it, that is to say, by right or wrong ; for that he seem'd to drive at : As if he had receiv'd that Government of your Majesties free Gift,

to authorize him in the robbing your Confederates, and condemning your Edicts set forth in their favour. For what the King of *France* forbids his Subjects any way to have a hand in, that the King's Governor has not only suffer'd to be committed in your Ports, but he himself becomes the Pirate, seizes the Prey, and openly avouches the Fact. With this Answer therefore the Merchants departed, altogether baffl'd and disappointed; and this we signify'd by our Letters to your Majesty the last year with little better success; for as yet we have receiv'd no reply to those Letters. Of which we are apt to believe the reason was, because the Governor was with the Army in *Flanders*; but now he resides at *Paris*, or rather flutters unpunish'd about the City, and at Court, enrich'd with the Spoils of our Merchants. Once more therefore, we make it our request to your Majesty, which it is your Majesty's Interest in the first place to take care of, That no person whatever may dare to justify the wrongs done to your Majesty's Confederates by the contempt of your Royal Edicts. Nor can this cause be properly referr'd to the Commissioners appointed for deciding common Controversies on both sides; since in this Case, not only the rights of Confederates, but your Authority it self, and the Veneration due to the Royal Name, are chiefly in dispute. And it would be a wonder, that Merchants should be more troubled for their Losses, than your Majesty provok'd at Inroachments upon your Honour. Which while you disdain to brook, with the same labour you will demonstrate that you neither repent of your friendly Edicts in favour of our Republick, nor conniv'd at the Injuries done by your Subjects, nor neglected to give due respect to our demands. *From our Court at Westminster, Novemb. — 1656.*

Your Majesty's most bounden by Good-will, by Friendship and Solemn League, *Oliver* Protector of the Commonwealth, &c.

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince, Frederick III. King of Denmark, Norway, the Vandals and Goths; Duke of Sleswic, Holfatia, Stormatia and Ditmarsh; Count in Oldenburgh and Delmenhorst, &c.

Most Serene and Potent King, our dearest Friend and Confederate;

VWE receiv'd your Majesty's Letters, dated the 16th of *February*, from *Copenhagen*, by the most worthy *Simon de Pitkum*, your Majesty's Agent here residing. Which when we had perus'd, the demonstrations of your Majesty's Good-will towards us, and the importance of the Matter concerning which you write, affected us to that degree, that we design'd forthwith to send to your Majesty some Person, who being furnish'd with ample Instructions from us, might more at large declare to your Majesty our Counsels in that Affair. And tho we have still the same Resolutions, yet hitherto we have not been at leisure to think of a Person proper to be entrusted with those Commands which the weight of the matter requires; tho in a short time we hope to be more at liberty. In the mean while we thought it not convenient any longer to delay the letting your Majesty understand, that the present Condition of Affairs in *Europe* has employ'd the greatest part of our Care and Thoughts; while for some Years, to our great grief, we have beheld the Protestant Princes, and Supream Magistrates of the Reformed Republicks, (whom it rather behoves, as being engag'd by the common Tye of Religion and Safety, to combine and study all the ways imaginable conducing to mutual Defence) more and more at weakning Variance among themselves, and jealous of each other's Actions and Designs; putting their Friends in fear, their Enemies in hope, that the posture of Affairs bodes rather Enmity and Discord, than a firm Agreement of mind to defend and assist each other. And this sollicitude has fix'd it self so much the deeper in our thoughts, in regard there seems to appear some sparks of Jealousy between your Majesty and the King of *Sweden*; at least, that there is not that conjunction of Affections,

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fections, which our Love and good Will in general toward the Orthodox Religion so importunately requires: Your Majesty, perhaps, suspecting that the Trade of your Dominions will be prejudic'd by the King of *Sweden*; and on the other side, the King of *Sweden* being jealous, that by your means the War, which he now wages, is made more difficult, and that you oppose him in his contracting those Alliances which he seeks. 'Tis not unknown to your Majesty, so eminent for your profound Wisdom, how great the Danger is that threatens the Protestant Religion, should such Suspicious long continue between two such potent Monarchs; more especially, which God avert, if any Symptom of Hostility should break forth. However it be, for our parts, as we have earnestly exhorted the King of *Sweden*, and the States of the *United Provinces* to Peace, and moderate Counsels, (and are beyond expression glad to behold Peace and Concord renew'd between them, for that the Heads of that League are transmitted to us by their Lordships the States General) so we thought it our Duty, and chiefly becoming our Friendship not to conceal from your Majesty what our Sentiments are concerning these Matters, (more especially being affectionately invited so to do by your Majesty's most friendly Letters, which we look upon, and embrace, as a most singular Testimony of your good Will toward us) but to lay before your eyes how great a necessity Divine Providence has impos'd upon us all that profess the Protestant Religion, to study Peace among our selves, and that chiefly at this time, when our most embittered Enemies seem to have on every side conspir'd our Destruction. There's no necessity of calling to remembrance the Valleys of *Piedmont* still besmear'd with the Blood and Slaughter of the miserable Inhabitants; nor *Austria*, tormented at the same time with the Emperor's Decrees and Proscriptions; nor the impetuous Onsets of the Popish upon the Protestant *Switzers*. Who can be ignorant that the Artifices and Machinations of the *Spaniards*, for some Years last past, have fill'd all these places with the confus'd and blended havock of Fire and Sword? To which unfortunate Pile of Miseries, if once the Reformed Brethren should come to add their own Dissensions among themselves, and more especially two such potent Monarchs, the chiefest part of our Strength, and among whom so large a provision of the Protestants Security and Puissance lies stor'd and hoarded up against Times of Danger, most certainly the Interests of the Protestants must go to ruin, and suffer a total and irrecoverable Eclipse. On the other side, If Peace continue firmly fix'd between two such powerful Neighbours, and the rest of the Orthodox Princes; if we would but make it our main Study to abide in brotherly Concord, there would be no cause, by God's assistance, to fear neither the Force nor Subtilty of our Enemies; all whose Endeavours and laborious Toils our Union alone would be able to dissipate and frustrate. Nor do we question but that your Majesty, as you are freely willing, so your Willingness will be constant in contributing your utmost Assistance to procure this blessed Peace. To which purpose we shall be most ready to communicate and join our Counsels with your Majesty; professing a real and cordial Friendship, and not only determin'd inviolably to observe the Amity so auspiciously contracted between us, but, as God shall enable us, to bind our present Alliance with a more strict and fraternal Bond. In the mean time, the same eternal God grant all things prosperous and successful to your Majesty.

From our Court at White-
hall, Decemb. —, 1656.

Your Majesties most closely united by Friendship,
Alliance and good Will,

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

Oliver,

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonweath of England, &c. To the most Serene and Illustrious Prince and Lord, the Lord William, Lantgrave of Hefs, Prince of Herefeldt, Count in Cutzenellebogen, Decia Ligenhain, Widda and Schaunburg, &c.*

Most Serene Prince,

WE had return'd an Answer to your Letters sent us now near a Twelve-month since, for which we beg your Highness's Pardon, had not many, and those the most important Affairs of the Republick under our care, constrain'd us to this unwilling Silence. For what Letters could be more grateful to us, then those which are written from a most religious Prince, descended from religious Ancestors, in order to settle the Peace of Religion, and the Harmony of the Church? Which Letters attribute to us the same Inclinations, the same Zeal to promote the Peace of Christendom, not only in your own, but in the Opinion and Judgment of almost all the Christian World, and which we are most highly glad to find so universally ascrib'd to our selves. And how far our Endeavours have been signal formerly throughout these three Kingdoms, and what we have effected by our Exhortations, by our Sufferings, by our Conduct, but chiefly by Divine Assistance, the greatest part of our People both well know, and are sensible of, in a deep Tranquillity of their Consciences. The same Peace we have wish'd to the Churches of *Germany*, whose Dissentions have been too sharp, and of too long endurance; and by our Agent *Dury*, for many Years in vain endeavouring the same Reconciliation, we have cordially offer'd whatever might conduce on our part to the same purpose. We still persevere in the same Determinations, and wish the same fraternal Charity one among another, to those Churches. But how difficult a task it is to settle Peace among those Sons of Peace, as they give out themselves to be, to our extream Grief, we more then abundantly understand: For that the Reformed, and those of the *Augustan* Confession, should cement together in a Communion of one Church, is hardly ever to be expected: 'Tis impossible by Force to prohibit either from defending their Opinions, whether in private Disputes, or by publick Writings. For Force can never consist with Ecclesiastical Tranquillity. This only were to be wish'd, that they who differ, would suffer themselves to be entreated, that they would disagree more civilly, and with more Moderation; and notwithstanding their Disputes, love one another; not imbitter'd against each other as Enemies, but as Brethren, dissenting only in Trifles, though in the Fundamentals of Faith most cordially agreeing. With inculcating and perswading these things, we shall never be wearied; beyond that, there is nothing allow'd to human Force or Counsels: God will accomplish his own work in his own time. In the mean while, you, most Serene Prince, have left behind ye a noble Testimony of your Affection to the Churches, an eternal Monument becoming the Vertue of your Ancestors, and an Exemplar worthy to be follow'd by all Princes. It only then remains for us to implore the merciful and great God to crown your Highness with all the Prosperity in other things which you can wish for; but not to change your Mind, then which you cannot have a better, since a better cannot be, nor more piously devoted to his Glory.

Westminster, March —, 1656.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene Prince, the Duke of Curland.*

Most Serene Prince,

WE have been abundantly satisfy'd of your Affection to us, as well at other times, as when you kindly entertain'd our Embassador in his Journey to the Duke of *Muscovy*, for some days together making a stop in your Territories: Now we are no less confident that your Highness will give

us no less obliging Testimonies of your Justice and Equity, as well out of your own good Nature, as at our Request. For we are given to understand, That one *John Johnson*, a Scotchman, and Master of a certain Ship of yours, having faithfully discharg'd his Duty for seven years together in the Service of your Highness, as to your Highness is well known, at length deliver'd the said Ship, call'd the *Whale*, in the Mouth of the River, according as the Custom is, to one of your Pilots, by him to be carried safe into Harbour. But it so fell out, that the Pilot being ignorant of his Duty, though frequently warned and admonish'd by the said *Johnson*, as he has prov'd by several Witnesses, the said Ship ran aground and split to pieces, not through any fault of the Master, but through the want of Skill, or Obstinacy of the Pilot. Which being so, we make it our earnest Request to your Highness, That neither the said Shipwrack may be imputed to the foremention'd *Johnson* the Master, nor that he may upon that account be depriv'd of the Wages due to him; by the only enjoyment of which, he having lately suffer'd another Misfortune at Sea, he hopes however to support and comfort himself in the extremity of his Wants.

From our Court at Westminster, March —, 1657.

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Noble the Consuls and Senators of the Republick of Dantzick.

Most Noble and Magnificent, our dearest Friends;

WE have always esteem'd your City flourishing in Industry, Wealth, and studious care to promote all useful Arts and Sciences, fit to be compar'd with any the most noble Cities of *Europe*. Now in regard that in this War that has long been hovering about your Confines, you have rather chosen to side with the *Polanders*, then with the *Svedes*; we are most heartily desirous, that for the sake of that Religion which you embrace, and of your ancient Commerce with the *English*, you would chiefly adhere to those Counsels which may prove most agreeable to the Glory of God, and the Dignity and Splendor of your City. Wherefore we intreat ye, for the sake of that Friendship which has been long establish'd between your selves and the *English* Nation, and if our Reputation have obtain'd any Favour or Esteem among ye, to set at liberty Count *Conismark*, conspicuous among the Principal of the *Swedish* Captains, and a Person singularly fam'd for his Conduct in War, but by the Treachery of his own People surpriz'd at Sea; wherein you will do no more then what the Laws of War, not yet exasperated to the height; allow; or if you think this is not so agreeable to your Interests, that you will however deem him worthy a more easy and less severe Confinement. Which of these two Favours soever you shall determin to grant us, you will certainly perform an Act becoming the Reputation of your City, and highly oblige besides the most famous Warriors and most eminent Captains of all Parties: and lastly, lay upon our selves an Obligation not the meanest; and perhaps it may be worth your Interest to gratify us.

From our Court at Westminster, April —, 1657.

Your Lordship's most Affectionate,

OLIVER, &c.

Oliver,

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince and Lord, Emperor and great Duke of all Russia, sole Lord of Volodomaria, Moscow and Novograge, King of Cazan, Astracan and Syberia, Lord of Vobscow, great Duke of Smolensko, Tuerfcoy, and other Places. Lord and great Duke of Novogrod, and the Lower Provinces of Chernigoy, Rezanfco, and others. Lord of all the Northern Climes; also Lord of Everfco, Cartalinfca, and many other Places.*

ALL Men know how ancient the Friendship, and how vast the Trade has been for a long train of Years between the English Nation and the People of your Empire: But that singular Vertue, most *August Emperor*, which in your Majesty far outshines the Glory of your Ancestors; and the high Opinion which all the Neighbouring Princes have of it, more especially moves us to pay a more then ordinary Veneration and Affection to your Majesty, and to desire the imparting of some things to your Consideration, which may conduce to the Good of *Christendom* and your own Interests. Wherefore, we have sent the most accomplish'd *Richard Bradshaw*, a Person of whose Fidelity, Integrity, Prudence, and Experience in Affairs, we are well assur'd, as having been employ'd by us in several other Negotiations of this nature, under the Character of our Agent to your Majesty; to the end he may more at large make known to your Majesty our singular good Will and high Respect toward so puissant a Monarch, and transact with your Majesty concerning the Matters above-mention'd. Him therefore we request your Majesty favourably to receive in our Name, and as often as shall be requisite to grant him free Access to your Person, and no less gracious Audience; and lastly, to give the same Credit to him in all things which he shall propose or negotiate, as to our selves, if we were personally present. And so we beseech Almighty God to bless your Majesty and the Russian Empire with all Prosperity.

From our Court at Westminster, April —, 1657.

Your Majesty's most Affectionate,

Oliver, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince Charles Gustavus, King of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, &c.*

Most Serene and Potent King, our dearest Friend and Confederate;

THE most honourable *William Jenson*, Colonel of Horse, and a Senator in our Parliament, who will have the Honour to deliver these Letters to your Majesty, will make known to your Majesty, with what Disturbance and Grief of Mind we receiv'd the News of the fatal War broke out between your Majesty and the King of *Danemark*, and how much it is our cordial and real Endeavour, not to neglect any Labour or Duty of ours, as far as God enables us, that some speedy Remedy may be apply'd to this growing Mischief, and those Calamities averted, which of necessity this War will bring upon the common Cause of Religion; more especially at this time, now that our Adversaries unite their Forces and pernicious Counsels against the Profession and Professors of the Orthodox Faith. These and some other Considerations of great importance to the Benefit and Publick Interests of both Nations, have induc'd us to send this Gentleman to your Majesty under the Character of our Extraordinary Envoy. Whom we therefore desire your Majesty kindly to receive, and to give Credit to him in all things which he shall have to impart to your Majesty in our Name; as being a Person in whose Fidelity and Prudence we very much confide. We also farther request, That your Majesty

jeſty will be pleas'd fully to aſſure your ſelf of our Good-will and moſt undoubted Zeal, as well toward your Majeſty, as for the Proſperity of your Affairs. Of which we ſhall be readily prepar'd with all imaginable willingneſs of mind to give unqueſtionable Teſtimonies upon all occaſions. *From our Court at Weſtmiſter, Auguſt—1657.*

Your Majeſty's Friend, and moſt ſtrictly co-united Confederate,
Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the moſt Serene Prince, the Lord Frederick William, Marqueſs of Brandenburgh, High Chamberlain of the Imperial Empire, and Prince Elector, Duke of Magdeburgh, Pruſſia, Juliers, Cleves, Monts, Stettin, Pomerania, of the Caſſiubiands and Vandals, as alſo of Sileſia, Croſna and Carnovia, Burgrave of Norrinburgh, Prince of Halberſtadt and Minda, Count of Mark and Ravensbergh, Lord in Ravenſtein.

Moſt Serene Prince, our deareſt Friend and Confederate;

SUCH is the Fame of your Highneſs's Vertue and Prudence, both in Peace and War, and ſo loudly ſpread through all the World, that all the Princes round about are ambitious of your Friendſhip; nor does any one deſire a more faithful or conſtant Friend and Associate: Therefore to the end your Highneſs may know that we are alſo in the number of thoſe that have the higheſt and moſt honourable thoughts of your Perſon and Merits, ſo well deſerving of the Commonwealth of *Chriſtendom*; we have ſent the moſt Worthy Col. *Will. Jeſſon*, a Senator in our Parlament, in our Name to kiſs your Highneſs's hands; and withal to wiſh the continuance of all Proſperity to your Affairs, and in words at large to expreſs our Good-will and Affection to your Serenity; and therefore make it our Requeſt, That you will vouchſafe to give him Credit in thoſe Matters concerning which he has Inſtructions to treat with your Highneſs, as if all things were atteſted and confirm'd by our perſonal Preſence. *From our Court at Whitehall, Auguſt—1657.*

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the moſt Noble the Conſuls and Senators of the City of Hamborough.

Moſt Noble, moſt Magnificent and Worthy,

THE moſt accompliſh'd, Colonel *William Jeſſon*, a Senator in our Parlament, being ſent by us to the moſt ſerene King of *Sweden*, is to travel through your City; and therefore we have given him in command, not to paſs by your Lordſhips unſaluted in our Name; and withal to make it our Requeſt, That you will be ready to aſſiſt him upon whatſoever occaſion he ſhall think it requiſite to crave the Aid of your Authority and Counſel. Which the more willingly you ſhall do, the more you ſhall find you have acquir'd our Favour.

From our Court at Weſtm.

Aug.—1657.

To the most Noble the Consuls and Senators of the City of Breme.

HOW great our Affection is toward your City, how particular our Good-will, as well upon the account of your Religion, as for the celebrated Splendor of your City, as formerly you have found ; so when occasion offers, you shall be further sensible. At present, in regard the most accomplish'd Colonel *William Jepson*, a Senator in our Parliament, is to travel through *Bremen* with the Character of our *Envoy Extraordinary* to the King of *Sweden*, 'tis our pleasure that he salute your Lordships lovingly and friendly in our Name ; and that if any Accident fall out, wherein your Assistance and Friendship may be serviceable to him, that he may have free admission to desire it, upon the score of our Alliance. Wherein we are confident you will the less be wanting, by how much the more reason you will have to be assur'd of our singular Love and Kindness for your Lordships. *From our Court at Whitehall, August — 1657.*

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Noble the Senators and Consuls of the City of Lubeck.

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Right Worshipful, our dearest Friends ;

Colonel *William Jepson*, a Person of great Honour, and a Senator in our Parliament, is to pass with the Character of a Publick Minister from your City to the King of *Sweden*, encamping not far from it. Wherefore we desire your Lordships, that if occasion require, upon the account of the Friendship and Commerce between us, you will be assistant to him in his Journey through your City, and the Territories under your Jurisdiction. As to what remains, it is our farther pleasure, that you be saluted in our Name, and that you be assur'd of our Good-will and ready Inclinations to serve your Lordships. *From our Court at Westminster, August — 1657.*

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the City of Hamborough.

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Right Worshipful ;

Philip *Meadows*, who brings these Letters to your Lordships, is to travel through your City with the Character of our Agent to the King of *Denmark*. Therefore we most earnestly recommend him to your Lordships, that if any occasion should happen for him to desire it, you would be ready to aid him with your Authority and Assistance : And we desire that this our Recommendation may have the same weight at present with your Lordships as formerly it wont to have ; nor shall we be wanting to your Lordships upon the same Opportunities. *From our Court at Whitehall, August — 1657.*

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene Prince Frederick Heir of Norway, Duke of Sleswic, Holsatia, and Ditmarsh, Count in Oldenburgh and Delmenhorst.

Most Serene Prince, our dearest Friend ;

Colonel *William Jepson*, a Person truly noble in his Country, and a Senator in our Parliament, is sent by us, as our *Envoy Extraordinary* to the most Serene King of *Sweden* ; and may it prove happy and prosperous for the common Peace and Interests of *Christendom*. We have given him Instructions,

structions, among other things, That in his Journey, after he has kiss'd your *Serenities* hands in our Name, and declar'd our former Good-will and constant Zeal for your Welfare, to request of your *Serenity* also, That being guarded with your Authority, he may travel with safety and convenience through your Territories. By which kind act of Civility, your Highness will in a greater measure oblige us to returns of answerable kindness. *From our Court at Westminster, Aug. — 1657.*

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene Prince, Ferdinand Great Duke of Tuscany.

Most Serene Great Duke, our dearest Friend ;

THE Company of our Merchants, trading to the Eastern Coasts of the Mediterranean Sea, by their Petition to us, have set forth, That *William Ellis*, Master of a Ship call'd the *Little Lewis*, being at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, was hir'd by the *Basha* of *Memphis*, to carry Rice, Sugar, and Coffee, either to *Constantinople* or *Smyrna*, for the use of the *Grand Seignior* ; but that contrary to his Faith and Promise given, he bore away privately from the *Ottoman Fleet*, and brought his Ship and Lading to *Leghorn*, where now he lives in possession of his Prey. Which villanous Act being of dangerous Example, as exposing the Christian Name to scandal, and the Fortunes of our Merchants living under the *Turks* to violence and ranfack ; we therefore make it our Request to your Highness, That you will give Command that the said Master be apprehended and imprison'd, and that the Vessel and Goods may remain under Seizure, till we shall have given notice of our Care for the restitution of those Goods to the *Sultan* : Assuring your Highness of our readiness to make futable Returns of Gratitude whenever opportunity presents it self. *From our Court at Westm. Septemb. — 1657.*

Your Highness's most Affectionate, Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene Prince, the Lord Frederic William, Marquess of Brandenburg, &c.

Most Serene Prince, our most dear Friend and Confederate ;

BY our last Letters to your Highness, either already or shortly to be deliver'd by our Embassador *William Jephson*, we have imparted the Substance of our Embassy to your Highness ; which we could not do without some mention of your great Vertues, and demonstration of our own Good-will and Affection. Nevertheless, that we may not seem too superficially to have glided over your transcending Deservings of the Protestant Interests ; we thought it proper to resume the same Subject, and pay our Respect and Veneration, not more willingly, or with a greater fervency of Mind, but somewhat more at large to your Highness : And truly most deservedly, when daily Information reaches our Ears, That your Faith and Conscience, by all manner of Artifices tempted and assail'd, by all manner of Arts and Devices solicited, yet cannot be shaken, or by any Violence be rent from your Friendship and Alliance with a most magnanimous Prince and your Confederate : And this, when the Affairs of the *Suedes* are now reduc'd to that condition, that in adhering to their Alliance, 'tis manifest that your Highness rather consults the common Cause of the Reformed Religion, than your own Advantage. And when your Highness is almost surrounded and besieg'd by Enemies, either privately lurking, or almost at your Gates ; yet such is your Constancy and Resolution of Mind, such your Conduct and Prowess becoming a great General, that the burden and massy Bulk of the whole Affair, and the

the Event of this important War, seems to rest and depend upon your sole Determination. Wherefore your Highness has no reason to question but that you may rely upon our Friendship and unfeigned Affection ; who should think our selves worthy to be forsaken of all Mens good Word, should we seem careless in the least of your unblemish'd Fidelity, your Constancy, and the rest of your applauded Vertues ; or should we pay less respect to your Highness upon the common score of Religion. As to those Matters propounded by the most accomplish'd *John Frederic Schlever*, your Counsellor and Agent here residing, if hitherto we could not return an Answer, such as we desir'd to do, though with all assiduity and diligence labour'd by your Agent ; we intreat your Highness to impute it to the present condition of our Affairs, and to be assur'd, that there is nothing which we account more sacred, or more earnestly desire, than to be serviceable and assisting to your Interests, so bound up with the Cause of Religion. In the mean time we beseech the God of Mercy and Power, that so signal a Prowess and Fortitude may never languish or be oppress'd, nor be depriv'd the Fruit and due Applause of all your pious Undertakings. *From our Court at Westminster, Sept. — 1657.*

Your Highness's most Affectionate, *Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.*

*To the most Excellent Lord, M. de Boufdeaux, Extraordinary
Embassador from the most Serene King of France.*

Most Excellent Lord ;

Lucas Lucie Merchant of *London*, has made his Complaint to the most Serene Lord Protector, concerning a certain Ship of his, call'd the *Mary* ; which in her Voyage from *Ireland* to *Bayonne*, being driven by Tempest into the Port of *St. John de Luz*, was there detain'd by virtue of an Arrest, at the Suit of one *Martin de Lazan* ; nor could she be discharg'd till the Merchants had given Security to stand a Trial for the Property of the said Ship and Lading. For *Martin* pretended to have a great Sum of Money owing to him by the Parliament for several Goods of his, which in the Year 1642, were seiz'd by Authority of Parliament, in a certain Ship call'd the *Santa Clara*. But it is manifest, That *Martin* was not the Owner of the said Goods, only that he prosecuted the Claim of the true Owners *Richard* and *Iriat*, together with his Partner, whose Name was *Antonio Fernandez* ; and that upon the said *Martin* and *Antonio*'s falling out among themselves, the Parliament decreed that the said Goods should be stopp'd till the Law should decide to which of the two they were to be restor'd. Upon this, *Antony* was desirous that the Action should proceed ; on the other side, neither *Martin*, nor any body for him, has hitherto appear'd in Court : All which is evidently apparent by *Lucas*'s Petition hereto annex'd. So that it seems most unreasonable, That he who refus'd to try his pretended Title with *Antonio*, to other Mens Goods, in our own Courts, should compel our People, and the true Owners, to go to Law for their own in a Foreign Dominion. And that the same is apparent to your Excellency's Equity and Prudence, the most Serene Lord Protector makes no question ; by whom I am therefore commanded in a particular manner to recommend this fair and honest Cause of *Lucas Lucie* to your Excellency's Consideration ; to the end that *Martin*, who neglects to try his pretended Right here, may not under that Pretence have an opportunity in the *French* Dominions to deprive others of their rightful Claims. *Westm. Octob. — 1657.*

Your Excellency's most Affectionate.

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Oliver

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most
Serene Duke, and Senate of the Republick of Venice.

Most Serene Duke and Senate, our dearest Friends ;

So numerous are the Tydings brought us of your fortunate Successes against the *Turks*, that there is nothing wherein we have more frequent occasion to employ our Pens, than in congratulating your *Serenities* for some signal Victory. For this so recently obtain'd, we give ye Joy, as being not only most auspicious and seasonable to your Republick ; but which is more glorious, so greatly tending to the deliverance of all the Christians groaning under *Turkish* Servitude. More particularly we recommend to your *Serenity* and the Senate *Thomas Galily*, formerly Master of the Ship call'd the *Relief*, who for these five Years together has been a Slave ; tho this be not the first time we have interceded in his behalf, yet now we do it the more freely, as in a time of more than ordinary Exultation. He having receiv'd your Commands, to serve your Republick with his Ship, and engaging alone with several of the Enemies Gallies, sunk some, and made a great havock among the rest : but at length his Ship being burnt, the brave Commander, and so well deserving of the *Venetian* Republick, was taken, and ever since for five Years together, has endur'd a miserable Bondage under the Barbarians. To redeem himself he had not wherewithal ; for whatsoever he had, that he makes out was owing to him by your Highness and the Senate, upon the account either of his Ship, his Goods, or for his Wages. Now in regard he may not want Relief, and for that the Enemy refuses to discharge him upon any other condition, than by exchange of some other Person of equal Value and Reputation to himself ; we most earnestly entreat your Highness, and the most Serene Senate ; and the afflicted old Man, Father of the said *Thomas*, full of Grief and Tears, which not a little mov'd us, by our Intercession begs, That in regard so many prosperous Combats have made ye Masters of so many *Turkish* Prisoners, you will exchange some one of their Number, whom the Enemy will accept for so stout a Seaman taken in your Service, our Countryman, and the only Son of a most sorrowful Father. Lastly, That whatsoever is due to him from the Republick, upon the score of Wages, or upon any other account, you will take care to see it paid to his Father, or to whom he shall appoint to receive it. The Effect of our first Request, or rather of your Equity, was this, That the whole Matter was examin'd, and upon an exact stating of the Accounts the Debt was agreed ; but perhaps by reason of more important Business intervening, no Paiment ensu'd upon it. Now the Condition of the miserable Creature admits of no longer delay ; and therefore some endeavour must be us'd, if it be worth your while to desire his Welfare, that he may speedily be deliver'd from the noysom stench of Imprisonment. Which, as you flourish no less in Justice, Moderation and Prudence, than in Military Fame and Victorious Success, we are confident you will see done, of your own innate Humanity and Free-will, without any Hesitation, without any Incitement of ours. Now that ye may long flourish, after a most potent Enemy subdu'd, our daily Prayers implore of the Almighty. *From our Court at Westminster, Octob.—1657.*

Your Highness's most Affectionate, *Oliver* Protector
of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

Oliver

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the United Provinces.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends and Confederates;

THE most Illustrious *William Nuport*, your extraordinary Embassador for some Years residing with us, is now returning to your Lordships; but with this condition, that after this respite obtain'd from your Lordships, he shall return again in a short time. For he has remain'd among us, in the discharge of his Trust, with that Fidelity, Vigilance, Prudence and Equity, that neither you nor we could desire greater Vertue and Probity in an Embassador, and a Person of unblemished Reputation; with those inclinations and endeavours to preserve Peace and Friendship between us, without any fraud or dissimulation, that while he officiates the Duty of your Embassador, we do not find what occasion of scruple or offence can arise in either Nation. And we should brook his departure with so much the more anxiety of Mind, considering the present juncture of Times and Affairs, were we not assur'd, that no Man can better or more faithfully declare and represent to your Lordships, either the present condition of Affairs, or our Good-will and Affection to your Government. Being therefore every way so excellent a Person, and so well deserving both of yours and our Republick, we request your Lordships to receive him returning, such as we unwillingly dismiss him, laden with the real Testimonials of our Applauses. Almighty God grant all Prosperity to your Affairs, and perpetuate our Friendship, to his Glory, and the support of his Orthodox Church.

Your High and Mightinesses most devoted.

*From our Court at Westminster,
November ——— 1657.*

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the United Provinces.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends and Confederates;

GEORGE DOWNING is a Person of eminent Quality, and after a long trial of his Fidelity, Probity and Diligence, in several and various Negotiations, well approv'd and valu'd by us. Him we have thought fitting to send to your Lordships, dignify'd with the Character of our Agent, and amply furnish'd with our Instructions. We therefore desire your Lordships to receive him kindly, and that so often as he shall signify that he has any thing to impart in our Name to your Lordships, you will admit him free Audience, and give the same Credit to him, and entrust him with whatsoever you have to communicate to us; which you may safely do, as if our selves were personally present. And so we beseech Almighty God to bless your Lordships, and your Republick with all Prosperity, to the Glory of God, and the Support of his Church.

Your High and Mightinesses most affectionate, *Oliver, &c.*

*From our Court at White-Hall,
Decemb. ——— 1657.*

To the States of Holland.

THERE being an Alliance between our Republick and yours, and those Affairs to be transacted on both sides, that without an Agent and Interpreter, sent either by your selves, or from us, matters of such great moment can hardly be adjusted to the advantage of both Nations, we thought it conducing to the common good of both Republicks to send *George Downing*, a

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Person

Person of eminent Quality, and long in our Knowledge and Esteem for his undoubted Fidelity, Probity and Diligence, in many and various Negotiations, dignifi'd with the Character of our Agent, to reside with your Lordships, and chiefly to take care of those things, by which the Peace between us may be preserv'd entire and diuturnal. Concerning which we have not only written to the *States*, but also thought it requisite to give notice also of the same to your Lordships, supreme in the Government of your Province, and who make so considerable a part of the *United Provinces*; to the end you may give that reception to our Resident which becomes him, and that whatever he transacts with your *High and Mighty States*, you may assure your selves shall be as firm and irrevocable, as if our selves had bin present in the Negotiation. Now the most merciful God direct all your Counsels and Actions to his Glory, and the Peace of his Church.

Westminster, Decemb. — 1657.

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene Prince, Ferdinand Great Duke of Tuscany.

Most Serene Great Duke, our much Honour'd Friend;

Your Highness's Letters, bearing date from *Florence* the 10th of *November*, gave us no small occasion of Content and Satisfaction; finding therein your Good-will towards us, so much the more conspicuous, by how much Deeds than Words, Performances than Promises, are the more certain marks of a cordial Affection. For what we requested of your Highness, that you would command the Master of the *Little Lewis*, *William Ellis*, who most ignominiously broke his Faith with the *Turks*, and the Ship and Goods to be seiz'd and detain'd, till Restitution should be made to the *Turks*, lest the *Christian* Name should receive any Blemish by Thieveries of the like nature; all those things, and that too with an extraordinary Zeal, as we most gladly understood before, your Highness writes that you have seen diligently perform'd. We therefore return our Thanks for the Kindness receiv'd, and make it our farther request, that when the Merchants have given Security to satisfy the *Turks*, the Master may be discharged, and the Ship, together with her Lading, be forthwith dismiss'd, to the end we may not seem to have had more care perhaps of the *Turks* Interest, than our own Country-men. In the mean time we take so kindly this surpassing Favour done us by your Highness, and most acceptable to us, that we should not refuse to be branded with Ingratitude, if we should not ardently desire a speedy opportunity, with the same promptitude of Mind, to gratify your Highness, whereby we might be enabl'd to demonstrate our readiness to return the same good Offices to so noble a Benefactor upon all occasions.

*From our Court at Westminster,
Decemb. — 1657.*

Your Highnesses most affectionate, *Oliver, &c.*

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince, Charles Gustavus, King of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, &c.

Most Serene and Potent Prince, our most Invincible Friend and Confederate;

By your Majesty's Letters, dated the 21st of *February* from your Camp in *Seland*, we found many reasons to be affected with no small Joy, as well for our own particular, as in regard of the whole *Christian Republick* in general. In the first place, because the King of *Denmark*, being become an Enemy, not induc'd thereto, as we are apt to believe, by his own Inclinations

or

or Interests, but deluded by the Artifices of our common Adversaries, is reduc'd to that condition by your sudden irruption into the very Heart of his Kingdom; with very little Blood shed on either side, that what was really true, he will at length be perswaded that Peace would have bin more beneficial to him, than the War which he has enter'd into against your Majesty. Then again, when he shall consider with himself, that he cannot obtain it by any more speedy means, than by making use of our Assistance, long since offer'd him to procure a Reconciliation, in regard your Majesty so readily intreated by the Letters only deliver'd by our Agent, by such an easy concession of Peace, most clearly made it apparent how highly you esteem'd the Intercession of our Friendship, he will certainly apply himself to us; and then our Interposition in so pious a work, will chiefly require, that we should be the sole Reconciler and almost Author of that Peace, so beneficial to the Interests of the Protestants; which, as we hope, will suddenly be accomplish'd. For when the Enemies of Religion shall despair of breaking your united Forces by any other means than setting both your Majesties at variance, then their own fears will overtake 'em, lest this unexpected Conjunction, which we ardently desire, of your Arms and Minds, should turn to the destruction of them that were the Kindlers of the War. In the mean time, most Magnanimous King, may your Prowess go on and prosper; and the same felicity which the Enemies of the Church have admir'd in the progress of your Achievements, and the steady Career of your Victories against a Prince, now your Confederate, the same by God's Assistance, may you enforce 'em to behold once more in their Subversion.

*From our Palace at Westminster,
March 30. 1658.*

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene Prince, Ferdinand Great Duke of Tuscany.

Most Serene Prince;

THE Answer which we have given to your Agent here residing, we believe, will fully satisfy your Highness as to our Admiral, who but lately put into your Ports. In the mean time, *John Hosier*, Master of a Ship, call'd the *Owner*, has set forth in a Petition to us, that in *April 1656*. he hir'd out his Ship by a Charter-party Agreement, to one *Joseph Arman*, an *Italian*, who manifestly broke all the Covenants therein contain'd; so that he was enforc'd, lest he should lose his Ship and Lading, together with his whole principal Stock, openly to set forth the fraud of his Freighter, after the manner of Merchants; and when he had caus'd it to be register'd by a Publick Notary, to sue him at *Leghorn*. *Joseph*, on the other side, that he might make good one Fraud by another, combining with two other litigious Traders, upon a feign'd Pretence, by Perjury, seiz'd upon six thousand *Pieces of Eight*, the Money of one *Thomas Clutterbuck*. But as for his part, the said *Hosier*, after great Expences and loss of time, could never obtain his Right and Due at *Leghorn*: Nor durst he there appear in Court, being threaten'd as he was, and waylay'd by his Adversaries. We therefore request your Highness, that you would vouchsafe your Assistance to this poor oppress'd Man, and according to your wonted Justice, restrain the Insolence of his Adversary. For in vain are Laws ordain'd for the Government of Cities by the Authority of Princes, if Wrong and Violence, when they cannot abrogate, shall be able by Threats and Terror to frustrate the Refuge and Sanctuary of the Laws. However, we make no doubt, but that your Highness will speedily take care to punish a daring Boldness of this nature; beseeching Almighty God to bless your Highness with Peace and Prosperity.

*From our Court at Westminster,
April 7. 1658.*

To the most Serene and Potent Prince, Lewis King of France.

Most Serene and Potent King, and most August Friend and Confederate;

YOur Majesty may call to mind, that at the same time, when the renewing the League between us was in agitation, and no less auspiciously concluded, as the many Advantages from thence accruing to both Nations, and the many Annoyances thence attending the common Enemy, sufficiently testify those dreadful Butcheries that befel the *Piemontois*, and that we recommended with great fervency of Mind and Compassion, their Cause on all sides forsaken and afflicted, to your Commiseration and Protection. Nor do we believe that your Majesty, of your self, was wanting in a Duty so pious, that we may not say, befitting common Humanity, as far as your Authority, and the Veneration due to your Person, could prevail with the Duke of *Savoy*. Certain we are, that neither our selves, nor many other Princes and Cities were wanting in our Performances, by the Interposition of Embassies, Letters, and Intreaties. After a most bloody Butchery of both Sexes, and all Ages, at length Peace was granted, or rather a certain clandestine Hostility cover'd over with the name of Peace. The Conditions of Peace were agreed in your Town of *Pignerol*; severe and hard, but such as those miserable and indigent Creatures, after they had suffer'd all that could be endur'd that was oppressive and barbarous, would have been glad of, had they been but observ'd, as hard and unjust as they were: But by false Constructions, and various Evasions, the Assurances of all these Articles are eluded and violated: Many are thrust out from their ancient Abodes; many are forbid the Exercise of their Religion, new Tributes are exacted, a new Citadel is impos'd upon them; from whence the Souldiers frequently making Excursions, either plunder or murder all they meet. Add to all this, that new Levies are privately preparing against 'em, and all that embrace the *Protestant Religion* are commanded to depart by a prefix'd day; so that all things seem to threaten the utter extermination of those deplorable Wretches, whom the former Massacre spar'd. Which I most earnestly beseech and conjure ye, *Most Christian King*, by that *RIGHT HAND* which sign'd the League and Friendship between us, by that same goodly Ornament of your Title of *MOST CHRISTIAN*, by no means to suffer, nor to permit such liberty of Rage and Fury uncontroll'd, we will not say, in any Prince, (for certainly such barbarous Severity could never enter the Breast of any Prince, much less so tender in Years, nor into the female thoughts of his Mother) but in those sanctifi'd Cut-throats, who professing themselves to be the Servants and Disciples of our Saviour Christ, who came into this World to save Sinners, abuse his meek and peaceful Name and Precepts to the most cruel slaughter of the Innocent. Rescue, you that are able in your tawring Station, worthy to be able, rescue so many Suppliants prostrate at your feet, from the hands of *Ruffians*, who lately drunk with Blood, again thirst after it, and think it their safest way to throw the Odium of their Cruelty upon Princes. But as for you, great Prince, suffer not, while you reign, your Titles, nor the Confines of your Kingdom, to be contaminated with this same Heaven-offending Scandal, nor the peaceful Gospel of Christ to be defil'd with such abominable Cruelty. Remember that they submitted themselves to your Grandfather *Henry*, most friendly to the Protestants, when the victorious *Lesdiguières* pursu'd the retreating *Savoyard* o're the *Alpes*. There is also an Instrument of that Submission register'd among the publick Acts of your Kingdom, wherein it is excepted and provided among other things, That from that time forward the *Piemontois* should not be deliver'd over into the Power of any Ruler, but upon the same Conditions upon which your invincible Grandfather receiv'd them into his Protection. This Protection of your Grandfather, these Suppliants now implore from you as Grandchild. 'Tis your Majesty's part, to whom those People now belong, to give 'em that Protection which they have chosen, by some exchange of Habitation, if they desire it, and it may be done: Or if that be a Labour too difficult, at least to succour 'em with your Patronage, your Commiseration, and your admittance into Sanctuary.

January. And there are some Reasons of State to encourage your Majesty not to refuse the *Piemontois* a safe *Asylum* in your Kingdom: But I am unwilling that you, so great a King, should be induc'd to the defence and succour of the miserable by any other Arguments than those of your Ancestor's pledg'd Faith, your own Piety, Royal Benignity and Magnanimity. Thus the immaculate and intire Glory of a most egregious Act will be your own, and you will find the Father of Mercy, and his Son, *King Christ*, whose Name and Doctrine you have vindicated from nefarious Inhumanity, so much the more favourable and propitious to your Majesty, all your days. The God of Mercy and Power infuse into your Majesty's Heart a Resolution to defend and save so many innocent Christians, and maintain your own Honour.

Westminster, May—1658.

To the Evangelick Cities of the Switzers.

Illustrious and most Noble Lords, our dearest Friends;

HOW heavy and intolerable the Sufferings of the *Piemontois*, your most afflicted Neighbours, have bin, and how unmercifully they have been dealt with by their own Prince, for the sake of their Religion, by reason of the fierceness of the Cruelties, we almost tremble to remember, and thought it superfluous to put you in mind of those things, which are much better known to your Lordships. We have also seen Copies of the Letters which your Embassadors, Promoters and Witnesses of the Peace concluded at *Pignerol*, wrote to the Duke of *Savoy*, and the President of his Council at *Turin*; wherein they set forth, and make it out, that all the Conditions of the said Peace are broken, and were rather a Snare than a Security to those miserable People. Which Violation continu'd from the Conclusion of the Peace to this very moment, and still grows more heavy every day than other; unless they patiently endure, unless they lay themselves down to be trampled under foot, plash'd like Mortar, or abjure their Religion, the same Calamities, the same Slaughters hang over their Heads, which three years since made such a dreadful havock of them, their Wives and Children; and which, if it must be undergone once more, will certainly prove the utter extirpation of their whole Race. What shall such miserable Creatures do? in whose behalf no Intercession will avail, to whom no breathing time is allow'd, nor any certain place of Refuge. They have to do with wild Beasts, or Furies rather, upon whom the remembrance of their former Murders has wrought no Compassion upon their Countrymen, no sense of Humanity, nor satiated their ravenous thirst after Blood. Most certainly these things are not to be endur'd, if we desire the safety of our Brethren the *Piemontois*, most antient Professors of the Orthodox Faith, or the welfare of our Religion it self. As for our selves, so far remote, we have not been wanting to assist 'em as far as in us lay, nor shall we cease our future Aid. But you, who not only lie so near adjoining, as to behold the Butcheries, and hear the outcries and shrieks of the Distressed, but are also next expos'd to the fury of the same Enemies; consider for the sake of the Immortal God, and that in time, what it behoves ye now to do: consult your Prudence, your Piety, and your Fortitude; what succour, what relief and safeguard you are able, and are bound to afford your Neighbors and Brethren, who must else undoubtedly and speedily perish. Certainly the same Religion is the cause, why the same Enemies seek also your Perdition; why, at the same time the last year, they meditated your ruin, by intestine Broils among your selves. It seems to be only in your Power, next under God, to prevent the extirpation of this most antient *Scion* of the purer Religion, in these remainders of the Primitive Believers; whose preservation, now reduc'd to the very brink of utter ruin, if you neglect, beware that the next Turn be not your own. These Admonitions, while we give ye freely, and out of brotherly Love, we are not quite as yet cast down: For what lies only in our Power so far distant, as we have hitherto, so shall we still employ our utmost Endeavours,

Endeavours, not only to procure the safety of our Brethren upon the precipice of danger, but also to relieve their Wants. May the Almighty God vouchsafe to both of us that Peace and Tranquillity at home, that settlement of Times and Affairs, that we may be able to employ all our Wealth and Force, all our Studies and Counsels in the defence of his Church against the Rage and Fury of her Enemies. *From our Court at White-Hall, May — 1658.*

To his Eminency Cardinal Mazarin.

Most Eminent Lord,

THE late most grievous Cruelties, and most bloody Slaughters perpetrated upon the Inhabitants of the Valleys of *Piemont*, within the Duke of *Savoy's* Dominions, occasion'd the writing of the inclos'd Letters to his Majesty, and these other to your *Eminency*. And as we make no doubt but that such Tyranny, Inhumanities, so rigorously inflicted upon harmless and indigent People, are highly displeasing and offensive to the most Serene King; so we readily perswade our selves, that what we request from his Majesty in behalf of those unfortunate Creatures, your *Eminency* will employ your endeavour, and your favour to obtain, as an accumulation to our Intercessions. Seeing there is nothing which has acquir'd more good-will and affection to the *French* Nation, among all the neighbouring Professors of the Reformed Religion, than that Liberty and those Privileges, which by publick Acts and Edicts are granted in that Kingdom to the Protestants. And this among others was one main Reason, why this Republick so ardently desir'd the Friendship and Alliance of the *French* People. For the settling of which we are now treating with the King's Embassador, and have made those progresses, that the Treaty is almost brought to a Conclusion. Besides that, your *Eminency's* singular Benignity and Moderation, which in the management of the most important Affairs of the Kingdom, you have always testifi'd to the Protestants of *France*, encourages us to expect what we promise to our selves from your Prudence and Generosity; whereby you will not only lay the foundations of a stricter Alliance between this Republick and the Kingdom of *France*, but oblige us in particular to returns of all good Offices of Civility and Kindness: And of this we desire your *Eminency* to rest assur'd.

Your *Eminency's* most Affectionate.

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince, Lewis King of France.

Most Serene and Potent King, our most August Friend and Confederate;

IT being the intention of *Thomas Viscount Falconbridge*, our Son-in-Law, to travel into *France*, and no less his desire, out of his profound Respect and Veneration to your Majesty, to be admitted to kiss your Royal Hands; though by reason of his pleasing Conversation we are unwilling to part with him, nevertheless not doubting but he will in a short time return from the Court of so great a Prince, celebrated for the resort of so many prudent and courageous Persons, more nobly prepar'd for great Performances, and fully accomplish'd in whatsoever may be thought most laudable and vertuous, we did not think it fit to put a stop to his generous Resolutions. And though he be a Person, who, unless we deceive our selves, carries his own Recommendations about him, wheresoe're he goes; yet if he shall find himself somewhat the more favour'd by your Majesty for our sake, we shall think our selves honour'd and oblig'd by the same Kindness. God Almighty long preserve your Majesty in safety, and continue a lasting Peace between us, to the common Good of the Christian World. *From our Court at White-hall, May — 1658.*

Oliver

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Eminent Lord Cardinal Mazarin.

Most Eminent Lord,

HAVING recommended to the most Serene King, Thomas Viscount Falconbridge our Son-in-Law, desirous to see France; we could not but acquaint your Eminency with it, and recommend him in like manner to your self, not ignorant of what moment and importance it will be to our Recommendation first given him. For certainly, what benefit or advantage he shall reap by residing in your Country, which he hopes will not be small, he cannot but be beholden for the greatest part of it to your Favour and Good-will; whose single Prudence and Vigilancy supports and manages the grand Affairs of that Kingdom. Whatever therefore grateful Obligation your Eminency shall lay upon him, you may be assur'd you lay upon our selves, and that we shall number it among your many Kindnesses and Civilities already shew'd us.

Westminster, May — 1658.

Oliver Protector, &c. To the most Eminent Lord Cardinal Mazarin.

Most Eminent Lord,

HAVING sent the most illustrious Thomas Bellasis, Viscount Falconbridge, our Son-in-Law, to congratulate the King upon his arrival in the Camp at Dunkirk, I gave him Order to attend and wish your Eminency long Life and Health in our Name, and to return Thanks to your Eminency, by whose Fidelity, Prudence and Vigilancy, it chiefly comes to pass, that the Affairs of France are carri'd on with such Success in several parts, but more especially in near adjoining Flanders, against our common Enemy the Spaniard; from whom we hope that open and armed Courage now will soon exact a rigorous account of all his Frauds and Treacheries. Which that it may be speedily done, we shall not be wanting, either with our Forces, as far as in us lies, or with our Prayers to Heaven.

From our Court at White-Hall, May — 1658.

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince, Lewis King of France.

Most Serene and Potent Prince, our most August Friend and Confederate;

SO soon as the News was brought us, That your Majesty was arriv'd in your Camp, and was fate down with so considerable an Army before Dunkirk, that infamous nest of Pyrates, and place of Refuge for Sea-robbers, we were greatly overjoy'd, in certain assurance that in a short time now, with God's Assistance, the Seas will be more open and less infested by those plundering Rovers; and that your Majesty, by your Military Prowess, will now take speedy Vengeance of the Spanish Frauds; by whom one Captain was by Gold corrupted to the betraying of Hesden, another treacherously surpriz'd at Ostend. We therefore send the most Noble, Thomas Viscount Falconbridge, our Son-in-Law, to congratulate your Majesty's arrival in your Camp so near us, and that your Majesty may understand from his own Lips, with what Affection we labour the Prosperity of your Atchievements, not only with our united Forces, but with our cordial Prayers, that God would long preserve your Majesty, and perpetuate our establish'd Friendship, to the common Good of the Christian World.

From our Court at Westminster, May — 1658.

To the most Serene Prince, Ferdinand Grand Duke of Tuscany.

Most Serene Great Duke,

IN regard your Highness in all your Letters has ever signifi'd your extraordinary Affection toward us, we are not a little griev'd, that either it should be so obscurely imparted to your Governors and Ministers, or by them so ill interpreted, that we can reap no benefit or sign of it in your Port of *Leghorn*, where your Friendship toward us ought to be most clearly and truly understood: Rather, that we should find the Minds of your Subjects daily more averse and hostile in their demeanour toward us. For how unkindly our Fleet was lately treated at *Leghorn*, how little accommodated with necessary Supplies, in what a Hostile manner twice constrain'd to depart the Harbour, we are sufficiently given to understand as well from undoubted Witnesses upon the Place, as from our Admiral himself, to whose Relation we cannot but give Credit, when we have thought him worthy to command our Fleet. Upon his first arrival in *January*, after he had caus'd our Letters to be deliver'd to your Highness, and all Offices of Civility had pass'd between our People and yours; when he desir'd the Accommodation of *Porto Ferraro*; answer was made, it could not be granted, lest the King of *Spain*, that is to say our Enemy, should be offended. And yet what is there which a Prince in Friendship more frequently allows to his Confederate, than free entrance into his Ports and Harbours? Or what is there that we can expect from a Friendship of this nature, more ready to do us unkindness than befriend us, or aid us with the smallest Assistance, for fear of provoking the displeasure of our Enemies? At first indeed, *Prattick* was allow'd, though only to two or three of our Seamen out of every Ship, who had the Favour to go ashore. But soon after, it being nois'd in the Town, that our Ships had taken a *Dutch* Vessel laden with Corn for *Spain*, that little *Prattick* we had was prohibited; *Longland*, the *English* Consul, was not permitted to go aboard the Fleet; the liberty of taking in fresh Water, which is ever free to all that are not open Enemies, was not suffer'd, but under armed Guards, at a severe rate; and our Merchants which reside in the Town, to the vast emolument of your People, were forbid to visit their Countrymen, or assist 'em in the least. Upon his last arrival, toward the latter end of *March*, no body was suffer'd to come ashore. The fifth day after, when our Admiral had taken a small *Neapolitan* Vessel which fell into our hands by chance, above two hundred great shot were made at our Fleet from the Town, though without any damage to us. Which was an Argument, that what provok'd your Governors without a cause, as if the Rights of your Harbour had bin violated, was done out at Sea, at a great distance from your Town, or the Jurisdiction of the Castle. Presently our Long-boats sent to take in fresh Water, were assail'd in the Port, and one taken and detain'd? which being redemanded, answer was made, That neither the Skiff nor the Seamen should be restor'd, unless the *Neapolitan* Vessel were dismiss'd; though certain it is, that she was taken in the open Sea, where it was lawful to seize her. So that ours, after many Inconveniencies suffer'd, were forc'd at length to set sail, and leave behind 'em the Provision, for which they had paid ready Money. These things, if they were not done by your Highness's Consent and Command, as we hope they were not, we desire you would make it appear by the punishment of the Governour, who so easily presum'd to violate his Master's Alliances; but if they were done with your Highness's Approbation and Order, we would have your Highness understand, that as we always had a singular value for your Friendship, so we have learnt to distinguish between Injuries and acts of Kindness.

From our Court at White-hall,

May — 1658.

Your good Friend, so far as we may, *Oliver* Protector
of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c.

Oliver

*Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the
most Serene and Potent Prince, Lewis King of France.*

Most Serene and Potent Prince, our most August Confederate and Friend ;

BY so speedily repaying our profound Respect to your Majesty, with an Accumulation of Honour, by such an illustrious Embassy to our Court ; you have not only made known to us, but to all the People of *England*, your singular Benignity and Generosity of Mind, but also how much you favour our Reputation and Dignity : for which we return our most cordial Thanks to your Majesty, as justly you have merited from us. As for the Victory which God has given, most fortunate, to our united Forces against our Enemies, we rejoice with your Majesty for it ; and that our People in that Battel were not wanting to your Assistance, nor the Military Glory of their Ancestors, nor their own pristine Fortitude, is most grateful to us. As for *Dunkirk*, which as your Majesty wrote, you were in hope was near Surrender : 'tis a great addition to our Joy to hear from your Majesty such speedy Tidings, that it is absolutely now in your victorious hands ; and we hope moreover, that the loss of one City will not suffice to repay the twofold Treachery of the *Spaniard*, but that your Majesty will in a short time write us the welcome News of the Surrender also of the other Town. As to your Promise, That you will take care of our Interests, we mistrust it not in the least, upon the Word of a most Excellent King, and our most assured Friend, confirm'd withal by your Ambassador, the most accomplish'd Duke of *Crequi*. Lastly, We beseech Almighty God to prosper your Majesty and the Affairs of *France*, both in Peace and War. *Westminster, June — 1658.*

*Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the
most Eminent Lord, Cardinal Mazarine.*

Most Eminent Lord ;

VWhile we are returning Thanks to the most Serene King, who to honour and congratulate us, as also to intermix his Joy with ours for the late glorious Victory, has sent a splendid Embassy to our Court ; we should be ungrateful, should we not also by our Letters pay our due Acknowledgments to your Eminency ; who to testify your Good-will towards us, and how much you make it your study to do us all the Honour which lies within your Power, have sent your Nephew to us, a most excellent and most accomplish'd young Gentleman ; and if you had any nearer Relation, or any Person whom you valu'd more, would have sent him more especially to us, as you declare in your Letters ; adding withal the Reason, which coming from so great a Personage, we deem no small advantage to our Praise and Ornament ; that is to say, to the end that they who are most nearly related to your Eminency in Blood, might learn to imitate your Eminency, in shewing Respect and Honour to our Person. And we would have it not to be their meanest strife to follow your Example of Civility, Candour, and Friendship to us ; since there are not more conspicuous Examples of extraordinary Prudence and Vertue to be imitated than in your Eminency ; from whence they may learn with equal Renown to govern Kingdoms, and manage the most important Affairs of the World. Which that your Eminency may long and happily administer, to the prosperity of the whole Realm of *France*, to the common Good of the whole Christian Republick, and your own Glory, we shall never be wanting in our Prayers to implore. *From our Court at Whitehal, June — 1658.*

Your Excellency's most Affectionate.

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince, Charles Gustavus, King of the Swedes, Goths and Vandals, &c.

Most Serene and Potent Prince, our dearest Confederate and Friend;

AS often as we behold the busy Counsels, and various Artifices of the common Enemies of Religion, so often do we revolve in our Minds how necessary it would be, and how much for the Safety of the Christian World, that the Protestant Princes, and most especially your Majesty, should be united with our Republick in a most strict and solemn Confederacy. Which how ardently and zealously it has been fought by our selves, how acceptable it would have been to us, if ours, and the Affairs of *Swedeland*, had been in that posture and condition, if the said League could have been sacredly concluded to the good liking of both, and that the one could have been a seasonable Succour to the other, we declar'd to your Embassadors, when first they enter'd into Treaty with us upon this Subject. Nor were they wanting in their Duty; but the same prudence which they were wont to shew in other things, the same Wisdom and Sedulity they made known in this Affair. But such was the perfidiousness of our wicked and restless Countrymen at home, who being often receiv'd into our Protection, ceas'd not however to machinate new Disturbances, and to resume their formerly often frustrated and dissipated Conspiracies with our Enemies the *Spaniards*, that being altogether taken up with the preservation of our selves from surrounding Dangers, we could not bend our whole Care, and our entire Forces, as we wish'd we could have done, to defend the common Cause of Religion. Nevertheless what lay in our Power, we have already zealously perform'd; and whatever for the future may conduce to your Majesty's Interests, we shall not only shew our selves willing, but industrious to carry on, in Union with your Majesty, upon all occasions. In the mean time we most gladly congratulate your Majesty's Victories, most prudently and courageously atchiev'd, and in our daily Prayers implore Almighty God long to continue to your Majesty a steady course of Conquest and Felicity, to the Glory of his Name. *From our Court at Whitehall; June — 1658.*

Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene Prince, the King of Portugal.

Most Serene King, our Friend and Confederate;

John Buffield of London Merchant, has set forth in a Petition to us, That in the Year 1649, he deliver'd certain Goods to *Anthony, John and Manuel Ferdinando Castanco*, Merchants in *Tamira*, to the end that after they had sold 'em, they might give him a just Account, according to the Custom of Merchants: After which, in his Voyage for *England*, he fell into the hands of Pirats; and being plunder'd by 'em, receiv'd no small Damage. Upon this News, *Antony and Manuel*, believing he had been kill'd, presently look'd upon the Goods as their own, and still detain 'em in their hands, refusing to come to any Account; covering this Fraud of theirs with a Sequestration of *English* Goods that soon after ensu'd. So that he was forc'd the last Year, in the middle of Winter, to return to *Portugal* and demand his Goods, but all in vain. For that the said *John and Anthony* could by no fair means be perswaded, either to deliver the said Goods, or to come to any Account; and which is more to be admir'd, justifi'd their private detention of the Goods, by the Publick Attainder. Finding therefore that being a Stranger, he should get nothing by contending with the Inhabitants of *Tamira* in their own Countrey, he betook himself for Justice to your Majesty; humbly demanded the Judgment of the *Conservator*, appointed to determine the Causes of the *English*; but was sent back to the Cognizance of that Court, from which he

had

had appeal'd. Which though in it self not unjust, yet seeing it is evident that the Merchants of *Tamira* make an ill use of your Publick Edict to justify their own private Cozenage, we make it our earnest Request to your Majesty, that according to your wonted Clemency you would rather refer to the *Conservator*, being the proper Judg in these Cases, the Cause of this poor Man, afflicted by many Casualties, and reduc'd to utmost Poverty, to the end he may recover the Remainder of his Fortunes from the faithless Partnership of those People. Which when you rightly understand the Business, we make no question, but will be no less pleading to your Majesty to see done than to our selves.

From our Court at Westminster, Aug. 1658.

To the most Serene Prince Leopold, Arch-Duke of Austria, Governour of the Low-Countries under Philip King of Spain.

Most Serene Lord ;

C*harles Harbord* Knight, has set forth in his Petition to us, that having sent certain Goods and Household-stuff out of *Holland* to *Bruges* under your Jurisdiction, he is in great danger of having them arrested out of his hands by Force and Violence. For that those Goods were sent him out of *England* in the Year 1643, by the Earl of *Suffolk*, for whom he stood bound in a great Sum of Money, to the end he might have wherewithal to satisfy himself, should he be compell'd to pay the Debt. Which Goods are now in the possession of *Richard Greenville* Knight, who broke open the doors of the place where they were in custody, and made a violent seizure of the same, under pretence of we know not what due to him from *Theophilus* Earl of *Suffolk*, by virtue of a certain Decree of our Court of *Chancery*, to which those Goods, as being the Earl's, were justly liable ; whereas by our Laws, neither the Earl now living, whose Goods they are, is bound by that Decree, neither ought the Goods to be seiz'd or detain'd ; which the Sentence of that Court, now sent to your Serenity, together with these Letters, positively declares and proves. Which Letters the said *Charles Harbord* has desir'd of us, to the end we would make it our Request to your Highness, that the said Goods may be forthwith discharg'd from the violent Seizure, and no less unjust Action of the said *Richard Greenville*, in regard it is apparently against the Custom and Law of Nations, that any Person should be allow'd the liberties to sue in a Foreign Jurisdiction upon a Plaint wherein he can have no relief in the Country where the Cause of Action first arose. Therefore the Reason of Justice it self, and your far celebrated Equanimity encourag'd us to recommend this Cause to your Highness ; assuring your Highness, that whenever any Dispute shall happen in our Courts concerning the Rights and Properties of your People, you shall ever find us ready and quick in our Returns of Favour.

Westminster—

Your Highness's most Affectionate, *Oliver* Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*.

LET-

LETTERS

Written in the Name of

RICHARD, PROTECTOR.

Richard, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince, Lewis King of France.

Most Serene and Potent King, our Friend and Confederate ;

SO soon as our most Serene Father, Oliver, *Protector of the Commonwealth of England*, by the Will of God so ordaining, departed this Life upon the Third of *September*, we being lawfully declar'd his Successor in the Supream Magistracy, tho in the Extremity of Tears and Sadness, could do no less, than with the first Opportunity by these our Letters make known a Matter of this Concernment to your Majesty ; by whom, as you have been a most cordial Friend to our Father and this Republick, we are confident the mournful and unexpected Tidings will be as sorrowfully received. Our business now is, to request your Majesty, that you would have such an Opinion of us, as of one who has determin'd nothing more religiously and constantly than to observe the Friendship and Confederacy contracted between your Majesty and our Renowned Father ; and with the same Zeal and good Will to confirm and establish the Leagues by him concluded, and to carry on the same Counsels and Interests with your Majesty. To which intent it is our pleasure that our Ambassador residing at your Court, be empower'd by the same Commission as formerly ; and that you will give the same Credit to what he transacts in our Name, as if it had been done by our selves. In the mean time we wish your Majesty all Prosperity.

From our Court at Whitehall, Sept. 5. 1658.

To the most Eminent Lord Cardinal Mazarine.

THO nothing could fall out more bitter and grievous to us, than to write the mournful News of our most Serene and most Renowned Father's Death ; nevertheless, in regard we cannot be ignorant of the high Esteem which he had for your Eminency, and the great Value which you had for him ; nor have any reason to doubt, but that your Eminency, upon whose Care the Prosperity of *France* depends, will no less bewail the Loss of your constant Friend, and most united Confederate, we thought it of great moment, by these our Letters, to make known this Accident so deeply to be lamented, as well to your Eminency as to the King ; and to assure your Eminency, which is but Reason, that we shall most religiously observe all those things which our Father of most Serene Memory was bound by the League to see confirm'd and ratify'd : and shall make it our business, that in the midst of your mourning for a Friend so faithful and flourishing in all vertuous Applause, there may be nothing wanting to preserve the Faith of our Confederacy. For the conservation of which on your part also, to the good of both Nations, may God Almighty long preserve your Eminency :

Westminster, Sept. 1658.

Richard,

Richard, *Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince Charles Gustavus, King of the Swedes, Goths and Vandals, &c.*

Most Serene and Potent King, our Friend and Confederate;

WHEN we consider with our selves that it will be a difficult matter for us to be Imitators of our Father's Vertues, unless we should observe and endeavour to hold the same Confederacies which he by his Prowess acquir'd, and out of his singular Judgment thought most worthy to be embrac'd and observ'd; your Majesty has no reason to doubt, but that it behoves us to pay the same Tribute of Affection and good Will, which our Father of most Serene Memory always paid to your Majesty. Therefore altho in this beginning of our Government and Dignity I may not find our Affairs in that Condition, as at present to answer to some Particulars which your Embassadors have propos'd, yet it is our Resolution to continue the League concluded by our Father with your Majesty, and to enter our selves into a stricter Engagement; and so soon as we shall rightly understand the State of Affairs on both sides, we shall always be ready on our part, to treat of those things which shall be most chiefly for the united Benefit of both Republicks. In the mean time God long preserve your Majesty to his Glory, and the Defence and Safeguard of his Orthodox Church.

From our Court at Westminster, Octob. 1658.

Richard, *Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince Charles Gustavus, King of the Swedes, Goths and Vandals, &c.*

Most Serene and Potent King, our Friend and Confederate;

WE have receiv'd two Letters from your Majesty, the one by your *Envoy*, the other transmitted to us from our Resident *Philip Meadows*, whereby we not only understood your Majesty's unfeigned Grief for the Death of our most Serene Father, in Expressions setting forth the real Thoughts of your Mind, and how highly your Majesty esteem'd his Prowess and Friendship, but also what great hopes your Majesty conceiv'd of our selves advanc'd in his room. And certainly, as an Accumulation of paternal Honour in deeming us worthy to succeed him, nothing more noble, more illustrious, could befall us than the Judgment of such a Prince; nothing more fortunately auspicious could happen to us, at our first entrance upon the Government, than such a Congratulator; nothing lastly that could more vehemently incite us to take possession of our Father's Vertues, as our lawful Inheritance, than the Encouragement of so great a King. As to what concerns your Majesty's Interests, already under Consideration between us, in reference to the common Cause of the Protestants, we would have your Majesty have those Thoughts of us, that since we came to the Helm of this Republick, tho the Condition of our Affairs be such at present, that they chiefly require our utmost Diligence, Care, and Vigilancy at home, yet that we hold nothing more Sacred, and that there is not any thing more determin'd by Us, than as much as in us lies, never to be wanting to the League concluded by our Father with your Majesty. To that end, we have taken care to send a Fleet into the *Baltic Sea*, with those Instructions which our Agent, to that purpose empower'd by us, will communicate to your Majesty, whom God preserve in long Safety, and prosper with Success in the Defence of his Orthodox Religion.

From our Court at Westminster, Octob. 13. 1658.

Richard,

Richard, *Protector, To the most Serene and Potent Prince, Charles Gustavus, King of the Swedes, Goths and Vandals, &c.*

Most Serene and most Potent King, our Friend and Confederate;

WE send to your Majesty, nor could we send a Present more worthy or more excellent, the truly brave and truly noble Sir *George Ascue* Knight, not only fam'd in War, and more especially for his Experience in Sea Affairs, approv'd and try'd in many desperate Engagements, but also endu'd with singular Probity, Modesty, Ingenuity, Learning, and for the Sweetness of his Disposition caress'd by all Men; and which is the sum of all, now desirous to serve under the Banners of your Majesty, so renown'd o're all the World for your Military Prowess. And we would have your Majesty be fully assur'd, that whatsoever high Employment you confer upon him, wherein Fidelity, Fortitude, Experience, may shine forth in their true Lustre, you cannot entrust a Person more faithful, more couragious, nor easily more skilful. Moreover, as to those things we have given him in charge to communicate to your Majesty, we request that he may have quick Access, and favourable Audience, and that you will vouchsafe the same Credit to him as to our selves, if personally present: Lastly, that you will give him that Honour as you shall judg becoming a Person dignify'd with his own Merits and our Recommendation. Now God Almighty prosper all your Affairs with happy Success, to his own Glory, and the Safeguard of his Orthodox Church.

From our Court at Whitehall, October, 1658.

Richard, *Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince Charles Gustavus, King of the Swedes, Goths and Vandals, &c.*

Most Serene and Potent King, our dearest Friend and Confederate;

SAmuel Piggot of London Merchant, in a Petition deliver'd to Us, sets forth, that he lately sent from London into France, upon the account of Trade, two Vessels, the one call'd the *Post*, *Tiddie Jacob* Master, the other the *Water-Dog*, *Garbrand Peters* Master. That from France, being laden with Salt, they sail'd for Amsterdam; at Amsterdam the one took in Ballast only; the other laden with Herrings, in Copartnership with one *Peter Heinbergh*, sail'd away for Stettin in Pomerania, which is under your Jurisdiction, there to unlade her Freight; but now he hears that both those Vessels are detain'd somewhere in the Baltic Sea by your Forces; notwithstanding that he took care to send a Writing with both those Ships, seal'd with the Seal of the Admiralty Court, by which it appear'd that he alone was the lawful Owner of both the Vessels and Goods, that part excepted which belong'd to *Heinbergh*. Of all which, in regard he has made full proof before us, we make it our Request to your Majesty (to prevent the Ruin and utter Shipwrack of the poor Man's Estate by the loss of two Ships at one time) that you would command your Officers to take care for the speedy discharge of the said Vessels. God long preserve your Majesty to his own Glory, and the Safeguard of his Orthodox Church.

Richard,

Richard, *Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the High and Mighty Lords, the States of Westfriezland.*

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends and Confederates;

Mary Grinder Widow, in a Petition presented to us, has made a most grievous Complaint, that whereas *Thomas Killebrew*, a Commander in your Service, has ow'd her for these eighteen Years a considerable Sum of Money, she can by her Agents neither bring him to pay the said Money, nor to try his Title at Law to the same, if he has any. Which that he may not be compell'd to do by the Widow's Attorney, he has petition'd your Highnesses, that no body may be suffer'd to sue him for any Money that he owes in *England*. But should we signify no more than only this to your Highnesses, that she is a Widow, that she is in great want, the Mother of many small Children, which her Creditor endeavours to deprive of almost all that little Support they have in this World, we cannot believe we need make use of any greater Arguments to your Lordships, so well acquainted with those Divine Precepts forbidding the Oppression of the Widow and the Fatherless, to perswade ye not to grant any such Privilege upon a bare Petition, to the fraudulent Subverter of the Widow's Right: and which for the same reason we assure our selves you will never admit.

From our Court at Westminster, Jan. 27. 1658.

Richard, *Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince, Lewis King of France.*

Most Serene and Potent Prince, our most August Confederate and Friend;

WE have been given to understand, and that to our no small Grief, That several Protestant Churches in *Provence* were so maliciously affronted and disturb'd by a certain turbulent Humourist, that the Magistrates at *Grenoble*, who are the proper Judges of such Causes, thought him worthy of exemplary Punishment: But that the Convention of the Clergy which was held not far from those places obtain'd of your Majesty, that the whole matter should be remov'd up to *Paris*, there to be heard before your Royal Council. But they not having as yet made any Determination in the Business, those Churches, and more especially that of *Ivoire*, are forbid to meet for the Worship of God. Most earnestly therefore we request your Majesty, That in the first place you would not prohibit those from preaching in publick, whose Prayers to God for your Safety and the Prosperity of your Kingdom, you are so free to suffer; then that the Sentence given against that impertinent Disturber of Divine Service, by the proper Judges of those Causes at *Grenoble*, may be duly put in execution. God long preserve your Majesty in Safety and Prosperity; to the end that if you have any good Opinion of our Prayers, or think 'em prevalent with God, you may be speedily induc'd to suffer the same to be publickly put up to Heaven by those Churches, now forbid their wonted Meetings.

Westminster, Feb. 18. 1658.

To the most eminent Lord Cardinal Mazarine.

Most Eminent Lord Cardinal ;

THE most illustrious Lady, late Wife of the deceased Duke of *Richmond*, is now going into *France*, together with the young Duke her Son, with an intention to reside there for some time. We therefore most earnestly request your Eminency, That if any thing fall out, wherein your Authority, Favour and Patronage may be assisting to 'em, as Strangers, you would vouchsafe to protect their Dignity, and to indulge the Recommendation of it not the meanest, in such a manner, that if any addition can be made to your Civility toward all People, especially, of illustrious Descent, we may be sensible our Letters have obtain'd it. Withal, your Excellency may assure your self, your Recommendation, whenever you require the like from us, shall be of equal Force and Value in our Esteem and Care.

Westminster, Feb. 29. 1658.

Richard, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince, John King of Portugal.

Most Serene and Potent Prince, our Friend and Confederate ;

ALthough there are many things which we are bound to impart by writing to a King our Friend, and in strict Confederacy with our Republick, yet there is nothing which we ever did more willingly, than what we do at this present, by these our Letters to congratulate this last Victory, so glorious to the Kingdom of *Portugal*, obtain'd against our common Enemy the *Spaniard*. By which, how great an Advantage will accrue not only to your own, but to the Peace and Repose of all *Europe*, and that perhaps for many Years, there is no body but understands. But there is one thing more, wherein we must acknowledg your Majesty's Justice, the most certain pledg of Victory ; That Satisfaction has been given by the Commissioners appointed at *London*, according to the 24th Article of the League, to our Merchants, whose Vessels were hir'd by the *Brasile* Company. Only there is one among 'em still remaining, *Alexander Bence* of *London* Merchant, whose Ship call'd the *Three Brothers*, *John Wilks* Master, being hir'd and laden, and having perform'd two Voyages for the said Company, yet still they refuse to pay him his Wages according to their Covenants ; when the rest that only perform'd single Voyages are already paid. Which why it should be done, we cannot understand, unless those People think, in their Judgment, that Person more worthy of his Hire, who did 'em only single Service, than he who earn'd his Wages twice. We therefore earnestly request your Majesty, that Satisfaction may be given for his Service truly perform'd, to this same single *Alexander*, to whom a double Stipend is due ; and that by virtue of your Royal Authority you would prefix the *Brasile* Company as short a day as may be, for the payment of his just due, and repairing his Losses ; seeing that their Delays have been the occasion that the Loss sustain'd by the Merchant has very near exceeded the Money it self which is owing for his Wages. So God continue your Majesty's prosperous Successes against the common Enemy.

From our Court at Westminster, Feb. 23. 1658.

Richard,

Richard, *Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.* To the most
Eminent Lord Cardinal Mazarin.

Most Eminent Lord;

BY Letters to your Eminency, about eight Months since, dated June 13. we recommended to your Eminency the Cause of *Peter Pet*, a Person of singular Probity, and in all Naval Sciences most useful both to us and our Republick. His Ship call'd the *Edward*, in the Year 1646. as we formerly wrote, was taken in the mouth of the *Thames* by one *Bafcon*, and sold in the Port of *Boulogne*; and though the King in his Royal Council, the 4th of *November*, 1647. decreed, That what Money the Council should think fitting to be given in recompence of the Loss, should be forthwith paid in Satisfaction to the Owner; nevertheless, as he sets forth, he could never reap the Benefit of that Order. Now in regard we make no question but that your Eminency, at our Desire, gave strict Command for the speedy execution of that Decree; we make it therefore our renew'd Request, that you would vouchsafe to examine where the Impediment lies, or through whose Neglect or Contumacy it came to pass, that in ten Years time the King's Decree was not obey'd; and employ your Authority so effectually, that the Money then decreed, which we thought long since satisfy'd, may be speedily demanded and paid to our Petitioner. Thus your Eminency will perform an Act most grateful to Justice, and lay moreover a singular Obligation upon our selves.

From our Court at Westminster, Feb. 25. 1658.

The two following Letters, after the Deposal of *Richard*, were written in the Name of the Parliament Restor'd.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince *Charles Gustavus*, King of the *Swedes*, *Goths* and *Vandals*, &c.

Most Serene and Potent King, our dearest Friend;

SINCE it has pleas'd the most merciful and omnipotent God, at whose Disposal only the Revolutions of all Kingdoms and Republicks are, to restore us to our pristin Authority, and the supream Administration of the English Affairs, we thought it convenient in the first place to make it known to your Majesty, and to signify moreover as well our extraordinary Affection to your Majesty, so potent a Protestant Prince, as also our most fervent Zeal to promote the Peace between your Majesty and the King of *Denmark*, another most powerful Protestant King, not to be reconcil'd without our Assistance and the good Offices of our Affection. Our Pleasure therefore is, that our Extraordinary Envoy *Philip Meadows* be continued in the same Employment with your Majesty, with which he has been hitherto entrusted from this Republick. To which end we empower him by these our Letters to make Proposals, act and negotiate with your Majesty, in the same manner as was granted him by his last Recommendations: and whatsoever he shall transact and conclude in our Name, we faithfully promise and engage, by God's Assistance, to confirm and ratify. The same God long support your Majesty, the Pillar and Support of the Protestant Interests.

Westminster,
May 15. 1659.

William Lenthall, Speaker of the Parliament of
the Commonwealth of *England*.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, &c. To the most Serene Prince Frederick, King of Denmark.

Most Serene King, and most dear Friend;

Seeing it now is come to pass, that by the Will and Pleasure of the most merciful and powerful God, the supream Moderator of all things, we are restor'd to our pristin Place and Dignity, in the Administraction of the Publick Affairs, we thought it convenient in the first place, that a Revolution of this Government should not be conceal'd from your Majesty's notice, a Prince both our Neighbour and Confederate; and withal, to signify how much we lay to heart your ill Success: which you will easily perceive by our Zeal and Diligence, that never shall be wanting in us to promote and accomplish a Reconciliation between your Majesty and the King of *Sweden*. And therefore we have commanded our Extraordinary Envoy with the most Serene King of *Sweden*, *Philip Meadows*, to attend your Majesty, in our Name, in order to these Matters, and to impart, propound, act and negotiate such things as we have given him in charge to communicate to your Majesty: and what credit you shall give to him in this his Employment, we request your Majesty to believe it given to our selves. God Almighty grant your Majesty a happy and joyful Deliverance out of all your Difficulties and afflicting Troubles, under which you stand so undauntedly supported by your Fortitude and Magnanimity.

*Westminster,
May 15. 1659.*

*William Lenthall, Speaker of the Parliament of
the Commonwealth of England.*

A

T R E A T I S E

O F

Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes:

S H E W I N G,

That it is not lawful for any Power on Earth to
compel in Matters of Religion.

*To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England,
with the Dominions thereof.*

I Have prepar'd, supream Council, against the much expected time of your sitting, this Treatise; which, though to all Christian Magistrates equally belonging, and therefore to have bin written in the common Language of Christendom, natural Duty and Affection hath confin'd, and dedicated first to my own Nation: and in a season wherein the timely reading thereof, to the easier accomplishment of your great work, may save you much labour and interruption: of two parts usually propos'd, Civil and Ecclesiastical, recommending Civil only to your proper care, Ecclesiastical to them only from whom it takes both that Name and Nature. Yet not for this cause only do I require or trust to find acceptance, but in a twofold respect besides: first as bringing clear Evidence of Scripture and Protestant Maxims to the Parliament of *England*, who in all their late Acts, upon occasion, have profess'd to assert only the true Protestant Christian Religion, as it is contain'd in the holy Scriptures: next, in regard that your Power being but for a time, and having in your selves a Christian Liberty of your own, which at one time or other may be oppress'd, thereof truly sensible, it will concern you while you are in power, so to regard other Mens Consciences, as you would your own should be regarded in the power of others; and to consider that any Law against Conscience is alike in force against any Conscience, and so may one way or other, justly redound upon your selves. One advantage I make no doubt of, that I shall write to many eminent Persons of your number, already perfect and resolv'd in this important Article of Christianity. Some of whom I remember to have heard often for several Years, at a Council next in Authority to your own, so well joining Religion with civil Prudence, and yet so well distinguishing the different Power of either, and this not only voting, but frequently reasoning why it should be so, that if any there present had bin before of an opinion contrary, he might doubtless have departed thence a Convert in that point, and have confess'd, that then both Commonwealth and Religion will at length, if ever, flourish in Christendom, when either they who govern discern between Civil and Religious, or they only who so discern shall be admitted to govern. Till then nothing but Troubles, Persecutions, Commotions can be expected; the inward decay of true Religion among our selves, and the utter overthrow at last by a common Enemy. Of Civil Liberty I have written hertofore by the appointment, and not without the approbation of Civil Power: of Christian Liberty I write now, which others long since having don with all freedom under Heathen Emperors,

perors, I shall do wrong to suspect, that I now shall with less, under Christian Governors, and such especially as profess openly their defence of Christian Liberty; although I write this, not otherwise appointed or induc'd, than by an inward perswasion of the Christian Duty, which I may usefully discharge herein to the common Lord and Master of us all, and the certain hope of his approbation, first and chiefest to be sought: In the hand of whose Providence I remain, praying all success and good event on your publick Councils, to the defence of true Religion and our Civil Rights.

A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes.

TWO things there be which have bin ever found working much Mischief to the Church of God, and the Advancement of Truth; Force on one side restraining, and Hire on the other side corrupting the Teachers thereof. Few Ages have bin since the Ascension of our Saviour, wherein the one of these two, or both together have not prevail'd. It can be at no time therefore unseasonable to speak of these things; since by them the Church is either in continual Detriment and Oppression, or in continual danger. The former shall be at this time my Argument; the latter as I shall find God disposing me, and opportunity inviting. What I argue, shall be drawn from the Scripture only; and therein from true fundamental Principles of the Gospel, to all knowing Christians undeniable. And if the Governors of this Commonwealth since the rooting out of Prelats have made least use of Force in Religion, and most have favour'd Christian Liberty of any in this Iland before them since the first preaching of the Gospel, for which we are not to forget our Thanks to God, and their due Praise; they may, I doubt not, in this Treatise find that which not only will confirm them to defend still the Christian Liberty which we enjoy, but will incite them also to enlarge it, if in aught they yet straiten it. To them who perhaps hereafter, less experienc'd in Religion, may come to govern or give us Laws, this or other such, if they please, may be a timely instruction: however to the Truth it will be at all times no unneedful Testimony; at least some discharge of that general Duty which no Christian but according to what he hath receiv'd, knows is requir'd of him if he have aught more conducing to the advancement of Religion then what is usually endeavour'd, freely to impart it.

It will require no great labor of Exposition to unfold what is here meant by matters of Religion; being as soon apprehended as defin'd, such things as belong chiefly to the Knowledg and Service of God: and are either above the reach and light of Nature without Revelation from above, and therefore liable to be variously understood by human Reason, or such things as are enjoin'd or forbidden by divine Precept, which els by the Light of Reason would seem indifferent to be don or not don; and so likewise must needs appear to every Man as the Precept is understood. Whence I here mean by Conscience or Religion, that full perswasion wherby we are assur'd that our Belief and Practice, as far as we are able to apprehend and probably make appear, is according to the Will of God and his holy Spirit within us, which we ought to follow much rather than any Law of Man, as not only his Word every where bids us, but the very Dictate of Reason tells us. *Acts 4. 19. Whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken to you more than to God, judg ye.* That for Belief or Practice in Religion according to this conscientious Perswasion, no Man ought to be punish'd or molested by any outward Force on Earth whatsoever, I distrust not, through God's implor'd Assistance, to make plain by these following Arguments.

First, it cannot be deni'd, being the main Foundation of our Protestant Religion, that we of these Ages, having no other divine Rule or Authority from without us warrantable to one another as a common ground but the holy Scripture, and no other within us but the Illumination of the holy Spirit so
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interpreting that Scripture as warrantable only to our selves, and to such whose Consciences we can so perswade, can have no other ground in matters of Religion but only from the Scriptures. And these being not possible to be understood without this Divine Illumination, which no Man can know at all times to be in himself, much less to be at any time for certain in any other, it follows clearly, that no Man or body of Men in these times can be the infallible Judges or Determiners in matters of Religion to any other Mens Consciences but their own. And therefore those Bereans are commended, *Acts 17. 11.* who after the preaching even of *S. Paul*, search'd the Scriptures daily, whether those things were so. Nor did they more than what God himself in many places commands us by the same Apostle, to search, to try, to judge of these things our selves: And gives us reason also, *Gal. 6. 4, 5.* *Let every Man prove his own Work, and then shall he have rejoycing in himself alone, and not in another: for every Man shall bear his own burden.* If then we count it so ignorant and irreligious in the Papist to think himself discharg'd in God's account, believing only as the Church believes, how much greater Condemnation will it be to the Protestant his Condemner, to think himself justified, believing only as the State believes? With good cause therefore it is the general consent of all sound Protestant Writers, that neither Traditions, Councils nor Canons of any visible Church, much less Edicts of any Magistrate or Civil Session, but the Scripture only can be the final Judge or Rule in matters of Religion, and that only in the Conscience of every Christian to himself. Which Protestation made by the first publick Reformers of our Religion against the Imperial Edicts of *Charles the fifth*, imposing Church-Traditions without Scripture, gave first beginning to the name of *Protestant*; and with that name hath ever bin receiv'd this Doctrine, which prefers the Scripture before the Church, and acknowledges none but the Scripture sole Interpreter of it self to the Conscience. For if the Church be not sufficient to be implicitly believ'd, as we hold it is not, what can there els be nam'd of more Authority than the Church but the Conscience, than which God only is greater, *1 Joh. 3. 20*? But if any Man shall pretend, that the Scripture judges to his Conscience for other Men, he makes himself greater not only than the Church, but also than the Scripture, than the Consciences of other Men; a Presumption too high for any Mortal, since every true Christian, able to give a reason of his Faith, hath the Word of God before him, the promis'd Holy Spirit, and the Mind of Christ within him, *1 Cor. 2. 16.* a much better and safer guide of Conscience, which as far as concerns himself he may far more certainly know than any outward Rule impos'd upon him by others whom he inwardly neither knows nor can know; at least knows nothing of them more sure than this one thing, that they cannot be his Judges in Religion. *1 Cor. 2. 15.* *The spiritual Man judgeth all things, but he himself is judg'd of no Man.* Chiefly for this cause do all true Protestants account the Pope Antichrist, for that he assumes to himself this Infallibility over both the Conscience and the Scripture; sitting in the Temple of God, as it were opposite to God, and exalting himself above all that is called God, or is worshipped, *2 Thess. 2. 4.* That is to say not only above all Judges and Magistrates, who though they be call'd Gods, are far beneath infallible, but also above God himself, by giving Law both to the Scripture, to the Conscience, and to the Spirit it self of God within us. Whenas we find, *James 4. 12.* *There is one Lawgiver, who is able to save and to destroy: Who art thou that judgest another?* That Christ is the only Lawgiver of his Church, and that it is here meant in religious matters, no well-grounded Christian will deny. Thus also *S. Paul*, *Rom. 14. 4.* *Who art thou that judgest the Servant of another? to his own Lord he standeth or falleth: but he shall stand; for God is able to make him stand.* As therefore of one beyond expression bold and presumptuous, both these Apostles demand, *Who art thou that presum'st to impose other Law or Judgment in Religion than the only Lawgiver and Judge Christ, who only can save and destroy,* gives to the Conscience? And the forecited place to the *Thessalonians* by compar'd Effects resolves us, that be he or they who or wherever they be or can be, they are of far less Authority than the Church, whom in these things as Protestants they receive not, and yet no less Antichrist in this main point of Antichristianism, no less a Pope or Popedom than he at *Rome*, if not much more; by
setting

setting up supreme Interpreters of Scripture either those Doctors whom they follow, or, which is far worse, themselves as a civil Papacy assuming unaccountable Supremacy to themselves not in Civil only but in Ecclesiastical Causes. Seeing then that in matters of Religion, as hath been prov'd, none can judg or determin here on Earth, no not Church-Governors themselves, against the Consciences of other Believers, my Inference is, or rather not mine but our Saviour's own, that in those matters they neither can command nor use Constraint, lest they run rashly on a pernicious Consequence, forewarn'd in that Parable, *Mat. 13.* from the 26th to the 31st Verse: *Lest while ye gather up the Tares, ye root up also the Wheat with them. Let both grow together until the Harvest: and in the time of Harvest I will say to the Reapers, Gather ye together first the Tares, &c.* Whereby he declares that this work neither his own Ministers nor any els can discerningly enough or judgingly perform without his own immediat direction, in his own fit season; and that they ought till then not to attempt it. Which is further confirm'd *2 Cor. 1. 24.* *Not that we have dominion over your Faith, but are helpers of your Joy.* If Apostles had no Dominion or constraining Power over Faith or Conscience, much less have ordinary Ministers, *1 Pet. 5. 2, 3.* *Feed the Flock of God not by constraint, &c. neither as being Lords over God's Heritage.* But some will object, that this overthrows all Church-discipline, all Censure of Errors, if no Man can determin. My Answer is, that what they hear is plain Scripture, which forbids not Church-sentence or determining, but as it ends in violence upon the Conscience unconvinc'd. Let who so will interpret or determin, so it be according to true Church-discipline, which is exercis'd on them only who have willingly join'd themselves in that Cov'nant of Union, and proceeds only to a separation from the rest, proceeds never to any corporal inforcement or forfeiture of Money, which in spiritual things are the two Arms of Antichrist, not of the true Church; the one being an Inquisition, the other no better than a temporal indulgence of Sin for Money, whether by the Church exacted or by the Magistrate; both the one and the other a temporal Satisfaction for what Christ hath satisfied eternally; a popish commuting of Penalty, corporal for spiritual; a satisfaction to Man, especially to the Magistrate, for what and to whom we owe none: these and more are the Injustices of force and fining in Religion, besides what I most insist on, the violation of God's express Commandment in the Gospel, as hath bin shewn. Thus then if Church-Governors cannot use Force in Religion, though but for this reason, because they cannot infallibly determin to the Conscience without convincement, much less have Civil Magistrates authority to use Force where they can much less judg, unless they mean only to be the civil Executioners of them who have no Civil Power to give them such Commission, no nor yet Ecclesiastical to any force or violence in Religion. To sum up all in brief, if we must believe as the Magistrate appoints, why not rather as the Church? If not as either without Convincement, how can Force be lawful? But some are ready to cry out, what shall then be done to Blasphemy? Them I would first exhort not thus to terrify and pose the People with a Greek word; but to teach them better what it is, being a most usual and common word in that Language to signifie any slander, any malicious or evil speaking, whether against God or Man, or any thing to good belonging: Blasphemy or evil speaking against God maliciously, is far from Conscience in Religion, according to that of *Mar. 9. 39.* *There is none who doth a powerful work in my name, and can likely speak evil of me.* If this suffice not, I refer them to that prudent and well-deliberated Act, *August 9. 1650.* wher the Parliament defines Blasphemy against God, as far as it is a Crime belonging to civil Judicature, *plenius ac melius Chrysippo & Crantore*; in plain English, more warily, more judiciously, more orthodoxally than twice their number of Divines have don in many a prolix Volume: although in all likelihood they whose whole study and profession these things are, should be most intelligent and authentic therein, as they are for the most part, yet neither they nor these unerring always, or infallible. But we shall not carry it thus; another Greek Apparition stands in our way, *Heresie* and *Heretic*; in like manner also rail'd at to the People as in a Tongue unknown. They should first interpret to them, that *Heresie*, by what it signifies in that Language, is no word of evil note, meaning only the choise or following of any

any opinion good or bad in Religion or any other Learning: and thus not only in Heathen Authors, but in the New Testament it self without censure or blame; Acts 15. 5. *Certain of the Heresy of the Pharises which believ'd*; and 26. 5. *After the exactest Heresy of our Religion I liv'd a Pharise*. In which sense Presbyterian or Independent may without reproach be call'd a Heresy. Where it is mention'd with blame, it seems to differ little from Schism; 1 Cor. 11. 18, 19. *I hear that there be Schisms among you, &c. for there must also Heresies be among you, &c.* Though some who write of Heresy after thir own Heads, would make it far worse than Schism; when as on the contrary, Schism signifies division, and in the worst sense; Heresy, choise only of one Opinion before another, which may be without Discord. In Apostolic times therefore; ere the Scripture was written, Heresy was a Doctrin maintain'd against the Doctrin by them deliver'd; which in these times can be no otherwise defin'd than a Doctrin maintain'd against the Light, which we now only have of the Scripture. Seeing therefore that no Man, no Synod, no Session of men, though call'd the Church, can judg definitively the sense of Scripture to another mans Conscience, which is well known to be a general maxim of the Protestant Religion; it follows plainly, that he who holds in Religion that belief, or those opinions which to his Conscience and utmost understanding appear with most evidence or probability in the Scripture, though to others he seem erroneous, can no more be justly censur'd for a Heretic than his censurers; who do but the same thing themselves while they censure him for so doing. For ask them, or any Protestant, which hath most Authority, the Church or the Scripture? They will answer, doubtless, that the Scripture: and what hath most Authority, that no doubt but they will confess is to be follow'd. He then who to his best apprehension follows the Scripture, though against any point of Doctrin by the whole Church receiv'd, is not the Heretic; but he who follows the Church against his Conscience and Perswasion grounded on the Scripture. To make this yet more undeniable, I shall only borrow a plain simily, the same which our own Writers, when they would demonstrate plainest, that we rightly prefer the Scripture before the Church, use frequently against the Papist in this manner. As the Samaritans believ'd Christ, first for the Woman's Word, but next and much rather for his own, so we the Scripture: first on the Churches Word, but afterwards and much more for its own, as the Word of God; yea the Church it self we believe then for the Scripture. The inference of it self follows: if by the Protestant Doctrin we believe the Scripture, not for the Churches saying, but for its own as the Word of God, then ought we to believe what in our Conscience we apprehend the Scripture to say; tho the Visible Church, with all her Docters gainsay: and being taught to believe them only for the Scripture, they who so do are not Heretics, but the best Protestants: and by thir opinions, whatever they be, can hurt no Protestant, whose Rule is not to receive them but from the Scripture; which to interpret convincingly to his own Conscience, none is able but himself guided by the Holy Spirit; and not so guided, none than he to himself can be a worse Deceiver. To Protestants therefore whose common Rule and Touchstone is the Scripture, nothing can with more Conscience, more Equity, nothing more Protestantly can be permitted, than a free and lawful Debate at all times by Writing, Conference, or disputation of what Opinion soever, disputable by Scripture: concluding, that no man in Religion is properly a Heretic at this day, but he who maintains Traditions or Opinions not probable by Scripture, who, for ought I know, is the Papist only; he the only Heretic, who counts all Heretics but himself. Such as these, indeed, were capitally punish'd by the Law of *Moses*, as the only true Heretics, Idolaters, plain and open deserters of God and his known Law: but in the Gospel such are punish'd by Excommunication only. Tit. 3. 10. *An Heretic, after the first and second Admonition, reject*. But they who think not this heavy enough, and understand not that dreadful aw and spiritual Efficacy which the Apostle hath express'd so highly to be in Church-disciplin, 2 Cor. 10. of which anon, and think weakly that the Church of God cannot long subsist but in a bodily fear, for want of other proof will needs wrest that place of *S. Paul*, Rom. 13. to set up civil Inquisition, and give Power to the Magistrate both of civil Judgment, and punishment in causes Ecclesiastical. But let us see with what

strength of Argument ; *Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers.* First, how prove they that the Apostle means other Powers than such as they to whom he writes were then under ; who medl'd not at all in Ecclesiastical Causes, unless as Tyrants and Persecuters ? And from them, I hope, they will not derive either the right of Magistrates to judg in Spiritual things, or the duty of such our Obedience. How prove they next, that he intitles them here to spiritual Causes, from whom he withheld, as much as in him lay, the judging of Civil ? *1 Cor. 6. 1, &c.* If he himself appeal'd to *Cesar*, it was to judg his Innocence, not his Religion. *For Rulers are not a Terror to good Works, but to the evil :* then are they not a terror to Conscience, which is the rule or judg of good Works grounded on the Scripture. But Heresy, they say, is reckon'd among evil Works, *Gal. 5. 20.* as if all evil Works were to be punish'd by the Magistrate ; whereof this place, thir own Citation, reck'ns up besides Heresy a sufficient number to confute them, *Uncleanness, Wantonness, Enmity, Strife, Emulations, Animosities, Contentions, Envyings ;* all which are far more manifest to be judg'd by him than Heresy, as they define it ; and yet I suppose they will not subject these evil Works, nor many more such like to his cognizance and Punishment. *Wilt thou then not be afraid of the Power ? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same.* This shews that Religious matters are not here meant ; wherein, from the Power here spoken of, they could have no praise : *For he is the Minister of God to thee for good :* True ; but in that Office, and to that end, and by those means which in this place must be clearly found, if from this place they intend to argue. And how, for thy good by forcing, oppressing, and insnaring thy Conscience ? Many are the Ministers of God, and thir Offices no less different than many ; none more different than State and Church-Government. Who seeks to govern both, must needs be worse than any Lord Prelat, or Church-pluralist ; for he in his own Faculty and Profession, the other not in his own, and for the most part not thoroughly understood, makes himself supream Lord or Pope of the Church, as far as his Civil Jurisdiction stretches ; and all the Ministers of God therin, his Ministers, or his Curates rather in the Function only, not in the Government ; while he himself assumes to rule by Civil Power things to be rul'd only by Spiritual : when as this very Chapter *Vtr. 6.* appointing him his peculiar Office, which requires utmost attendance, forbids him this worse than Church-plurality from that full and weighty Charge, wherein alone he is *the Minister of God, attending continually on this very thing.* To little purpose will they here instance *Moses*, who did all by immediate Divine direction ; no nor yet *Asa, Jehosaphat, or Josia*, who both might when they pleas'd, receive answer from God, and had a Commonwealth by him deliver'd them, incorporated with a National Church, exercis'd more in bodily, than in spiritual Worship ; so as that the Church might be call'd a Commonwealth, and the whole Commonwealth a Church : nothing of which can be said of Christianity, deliver'd without the help of Magistrates, yea in the midst of thir opposition ; how little then with any reference to them, or mention of them, save only of our Obedience to thir Civil Laws, as they countenance Good, and deter Evil ? which is the proper work of the Magistrate, following in the same Verse, and shews distinctly wherein he is the Minister of God, *a revenger to execute Wrath on him that doth evil.* But we must first know who it is that doth Evil ; the Heretic they say among the first. Let it be known then certainly who is a Heretic ; and that he who holds opinions in Religion professedly from Tradition, or his own Inventions, and not from Scripture, but rather against it, is the only Heretic ; and yet though such, not always punishable by the Magistrate, unless he do evil against a Civil Law, properly so call'd, hath been already prov'd without need of Repetition ; *But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid.* To do by Scripture and the Gospel, according to Conscience, is not to do evil ; if we therof ought not to be afraid, he ought not by his judging to give cause : causes therfore of Religion are not here meant ; *For he beareth not the Sword in vain.* Yes altogether in vain, if it smite he knows not what ; if that for Heresy which not the Church it self, much less he can determin absolutely to be so ; if Truth for Error, being himself so often fallible, he bears the Sword not in vain only, but unjustly and to evil. *Be subject not only for wrath, but for Conscience sake :* How for Conscience sake, against Conscience ? By all these reasons it appears plainly

planely that the Apostle in this place gives no Judgment or coercive Power to Magistrates, neither to those then, nor these now, in matters of Religion; and exhorts us no otherwise than he exhorted those *Romans*. It hath now twice befallen me to assert, through God's Assistance, this most wrested and vex'd Place of Scripture; heretofore against *Salmasius*, and regal Tyranny over the State; now against *Eraſmus*, and State-tyranny over the Church. If from such uncertain, or rather such improbable Grounds as these, they endue Magistracy with spiritual Judgment, they may as well invest him in the same spiritual kind with power of utmost Punishment, Excommunication; and then turn Spiritual into Corporal, as no worse Authors did then *Chrysostom*, *Jerom*, and *Austin*, whom *Eraſmus* and others in their notes on the New Testament have cited to interpret, that cutting off which *S. Paul* wish'd to them who had brought back the *Galatians* to Circumcision, no less then the amercement of their whole Virility: and *Grotius* adds, that this concising punishment of Circumcisers, became a Penal Law therupon among the *Visigothes*: a dangerous example of beginning in the Spirit to end so in the Flesh; whereas that cutting off much likelier seems meant a cutting off from the Church, not unusually so term'd in Scripture, and a zealous imprecation, not a command. But I have mention'd this Passage, to shew how absurd they often prove, who have not learn'd to distinguish rightly between Civil Power and Ecclesiastical. How many Persecutions then, Imprisonments, Banishments, Penalties, and Stripes; how much bloodshed have the forcers of Conscience to answer for, and Protestants rather than Papists! For the Papist, judging by his Principles, punishes them who believe not as the Church believes, though against the Scripture: but the Protestant, teaching every one to believe the Scripture, though against the Church, counts Heretical, and persecutes against his own Principles, them who in any particular so believe as he in general teaches them; them who most honour and believe divine Scripture, but not against it any human Interpretation though universal; them who interpret Scripture only to themselves, which by his own position, none but they to themselves can interpret: them who use the Scripture no otherwise by his own Doctrine to their Edification, than he himself uses it to their punishing; and so whom his Doctrine acknowledges a true Believer, his Discipline persecutes as a Heretic. The Papist exacts our belief as to the Church due above Scripture; and by the Church, which is the whole People of God, understands the Pope, the general Councils, prelatical only, and the farnam'd Fathers: but the forcing Protestant, though he deny such belief to any Church whatsoever, yet takes it to himself and his Teachers, of far less Authority than to be call'd the Church, and above Scripture believ'd; which renders his practice both contrary to his belief, and far worse than that Belief which he condemns in the Papist. By all which well consider'd, the more he professes to be a true Protestant, the more he hath to answer for his persecuting than a Papist. No Protestant therefore, of what Sect soever, following Scripture only, which is the common Sect wherein they all agree, and the granted rule of every mans Conscience to himself, ought, by the common Doctrine of Protestants, to be forc'd or molested for Religion. But as for Popery and Idolatry, why they also may not hence plead to be tolerated, I have much less to say. Their Religion the more consider'd, the less can be acknowledg'd a Religion; but a Roman Principality rather, endeavouring to keep up her old universal Dominion under a new name, and meer shadow of a Catholick Religion; being indeed more rightly nam'd a Catholick Heresy against the Scripture, supported mainly by a Civil, and, except in *Rome*, by a foreign Power: justly therefore to be suspected, not tolerated by the Magistrate of another Country. Besides, of an implicit Faith which they profess, the Conscience also becomes implicit, and so by voluntary servitude to mans Law, forfeits her Christian Liberty. Who then can plead for such a Conscience, as being implicitly enthral'd to man instead of God, almost becomes no Conscience, as the Will not free, becomes no Will? Nevertheless if they ought not to be tolerated, it is for just reason of State, more than of Religion; which they who force, though professing to be Protestants, deserve as little to be tolerated themselves, being no less guilty of Popery, in the most Popish Point. Lastly, for Idolatry, who knows it not to be evidently against all Scripture, both of the Old and New Testament, and there-

fore a true Herefy, or rather an Impiety, wherein a right Conscience can have naught to do; and the Works thereof so manifest, that a Magistrate can hardly err in prohibiting and quite removing at least the publick and scandalous Use thereof?

From the riddance of these Objections, I proceed yet to another Reason why it is unlawful for the Civil Magistrate to use Force in Matters of Religion; which is, because to judg in those things, though we should grant him able, which is prov'd he is not, yet as a Civil Magistrate he hath no right. Christ hath a Government of his own, sufficient of it self to all his Ends and Purposes in governing his Church, but much different from that of the Civil Magistrate; and the difference in this very thing principally consists, that it governs not by outward Force; and that for two Reasons. First, Because it deals only with the inward Man and his Actions, which are all Spiritual, and to outward Force not liable. 2ly, To shew us the Divine Excellence of his Spiritual Kingdom, able, without worldly Force, to subdue all the Powers and Kingdoms of this World, which are upheld by outward Force only. That the inward Man is nothing els but the inward part of Man, his Understanding and his Will; and that his Actions thence proceeding, yet not simply thence, but from the Work of Divine Grace upon them, are the whole Matter of Religion under the Gospel, will appear plainly by considering what that Religion is; whence we shall perceive yet more plainly that it cannot be forc'd. What Evangelic Religion is, is told in two words, *Faith and Charity, or Belief and Practice*. That both these flow, either the one from the Understanding, the other from the Will, or both jointly from both; once indeed naturally free, but now only as they are regenerate and wrought on by Divine Grace, is in part evident to common Sense and Principles unquestioned, the rest by Scripture: Concerning our Belief, *Mat. 16. 17. Flesh and Blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in Heaven*. Concerning our practice, as it is religious, and not meerly civil, *Gal. 5. 22, 23.* and other places, declare it to be the Fruit of the Spirit only. Nay, our whole practical Duty in Religion is contain'd in Charity, or the Love of God and our Neighbour, no way to be forc'd, yet the fulfilling of the whole Law; that is to say, our whole practice in Religion. If then both our Belief and Practice, which comprehend our whole Religion, flow from Faculties of the inward Man, free and unconstrainable of themselves by Nature, and our Practice not only from Faculties endu'd with freedom, but from Love and Charity besides, incapable of Force, and all these things by Transgression lost, but renewed and regenerated in us by the Power and Gift of God alone; how can such Religion as this admit of Force from Man, or Force be any way appli'd to such Religion, especially under the free Offer of Grace in the Gospel, but it must forthwith frustrate and make of no effect, both the Religion and the Gospel? And that to compel outward Profession, which they will say perhaps ought to be compell'd, though inward Religion cannot, is to compel Hypocrisy, not to advance Religion, shall yet, though of it self clear enough, be ere the conclusion further manifest. The other reason why Christ rejects outward Force in the Government of his Church, is, as I said before, to shew us the Divine Excellence of his Spiritual Kingdom, able without worldly Force to subdue all the Powers and Kingdoms of this World, which are upheld by outward Force only: By which to uphold Religion otherwise than to defend the Religious from outward Violence, is no Service to Christ or his Kingdom, but rather a Disparagement, and degrades it from a Divine and Spiritual Kingdom, to a Kingdom of this World: which he denies it to be, because it needs not Force to confirm it: *Joh. 18. 36. If my Kingdom were of this World, then would my Servants fight, that I should not be deliver'd to the Jews*. This proves the Kingdom of Christ not govern'd by outward Force, as being none of this World, whose Kingdoms are maintain'd all by Force only: and yet disproves not that a Christian Commonwealth may defend it self against outward Force, in the Cause of Religion as well as in any other; though Christ himself coming purposely to die for us, would not be so defended. *1 Cor. 1. 27. God hath chosen the weak things of the World, to confound the things which are mighty*. Then surely he hath not chosen the Force of this World to subdue Conscience, and conscientious Men, who in this World are counted weakest; but rather Con-

science,

science, as being weakest, to subdue and regulate Force, his Adversary, not his Aid or Instrument in governing the Church: 2 Cor. 10. 3, 4, 5, 6. *For though we walk in the Flesh, we do not war after the Flesh: For the Weapons of our Warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds, casting down Imaginations, and every high thing that exalts it self against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ: And having in a readiness to avenge all disobedience.* It is evident by the first and second Verses of this Chapter, that the Apostle here speaks of that Spiritual Power by which Christ governs his Church, how allsufficient it is, how powerful to reach the Conscience, and the inward Man with whom it chiefly deals, and whom no Power els can deal with. In comparison of which, as it is here thus magnificently describ'd, how uneffectual and weak is outward Force with all her boistrous Tools, to the shame of those Christians, and especially those Churchmen, who to the exercising of Church Discipline, never cease calling on the Civil Magistrate to interpose his fleshly Force? an Argument that all true ministerial and spiritual Power is dead within them; who think the Gospel, which both began and spread over the whole World for above three hundred Years, under heathen and persecuting Emperors, cannot stand or continue, supported by the same Divine Presence and Protection, to the World's end, much easier under the defensive Favour only of a Christian Magistrate, unless it be enacted and settled, as they call it, by the State, a Statute or a State-Religion; and understand not that the Church it self cannot, much less the State, settle or impose one tittle of Religion upon our Obedience implicit, but can only recommend or propound it to our free and conscientious examination: unless they mean to set the State higher than the Church in Religion, and with a gross Contradiction give to the State in their settling Petition, that command of our implicit Belief, which they deny in their settled Confession, both to the State and to the Church. Let them cease then to importune and interrupt the Magistrate from attending to his own Charge in Civil and Moral things, the settling of things Just, things Honest, the defence of things Religious, settled by the Churches within themselves; and the repressing of their Contraries determinable by the common-Light of Nature; which is not to constrain or to repress Religion, probable by Scripture, but the Violaters and Persecutors thereof: Of all which things he hath enough and more than enough to do, left yet undone; for which the Land groans, and Justice goes to wrack the while. Let him also forbear Force wher he hath no right to judg, for the Conscience is not his Province, lest a worse *Woe* arrive him; for worse offending than was denounc'd by our Saviour, *Matth. 23. 23.* against the Pharisees: Ye have forc'd the Conscience, which was not to be forc'd; but Judgment and Mercy ye have not executed; this ye should have done, and the other let alone. And since it is the Counsel and set Purpose of God in the Gospel, by spiritual Means which are counted weak, to overcome all Power which resists him; let them not go about to do that by worldly strength, which he hath decreed to do by those means which the World counts Weakness, lest they be again obnoxious to that Saying which in another place is also written of the Pharisees, *Luke 7. 30.* *that they frustrated the Counsel of God.* The main Plea is, and urg'd with much vehemence to their imitation, that the Kings of *Juda*, as I touch'd before, and especially *Josia*, both judg'd and us'd Force in Religion: *2 Chron. 34. 33.* *He made all that were present in Israel to serve the Lord their God:* an Argument, if it be well weigh'd, worse than that us'd by the false Prophet *Shemaia* to the High Priest, that in imitation of *Jebojada*, he ought to put *Jeremiah* in the Stocks, *Jer. 29. 24, 26, &c.* for which he receiv'd his due Denouncement from God. But to this besides I return a threefold Answer: First, That the State of Religion under the Gospel is far differing from what it was under the Law; then was the State of Rigour, Childhood, Bondage and Works, to all which Force was not unbecom'g; now is the State of Grace, Manhood, Freedom and Faith, to all which belongs Willingness and Reason, not Force: The Law was then written on Tables of Stone, and to be perform'd according to the Letter, willingly or unwillingly; the Gospel, our New Cov'nant, upon the Heart of every Believer, to be interpreted only by the sense of Charity and inward Perswasion: The Law had no distinct Govern-

Government or Governors of Church and Commonwealth, but the Priests and Levites judg'd in all Causes, not Ecclesiastical only, but Civil, *Deut.* 17. 8, &c. which under the Gospel is forbidden to all Church-Ministers, as a thing which Christ their Master in his Ministry disclaim'd, *Luke* 12. 14. as a thing beneath them, *1 Cor.* 6. 4. and by many of our Statutes, as to them who have a peculiar and far differing Government of thir own. If not, why different the Governours? why not Church-ministers in State-affairs, as well as State-ministers in Church-affairs? If Church and State shall be made one Flesh again as under the Law, let it be withal consider'd, that God who then join'd them, hath now sever'd them; that which, he so ordaining, was then a lawful Conjunction, to such on either side as join again what he hath sever'd, would be nothing now but thir own presumptuous Fornication. Secondly, The Kings of *Juda*, and those Magistrates under the Law might have recours, as I said before, to divine Inspiration; which our Magistrates under the Gospel have not, more than to the same Spirit, which those whom they force have oft-times in greater measure than themselves: and so, instead of forcing the Christian, they force the Holy Ghost; and, against that wise forewarning of *Gamaliel*, fight against God. Thirdly, Those Kings and Magistrates us'd Force in such things only as were undoubtedly known and forbidden in the Law of *Moses*, Idolatry and direct Apostacy from that national and strict enjoin'd Worship of God; wherof the corporal Punishment was by himself expressly set down: But Magistrates under the Gospel, our free, elective and rational Worship, are most commonly busiest to force those things which in the Gospel are either left free, nay sometimes abolish'd when by them compell'd, or els controverted equally by Writers on both sides, and sometimes with odds on that side which is against them. By which means they either punish that which they ought to favour and protect, or that with corporal Punishment, and of thir own inventing, which not they but the Church hath receiv'd command to chastise with a spiritual Rod only. Yet some are so eager in thir Zeal of Forcing, that they refuse not to descend at length to the utmost shift of that parabolical Proof, *Luke* 14. 16, &c. *Compel them to come in*: Therefore Magistrates may compel in Religion. As if a Parable were to be strain'd through every Word or Phrase, and not expounded by the general scope therof; which is no other here than the earnest expression of God's Displeasure on those Recusant Jews, and his purpose to prefer the Gentiles on any terms before them; express'd here by the word *Compel*. But how compels he? doubtless no otherwise than he draws, without which no Man can come to him, *John* 6. 44. and that is by the inward persuasive Motions of his Spirit, and by his Ministers; not by the outward compulsions of a Magistrate or his Officers. The true People of Christ, as is foretold *Psal.* 110. 3. *are a willing People in the day of his Power*; then much more now when he rules all things by outward weakness, that both his inward Power and thir Sincerity may the more appear. *God loveth a cheerful Giver*: then certainly is not pleas'd with an uncheerful Worshipper; as the very words declare of his Evangelical Invitations, *Esa.* 55. 1. *Ho, every one that thirsteth, come.* *John* 7. 37. *If any Man thirst.* *Rev.* 3. 18. *I counsel thee.* And 22. 17. *Whosoever will, let him take the Water of Life freely.* And in that grand Commission of Preaching, to invite all Nations, *Mark* 16. 16. as the Reward of them who come, so the Penalty of them who come not, is only Spiritual. But they bring now some Reason with thir Force, which must not pass unanswer'd, that the Church of *Thyatira* was blam'd, *Rev.* 2. 20. for suffering the false *Prophetess* to teach and to seduce. I answer, That Seducement is to be hinder'd by fit and proper means ordain'd in Church-discipline, by instant and powerful Demonstration to the contrary; by opposing Truth to Error, no unequal match; Truth the strong, to Error the weak, though lie and shifting. Force is no honest Confutation, but uneffectual, and for the most part unsuccessful, oft-times fatal to them who use it: Sound Doctrine, diligently and duly taught, is of her self both sufficient, and of her self (if some secret Judgment of God hinder not) always prevalent against Seducers. This the *Thyatirians* had neglected, suffering, against Church-discipline, that Woman to teach and seduce among them: Civil Force they had not then in thir Power, being the Christian part only of that City, and then especially under

under one of those ten great Persecutions, wherof this the second was rais'd by *Domitian* : Force therefore in these Matters could not be requir'd of them, who were then under Force themselves.

I have shewn that the Civil Power hath neither Right, nor can do right, by forcing religious things : I will now shew the wrong it doth, by violating the fundamental Privilege of the Gospel, the new birth-right of every true Believer, Christian Liberty : 2 Cor. 3. 17. *Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is Liberty.* Gal. 4. 26. *Jerusalem, which is above, is free ; which is the Mother of us all.* And v. 31. *We are not Children of the Bond-woman, but of the free.* It will be sufficient in this place to say no more of Christian Liberty, than that it sets us free not only from the Bondage of those Ceremonies, but also from the forcible imposition of those Circumstances, Place and Time, in the Worship of God : which though by him commanded in the old Law, yet in respect of that Verity and Freedom which is Evangelical, St. Paul comprehends both kinds alike, that is to say, both Ceremony and Circumstance, under one and the same contemptuous name of *weak and beggarly Rudiments*, Gal. 4. 3, 9, 10. Col. 2. 8, with 16. conformable to what our Saviour himself taught, John 4. 21, 23. *Neither in this Mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem. In Spirit and in Truth ; for the Father seeketh such to worship him :* that is to say, not only sincere of Heart, for such he sought ever ; but also, as the words here chiefly import, not compell'd to Place, and by the same reason, not to any set time ; as his Apostle by the same Spirit hath taught us, Rom. 14. 6, &c. *One Man esteemeth one day above another, another, &c.* Gal. 4. 10. *Ye observe Days, and Months, &c.* Col. 2. 16. These and other such places of Scripture the best and learnedest reformed Writers have thought evident enough to instruct us in our Freedom, not only from Ceremonies, but from those Circumstances also, though impos'd with a confident Persuasion of Morality in them, which they hold impossible to be in place or time. By what warrant then our Opinions and Practices herin are of late turn'd quite against all other Protestants, and that which is to them Orthodoxal, to us become scandalous and punishable by Statute, I wish were once again better consider'd ; if we mean not to proclame a Schism in this point from the best and most reformed Churches abroad. They who would seem more knowing, confess that these things are indifferent, but for that very cause by the Magistrate may be commanded. As if God of his special Grace in the Gospel had to this end freed us from his own Commandments in these things, that our Freedom should subject us to a more greevous Yoke, the Commandments of Men. As well may the Magistrate call that common or unclean which God hath cleans'd, forbidden to St. Peter, Acts 10. 15. as well may he loos'n that which God hath strait'nd, or strait'n that which God hath loos'nd, as he may injoin those things in Religion which God hath left free, and lay on that Yoke which God hath taken off. For he hath not only given us this Gift as a special Privilege and Excellence of the free Gospel above the servile Law, but strictly also hath commanded us to keep it and enjoy it. Gal. 5. 13. *You are call'd to Liberty.* 1 Cor. 7. 23. *Be not made the Servants of Men.* Gal. 5. 14. *Stand fast therefore in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free ; and be not intangl'd again with the Yoke of Bondage.* Neither is this a meer Command, but for the most part in these forecited places accompanied with the very waightiest and inmost Reasons of Christian Religion : Rom. 14. 9, 10. *For to this end Christ both dy'd, and rose, and reviv'd, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living. But why dost thou judg thy Brother ? &c.* How presum'st thou to be his Lord, to be whose only Lord, at least in these things, Christ both dy'd, and rose, and liv'd again ? *We shall all stand before the Judgment-seat of Christ.* Why then dost thou not only judg, but persecute in these things for which we are to be accountable to the Tribunal of Christ only, our Lord and Law-giver ? 1 Cor. 7. 23. *Ye are bought with a price ; be not made the Servants of Men.* Some trivial price belike, and for some frivolous pretences paid in thir opinion, if bought and by him redeem'd who is God from what was once the Service of God, we shall be enthrall'd again, and forc'd by Men to what now is but the Service of Men. Gal. 4. 31. with 5. 1. *We are not Children of the Bond-woman, &c. stand fast therefore, &c.* Col. 2. 8. *Beware lest any Man spoil you, &c. after the Rudiments of the World, and not after Christ.* Solid Reasons wherof are continu'd through the whole

Chapter. *Ver. 10. Ye are complete in him, which is the head of all Principality and Power: Not completed therefore or made the more religious by those Ordinances of Civil Power, from which Christ thir Head hath discharged us; blotting out the hand-writing of Ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us; and took it out of the way, nailing it to his Cross, ver. 14. blotting out Ordinances written by God himself, much more those so boldly written over again by Men: Ordinances which were against us, that is, against our Frailty, much more those which are against our Conscience. Let no Man therefore judge you in respect of, &c. v. 16. Gal. 4. 3, &c. Even so we, when we were Children, were in bondage under the Rudiments of the World: But when the fulness of Time was come, God sent forth his Son, &c. to redeem them that were under the Law, that we might receive the Adoption of Sons, &c. Wherefore thou art no more a Servant, but a Son, &c. But now, &c. how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly Rudiments, wherunto ye desire again to be in bondage? Ye observe days, &c. Hence it plainly appears, that if we be not free we are not Sons, but still Servants unadopted; and if we turn again to those weak and beggarly Rudiments, we are not free; yea though willingly, and with a misguided Conscience, we desire to be in bondage to them; how much more then if unwillingly and against our Conscience? Ill was our Condition chang'd from Legal to Evangelical, and small Advantage gotten by the Gospel, if for the Spirit of Adoption to Freedom promis'd us, we receive again the Spirit of Bondage to Fear; if our Fear, which was then servile towards God only, must be now servile in Religion towards Men: Strange also and preposterous Fear, if when and wherin it hath attain'd by the Redemption of our Saviour to be filial only towards God, it must be now servile towards the Magistrate. Who by subjecting us to his Punishment in these things, brings back into Religion that Law of Terror and Satisfaction belonging now only to civil Crimes; and thereby in effect abolishes the Gospel by establishing again the Law to a far worse Yoke of Servitude upon us then before. It will therefore not misbecome the meanest Christian to put in mind Christian Magistrates, and so much the more freely by how much the more they desire to be thought Christian, (for they will be thereby, as they ought to be in these things, the more our Brethren and the less our Lords) that they meddle not rashly with Christian Liberty, the Birthright and outward Testimony of our Adoption: lest while they little think it, nay think they do God Service, they themselves, like the Sons of that Bond-woman, be found persecuting them who are free-born of the Spirit; and by a Sacrilege of not the least aggravation, bereaving them of that sacred Liberty which our Saviour with his own Blood purchas'd for them.*

A fourth Reason why the Magistrate ought not to use Force in Religion, I bring from the Consideration of all those ends which he can likely pretend to the interposing of his Force therein: and those hardly can be other than first the Glory of God; next either the spiritual Good of them whom he forces, or the temporal Punishment of thir Scandal to others. As for the promoting of God's Glory, none, I think, will say that his Glory ought to be promoted in religious things by unwarrantable means, much less by means contrary to what he hath commanded. That outward Force is such, and that God's Glory in the whole Administration of the Gospel according to his own Will and Counsel ought to be fulfill'd by Weakness, at least so refuted, not by Force; or if by Force inward and spiritual, not outward and corporeal, is already prov'd at large. That outward Force cannot tend to the Good of him who is forc'd in Religion, is unquestionable. For in Religion, whatever we do under the Gospel, we ought to be therof perswaded without scruple; and are justified by the Faith we have, not by the Work we do: *Rom. 14. 5. Let every Man be fully perswaded in his own Mind.* The other Reason which follows necessarily is obvious, *Gal. 2. 16. and in many other places of St. Paul, as the Ground-work and Foundation of the whole Gospel, that we are justified by the Faith of Christ, and not by the Works of the Law.* If not by the Works of God's Law, how then by the Injunctions of Man's Law? Surely Force cannot work Persuasion, which is Faith; cannot therefore justify nor pacify the Conscience; and that which justifies not in the Gospel, condemns; is not only not good, but sinful to do: *Rom. 14. 23. Whatsoever is not of Faith is Sin.* It concerns the Magistrate then to take heed how he forces in Religion conscientious

tious Men: lest by compelling them to do that wherof they cannot be persuaded, that wherein they cannot find themselves justified, but by thir own Consciences condemn'd, instead of aiming at their spiritual Good, he force them to do Evil; and while he thinks himself *Asa, Josia, Nehemiah*, he be found *Jeroboam*, who caus'd *Israel* to sin; and therby draw upon his own head all those Sins and Shipwracks of implicit Faith and Conformity, which he hath forc'd, and all the Wounds given to those *little ones*, whom to offend he will find worse one day than that violent drowning mentioned *Mat. 18. 6*. Lastly, as a Preface to force, it is the usual pretence, That although tender Consciences shall be tolerated, yet Scandals therby given shall not be unpunish'd, prophane and licentious Men shall not be encourag'd to neglect the performance of religious and holy Duties by color of any Law giving Liberty to tender Consciences. By which contrivance the way lies ready open to them hereafter who may be so minded, to take away by little and little that Liberty which Christ and his Gospel, not any Magistrate, hath right to give: though this kind of his giving be but to give with one hand, and take away with the other, which is a deluding, not a giving. As for Scandals, if any Man be offended at the conscientious Liberty of another, it is a taken Scandal, not a given. To heal one Conscience we must not wound another: and Men must be exhorted to beware of Scandals in Christian Liberty, not forc'd by the Magistrate; lest while he goes about to take away the Scandal, which is uncertain whether given or taken, he take away our Liberty, which is the certain and the sacred Gift of God, neither to be touch'd by him, nor to be parted with by us. None more cautious of giving Scandal than *St. Paul*. Yet while he made himself *Servant to all*, that he might gain the more, he made himself so of his own accord, was not made so by outward Force, testifying at the same time that he was free from all Men, *1 Cor. 9. 19*. and thereafter exhorts us also, *Gal. 5. 13*. *Ye were call'd to Liberty, &c. but by Love serve one another*: then not by Force. As for that Fear, lest prophane and licentious Men should be encourag'd to omit the performance of religious and holy Duties, how can that care belong to the Civil Magistrate, especially to his Force? For if prophane and licentious Persons must not neglect the performance of religious and holy Duties, it implies, that such Duties they can perform, which no Protestant will affirm. They who mean the outward performance, may so explain it; and it will then appeer yet more planely, that such performance of religious and holy Duties, especially by prophane and licentious Persons, is a dishonoring rather than a worshipping of God; and not only by him not requir'd, but detested: *Prov. 21. 27*. *The Sacrifice of the wicked is an Abomination; how much more when he bringeth it with a wicked Mind?* To compel therefore the prophane to things holy in his Prophaneness, is all one under the Gospel, as to have compell'd the unclean to sacrifice in his Uncleaness under the Law. And I add withal, that to compel the licentious in his Licentiousness, and the conscientious against his Conscience, comes all to one; tends not to the Honor of God, but to the multiplying and the aggravating of Sin to them both. We read not that Christ ever exercis'd Force but once; and that was to drive prophane ones out of his Temple, not to force them in: and if thir being there was an Offence, we find by many other Scriptures that thir praying there was an Abomination: and yet to the Jewish Law that Nation, as a Servant, was oblig'd; but to the Gospel each Person is left voluntary, call'd only, as a Son, by the preaching of the Word; not to be driven in by Edicts and force of Arms. For if by the Apostle, *Rom. 12. 1*. we are beseech'd as Brethren by the Mercies of God to present our Bodies a living Sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is our reasonable Service or Worship, then is no Man to be forc'd by the compulsive Laws of Men to present his Body a dead Sacrifice, and so under the Gospel most unholy and unacceptable, because it is his unreasonable Service, that is to say, not only unwilling but unconscionable. But if prophane and licentious Persons may not omit the performance of holy Duties, why may they not partake of holy things? why are they prohibited the Lord's Supper, since both the one and the other Action may be outward; and outward performance of Duty may attain at least an outward participation of Benefit? The Church denying them that Communion of Grace and Thanksgiving, as it justly doth, why doth the Magistrate

compel them to the Union of performing that which they neither truly can, being themselves unholy, and to do seemingly is both hateful to God, and perhaps no less dangerous to perform holy Duties irreligiously, than to receive holy Signs or Sacraments unworthily? All prophane and licentious Men, so known, can be consider'd but either so without the Church as never yet within it, or departed thence of their own Accord, or excommunicate: If never yet within the Church, whom the Apostle, and so consequently the Church, have naught to do to judg, as he professes, *1 Cor. 5. 12.* then by what Authority doth the Magistrate judg; or, which is worse, compel in relation to the Church? If departed of his own Accord, like that lost Sheep, *Luke 15. 4, &c.* the true Church either with her own or any borrow'd Force worries him not in again, but rather in all charitable manner sends after him; and if she find him, lays him gently on her Shoulders; bears him, yea bears his Burdens, his Errors, his Infirmities any way tolerable, *so fulfilling the Law of Christ, Gal. 6. 2.* If excommunicate, whom the Church hath bid go out, in whose name doth the Magistrate compel to go in? The Church indeed hinders none from hearing in her publick Congregation, for the doors are open to all: nor excommunicates to Destruction; but, as much as in her lies, to a final saving. Her meaning therefore must needs be, that as her driving out brings on no outward Penalty, so no outward Force or Penalty of an improper and only a destructive Power should drive in again her infectious Sheep; therefore sent out because infectious, and not driven in but with the danger not only of the whole and sound, but also of his own utter perishing. Since Force neither instructs in Religion, nor begets Repentance or Amendment of Life, but on the contrary, Hardness of Heart, Formality, Hypocrisie, and, as I said before, every way increase of Sin, more and more alienates the Mind from a violent Religion, expelling out and compelling in, and reduces it to a condition like that which the *Britains* complain of in our Story, driven to and fro between the *Picts* and the Sea. If after Excommunication he be found intractable, incurable, and will not hear the Church, he becomes as one never yet within her pale, *a Heathen or a Publican, Mat. 18. 17.* not further to be judg'd, no not by the Magistrate, unless for civil Causes; but left to the final Sentence of that Judg, whose coming shall be in flames of fire; that *Maran atha, 1 Cor. 16. 22.* than which to him so left nothing can be more dreadful, and oft-times to him particularly nothing more speedy, that is to say, the Lord cometh: In the mean while deliver'd up to Satan, *1 Cor. 5. 5. 1 Tim. 1. 20.* that is, from the Fold of Christ and Kingdom of Grace to the World again, which is the Kingdom of Satan; and as he was receiv'd *from Darknes to Light, and from the Power of Satan to God, Acts 26. 18.* so now deliver'd up again from Light to Darknes, and from God to the Power of Satan; yet so as is in both places manifested, to the intent of saving him, brought sooner to Contrition by spiritual than by any corporeal Severity. But grant it belonging any way to the Magistrate, that prophane and licentious Persons omit not the performance of holy Duties, which in them were odious to God even under the Law, much more now under the Gospel; yet ought his Care both as a Magistrate and a Christian, to be much more that Conscience be not inwardly violated, than that License in these things be made outwardly conformable: since his part is undoubtedly as a Christian, which puts him upon this Office much more than as a Magistrate, in all respects to have more care of the conscientious than of the prophane; and not for thir sakes to take away (while they pretend to give) or to diminish the rightful Liberty of religious Consciences.

On these four scriptural Reasons,* as on a firm square, this Truth, the Right of Christian and Evangelic Liberty, will stand immovable against all those pretended Consequences of License and Confusion, which for the most part Men most licentious and confus'd themselves, or such as whose Severity would be wiser than Divine Wisdom, are ever aptest to object against the ways of God: as if God without them, when he gave us this Liberty, knew not of the worst which these Men in their Arrogance pretend will follow: yet knowing all their worst, he gave us this Liberty as by him judg'd best. As to those Magistrates who think it thir work to settle Religion, and those Ministers or others, who so oft call upon them to do so, I trust, that having well

consider'd what hath been here argu'd, neither they will continue in that intention, nor these in that expectation from them: when they shall find that the Settlement of Religion belongs only to each particular Church by perswasive and spiritual means within it self, and that the Defence only of the Church belongs to the Magistrate. Had he once learnt not further to concern himself with Church-Affairs, half his Labor might be spar'd, and the Commonwealth better tended. To which end, that which I premis'd in the beginning, and in due place treated of more at large, I desire now concluding, that they would consider seriously what Religion is: and they will find it to be, in sum, both our Beleeif and our Practice depending upon God only. That there can be no place then left for the Magistrate or his Force in the Settlement of Religion, by appointing either what we shall beleeve in divine things, or practise in religious, (neither of which things are in the power of Man either to perform himself, or to enable others) I perswade me in the Christian Ingenuity of all religious Men, the more they examin seriously, the more they will find cleerly to be true: and find how false and deceivable that common saying is, which is so much rely'd upon, that the Christian Magistrate is *custos utriusque tabulae*, Keeper of both Tables, unless is meant by Keeper the Defender only: neither can that Maxim be maintain'd by any Proof or Argument which hath not in this Discourse first or last been refuted. For the two Tables, or ten Commandments, teach our Duty to God and our Neighbour from the Love of both; give Magistrates no Authority to force either: they seek that from the judicial Law, though on false grounds, especially in the first Table, as I have shewn; and both in first and second execute that Authority for the most part, not according to God's judicial Laws but thir own. As for civil Crimes, and of the outward Man, which all are not, no not of those against the second Table, as that of coveting; in them what Power they have, they had from the beginning, long before *Moses* or the two Tables were in being. And whether they be not now as little in being to be kept by any Christian as they are two legal Tables, remanes yet as undecided, as it is sure they never were yet deliver'd to the keeping of any Christian Magistrate. But of these things perhaps more some other time; what may serve the present hath been above discours'd sufficiently out of the Scriptures: and to those produc'd might be added Testimonies, Examples, Experiences of all succeeding Ages to these times asserting this Doctrine: but having herin the Scripture so copious and so plane, we have all that can be properly call'd true Strength and Nerve; the rest would be but Pomp and Incumbrance. Pomp and Ostentation of reading is admir'd among the Vulgar: but doubtless in Matters of Religion he is learnedest who is plainest. The brevity I use, not exceeding a small Manual, will not therefore, I suppose, be thought the less considerable, unless with them perhaps who think that great Books only can determin great Matters. I rather chose the common Rule, not to make much ado where less may serve. Which in Controversies, and those especially of Religion, would make them less tedious, and by consequence read after by many more, and with more Benefit.



CONSIDERATIONS

Touching the likeliest Means to remove

HIRELINGS

Out of the Church.

Wherein is also discours'd

Of $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Tithes,} \\ \textit{Church-Fees,} \\ \textit{Church-Revenues;} \end{array} \right.$

And whether any Maintenance of Ministers can
be settl'd by Law.

*To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, with the
Dominions therof.*

OWing to your Protection, supream Senate, this liberty of writing which I have us'd these eighteen Years on all occasions to assert the just Rights and Freedoms both of Church and State, and so far approv'd, as to have bin trusted with the representment and defence of your Actions to all Christendom against an Adversary of no mean repute; to whom should I address what I still publish on the same Argument, but to you, whose magnanimous Councils first open'd and unbound the Age from a double Bondage under Prelatical and Regal Tyranny; above our own hopes heartning us to look up at last like Men and Christians from the slavish Dejection, wherein from Father to Son we were bred up and taught; and therby deserving of these Nations, if they be not barbarously ingrateful, to be acknowledg'd, next under God, the Authors and best Patrons of Religious and Civil Liberty, that ever these Ilands brought forth? The care and tuition of whose Peace and Safety, after a short, but scandalous night of Interruption, is now again by a new dawning of God's miraculous Providence among us, revolv'd upon your shoulders. And to whom more appertain these Considerations which I propound, than to your selves, and the Debate before you, though I trust of no difficulty, yet at present of great expectation, not whether ye will gratifie, were it no more then so, but whether ye will hearken to the just Petition of many thousands best affected both to Religion and to this your Return, or whether ye will satisfie, which you never can, the covetous Pretences and Demands of insatiable Hirelings, whose Disaffection ye well know both to your selves and your Resolutions? That I, though among many others in this common concernment, interpose to your Deliberations what my Thoughts also are, your own Judgment and the success therof hath given me the confidence: which requests but this, that if I have prosperously, God so favouring me, defended the publick Cause of this

Common-

Commonwealth to Foreiners, ye would not think the reason and ability, wheron ye trusted once, and repent not, your whole Reputation to the world, either grown less by more maturity and longer study, or less available in *English* then in another tongue: but that if it suffic'd som years past to convince and satisfie the uningag'd of other Nations in the justice of your doings, though then held paradoxal, it may as well suffice now against weaker opposition in matters, except here in *England* with a spiritualitie of Men devoted to thir temporal Gain, of no Controversie els among Protestants. . Neither do I doubt, seeing daily the acceptance which they find who in thir Petitions venture to bring advice also and new models of a Commonwealth, but that you will interpret it much more the duty of a Christian to offer what his Conscience perswades him may be of moment to the freedom and better constituting of the Church: since it is a deed of highest charity to help undeceive the People, and a work worthiest your Authority, in all things els Authors, Assertors and now Recoverers of our Liberty, to deliver us, the only People of all Protestants left still undeliver'd, from the Oppressions of a simonious decimating Clergy, who shame not, against the judgment and practice of all other Churches reform'd, to maintain, though very weakly, thir Popish and oft refuted Positions, not in a point of Conscience, wherein they might be blameless, but in a point of Covetousness and unjust Claim to other mens Goods; a Contention foul and odious in any Man, but most of all in Ministers of the Gospel, in whom Contention, though for thir own right, scarce is allowable. Till which Grievances be remov'd, and Religion set free from the monopoly of Hirelings, I dare affirm, that no Model whatsoever of a Commonwealth will prove successful or undisturb'd; and so perswaded, implore Divine Assistance on your pious Councils and Proceedings to unanimity in this and all other Truth.

C O N-

CONSIDERATIONS

TOUCHING

*The likeliest means to remove Hirelings out of the
C H U R C H.*

THE former Treatise, which leads in this, began with two things ever found working much mischief to the Church of God, and the advancement of Truth; Force on the one side restraining, and Hire on the other side corrupting the Teachers therof. The latter of these is by much the more dangerous: for under Force, though no thank to the Forcers, true Religion oft-times best thrives and flourishes; but the Corruption of Teachers, most commonly the Effect of Hire, is the very bane of Truth in them who are so corrupted. Of Force not to be us'd in matters of Religion, I have already spoken; and so stated matters of Conscience and Religion in Faith and Divine Worship, and so sever'd them from Blasphemy and Heresy, the one being such properly as is despiteful, the other such as stands not to the Rule of Scripture, and so both of them not matters of Religion, but rather against it, that to them who will yet use Force, this only choise can be left, whether they will force them to believe, to whom it is not given from above, being not forc'd therto by any Principle of the Gospel, which is now the only Dispensation of God to all Men; or whether being Protestants, they will punish in those things wherein the Protestant Religion denies them to be Judges, either in themselves infallible, or to the Consciences of other Men; or whether, lastly, they think fit to punish Error, supposing they can be infallible that it is so, being not wilful, but conscientious, and, according to the best light of him who errs, grounded on Scripture: which kind of Error all Men religious, or but only reasonable, have thought worthier of pardon, and the growth thereof to be prevented by spiritual Means and Church-discipline, not by civil Laws and outward Force, since it is God only who gives as well to believe aright, as to believe at all; and by those means which he ordain'd sufficiently in his Church to the full execution of his divine Purpose in the Gospel. It remains now to speak of Hire, the other evil so mischievous in Religion: wherof I promis'd then to speak further, when I should find God disposing me, and opportunity inviting. Opportunity I find now inviting; and apprehend therein the concurrence of God disposing; since the Maintenance of Church-Ministers, a thing not properly belonging to the Magistrate, and yet with such importunity call'd for, and expected from him, is at present under publick debate. Wherin lest any thing may happen to be determin'd and establish'd prejudicial to the right and freedom of Church, or advantagious to such as may be found Hirelings therein, it will be now most seasonable, and in these matters wherein every Christian hath his free Suffrage, no way misbecoming Christian Meeknes to offer freely, without disparagement to the wisest, such Advice as God shall incline him and enable him to propound. Since hertofore in Commonwealths of most fame for Government, Civil Laws were not establish'd till they had been first for certain days publish'd to the view of all Men, that whoso pleas'd might speak freely his Opinion therof, and give in his Exceptions, ere the Law could pass to a full establishment. And where ought this Equity to have more place, than in the liberty which is unseparable from Christian Religion? This, I am not ignorant, will be a work unpleasing to some: but what Truth is not hateful to some or other, as this, in likelihood, will be to none but Hirelings. And if there be among them who hold it thir duty to speak impartial Truth, as the work of thir Ministry, though not perform'd without Money, let them not envy others who think the same no less thir duty by the general office of Christianity, to speak truth, as in all reason may be thought, more impartially and unsuspectedly without Money.

Hire

Hire of it self is neither a thing unlawful, nor a word of any evil note, signifying no more than a due Recompence or Reward ; as when our Saviour saith, *the Labourer is worthy of his Hire*. That which makes it so dangerous in the Church, and properly makes the *Hireling* a word always of evil Signification, is either the excess therof, or the undue manner of giving and taking it. What harm the excess therof brought to the Church, perhaps was not found by experience till the days of *Constantine* ; who out of his zeal thinking he could be never too liberally a nursing Father of the Church, might be not unfitly said to have either overlaid it or choak'd it in the Nursing. Which was foretold, as is recorded in Ecclesiastical Traditions, by a Voice heard from Heaven on the very day that those great Donations and Church-revenues were given, crying aloud, *This day is Poison pour'd into the Church*. Which the event soon after verifi'd, as appears by another no less antient Observation, *That Religion brought forth Wealth, and the Daughter devour'd the Mother*. But long ere Wealth came into the Church, so soon as any Gain appear'd in Religion, Hirelings were apparent ; drawn in long before by the very scent therof. *Judas* therfore, the first Hireling, for want of present Hire answerable to his coveting, from the small number of the meanness of such as then were the Religious, sold the Religion it self with the Founder therof, his Master. *Simon Magus* the next, in hope only that preaching and the Gifts of the Holy Ghost would prove gainful, offer'd beforehand a Sum of Money to obtain them. Not long after, as the Apostle foretold, Hirelings like Wolves came in by Herds ; *Acts 20. 29. For I know this, that after my departing shall grievous Wolves enter in among you, not sparing the Flock*. *Tit. 1. 11. Teaching things which they ought not, for filthy lucre's sake*. *2 Pet. 2. 3. And through Covetousness shall they with feigned words make Merchandise of you*. Yet they taught not fals Doctrin only, but seeming Piety ; *1 Tim. 6. 5. Supposing that Gain is Godliness*. Neither came they in of themselves only, but invited oft-times by a corrupt Audience : *2 Tim. 4. 3. For the time will come when they will not endure sound Doctrin, but after thir own Lusts they will heape to themselves Teachers, having itching Ears* : and they on the other side, as fast heaping to themselves Disciples, *Acts 20. 30. doubtles had as itching Palms* : *2 Pet. 2. 15. Following the way of Balaam, the Son of Bofor, who lov'd the wages of Unrighteousness*. *Jude 11. They ran greedily after the error of Balaam for reward*. Thus we see that not only the excess of Hire in wealthiest times, but also the undue and vicious taking or giving it, though but small or mean, as in the Primitive times, gave to Hirelings occasion, though not intended, yet sufficient to creep at first into the Church. Which argues also the difficulty, or rather the impossibility, to remove them quite, unless every Minister were, as *St. Paul*, contented to teach *gratis* ; but few such are to be found. As therfore we cannot justly take away all Hire in the Church, because we cannot otherwise quite remove all Hirelings, so are we not for the impossibility of removing them all, to use therfore no endeavor that fewest may come in ; but rather, in regard the Evil, do what we can, will always be incumbent and unavoidable, to use our utmost diligence how it may be least dangerous : which will be likeliest effected, if we consider, first, what recompence God hath ordain'd should be given to Ministers of the Church ; (for that a Recompence ought to be given them, and may by them justly be received, our Saviour himself from the very light of Reason and of Equity hath declar'd, *Luke 10. 7. The Labourer is worthy of his Hire*) ; next by whom ; and lastly, in what manner.

What Recompence ought be given to Church-ministers, God hath answerably ordain'd according to that difference which he hath manifestly put between those his two great Dispensations, the Law and the Gospel. Under the Law he gave them Tithes ; under the Gospel, having left all things in his Church to Charity and Christian Freedom, he hath given them only what is justly given them. That, as well under the Gospel, as under the Law, say our English Divines, and they only of all Protestants, is Tithes ; and they say true, if any man be so minded to give them of his own the tenth or twentieth ; but that the Law therfore of Tithes is in force under the Gospel, all other Protestant Divines, though equally concern'd, yet constantly deny. For although Hire to the Labourer be of moral and perpetual Right, yet that special kind of Hire, the tenth, can be of no Right or Necessity, but to that
special

special Labor for which God ordain'd it. That special Labor was the Levitical and Ceremonial service of the Tabernacle, *Numb.* 18. 21, 31. which is now abolish'd: the right therfore of that special Hire must needs be withal abolish'd, as being also Ceremonial. That Tithes were Ceremonial, is plain, not being given to the Levites till they had been first offer'd a heav Offering to the Lord, *Ver.* 24, 28. He then who by that Law brings Tithes into the Gospel, of necessity brings in withal a Sacrifice, and an Altar; without which Tithes by that Law were un sanctifi'd and polluted, *Ver.* 32. and therfore never thought on in the first Christian times, till Ceremonies, Altars, and Oblations, by an antienter Corruption were brought back long before. And yet the *Jews* ever since thir Temple was destroyd, though they have Rabbies and Teachers of thir Law, yet pay no Tithes, as having no Levites to whom, no Temple where to pay them, no Altar wheron to hallow them: which argues that the *Jews* themselves never thought Tithes Moral, but Ceremonial only. That Christians therfore should take them up, when *Jews* have laid them down, must needs be very absurd and preposterous. Next, it is as clear in the same Chapter, that the Priests and Levites had not Tithes for thir labor only in the Tabernacle, but in regard they were to have no other Part nor Inheritance in the Land, *Ver.* 20, 24. and by that means for a Tenth, lost a Twelfth. But our Levites undergoing no such Law of Deprivation, can have no right to any such compensation: nay, if by this Law they will have Tithes, can have no inheritance of Land, but forfeit what they have. Besides this, Tithes were of two sorts, those of every Year, and those of every third Year: of the former, every one that brought his Tithes, was to eat his share; *Deut.* 14. 23. *Thou shalt eat before the Lord thy God, in the place which he shall chuse to place his name there, the Tithe of thy Corn, of thy Wine, and of thine Oil, &c.* Nay, though he could not bring his Tithe in kind, by reason of his distant dwelling from the Tabernacle or Temple, but was therby forc'd to turn it into Money, he was to bestow that Money on whatsoever pleas'd him, Oxen, Sheep, Wine, or strong Drink; and to eat and drink therof there before the Lord, both he and his Household, *Ver.* 24, 25, 26. As for the Tithes of every third year, they were not given only to the Levite, but to the Stranger, the Fatherles, and the Widow, *Ver.* 28, 29. and *Chap.* 26. 12, 13. So that ours, if they will have Tithes, must admit of these sharers with them. Nay, these Tithes were not paid in at all to the Levite, but the Levite himself was to come with those his fellow Guests, and eat his share of them only at his House who provided them; and this not in regard of his ministerial Office, but because he had no Part nor Inheritance in the Land. Lastly, the Priests and Levites, a Tribe, were of a far different Constitution from this of our Ministers under the Gospel: in them were Orders and Degrees both by Family, Dignity, and Office, mainly distinguish'd; the High Priest, his Brethren, and his Sons, to whom the Levites themselves paid Tithes, and of the best, were eminently superior, *Numb.* 18. 28, 29. No Protestant, I suppose, will liken one of our Ministers to a High Priest, but rather to a common Levite. Unless then, to keep their Tithes, they mean to bring back again Bishops, Archbishops, and the whole gang of Prelatry, to whom will they themselves pay Tithes, as by that Law it was a sin to them if they did not, *Ver.* 32. Certainly this must needs put them to a deep demurr, while the desire of holding fast thir Tithes without sin, may tempt them to bring back again Bishops, as the likeness of that Hierarchy that should receive Tithes from them; and the desire to pay none, may advise them to keep out of the Church all Orders above them. But if we have to do at present, as I suppose we have, with true reformed Protestants, not with Papists or Prelates, it will not be deni'd that in the Gospel there be but two ministerial Degrees, Presbyters and Deacons: which if they contend to have any succession, reference, or conformity with those two degrees under the Law, Priests and Levites, it must needs be such wherby our Presbyters or Ministers may be answerable to Priests, and our Deacons to Levites; by which rule of Proportion it will follow, that we must pay our Tithes to the Deacons only, and they only to the Ministers. But if it be truer yet that the Priesthood of *Aaron* typifi'd a better reality, 1 *Pet.* 2. 5. signifying the Christian true and holy Priesthood, to offer up spiritual Sacrifice; it follows hence, that we are now justly exempt from paying Tithes to any

who claim from *Aaron*, since that Priesthood is in us now real, which in him was but a shadow. Seeing then by all this which hath bin shewn, that the Law of Tithes is partly Ceremonial, as the work was for which they were given, partly judicial, not of common, but of particular right to the Tribe of *Levi*, nor to them alone, but to the owner also and his Household, at the time of thir Offering, and every three year to the Stranger, the Fatherles, and the Widow, thir appointed Sharers, and that they were a Tribe of Priests and Deacons improperly compar'd to the constitution of our Ministry; and the Tithes given by that People to those Deacons only; it follows that our Ministers at this day, being neither Priests nor Levites, nor fitly answering to either of them, can have no just title or pretence to Tithes, by any consequence drawn from the Law of *Moses*. But they think they have yet a better Plea in the example of *Melchisedec*, who took Tithes of *Abram* ere the Law was given; whence they would infer Tithes to be of Moral right. But they ought to know, or to remember, that not Examples, but express Commands oblige our obedience to God or man: next, that whatsoever was don in Religion before the Law written, is not presently to be counted Moral, when as so many things were then don both Ceremonial and Judaically judicial, that we need not doubt to conclude all times before Christ, more or less under the Ceremonial Law. To what end serv'd els those Altars and Sacrifices, that distinction of clean and unclean entring into the Ark, Circumcision, and the raising up of Seed to the elder Brother? *Gen.* 38. 8. If these things be not Moral, though before the Law, how are Tithes, though in the example of *Abram* and *Melchisedec*? But this instance is so far from being the just ground of a Law, that after all Circumstances duly weigh'd both from *Gen.* 14. and *Heb.* 7. it will not be allow'd them so much as an example. *Melchisedec*, besides his Priestly Benediction, brought with him Bread and Wine sufficient to refresh *Abram* and his whole Army; incited to do so, first, by the secret Providence of God, intending him for a Type of Christ and his Priesthood; next by his due thankfulnes and honor to *Abram*, who had freed his borders of *Salem* from a potent Enemy: *Abram* on the other side honors him with the tenth of all, that is to say (for he took not sure his whole Estate with him to that War) of the Spoils; *Heb.* 7. 4. Incited he also by the same secret Providence, to signify as Grandfather of *Levi*, that the Levitical Priesthood was excell'd by the Priesthood of Christ. For the giving of a Tenth declar'd it seems in those Countreys and Times, him the greater who receiv'd it. That which next incited him, was partly his gratitude to requite the Present, partly his Reverence to the Person and his Benediction: to his Person, as a King and Priest; greater therfore than *Abram*; who was a Priest also, but not a King. And who unhir'd will be so hardy as to say, that *Abram* at any other time ever paid him Tithes, either before or after; or had then, but for this accidental meeting and obligement; or that els *Melchisedec* had demanded or exacted them, or took them otherwise than as the voluntary gift of *Abram*? But our Ministers, though neither Priests nor Kings more than any other Christian, greater in thir own esteem than *Abraham* and all his Seed, for the verbal labor of a seventh days Preachment, not bringing, like *Melchisedec*, Bread or Wine at thir own cost, would not take only at the willing hand of Liberality or Gratitude, but require and exact as due the tenth, not of Spoils, but of our whole Estates and Labors; nor once, but yearly. We then it seems by the example of *Abram*, must pay Tithes to these *Melchisedecs*: but what if the Person of *Abram* can neither no way represent us, or will oblige the Ministers to pay Tithes no less then other men? *Abram* had not only a Priest in his Loins, but was himself a Priest, and gave Tithes to *Melchisedec* either as Grandfather of *Levi*, or as Father of the faithful. If as Grandfather (though he understood it not) of *Levi*, he oblig'd not us but *Levi* only, the inferior Priest, by that Homage (as the Apostle to the *Hebrews* clearly enough explanes) to acknowledg the greater. And they who by *Melchisedec* claim from *Abram* as *Levi's* Grandfather, have none to seek thir Tithes of but the Levites, where they can find them. If *Abram* as Father of the Faithful paid Tithes to *Melchisedec*, then certainly the Ministers also, if they be of that number, paid in him equally with the rest. Which may induce us to believe, that as both *Abram* and *Melchisedec*, so Tithes also in that action

Typical and Ceremonial, signified nothing els but that subjection which all the Faithful, both Ministers and People, owe to Christ, our High Priest and King.

In any literal Sense, from this Example, they never will be able to extort that the People in those days paid Tithes to Priests; but this only, that one Priest once in his Life, of Spoils only, and in requital partly of a liberal Present, partly of a Benediction, gave voluntary Tithes, not to a greater Priest than himself, as far as *Abram* could then understand, but rather to a Priest and King join'd in one Person. They will reply, perhaps, that if one Priest paid Tithes to another, it must needs be understood that the People did no less to the Priest. But I shall easily remove that Necessity, by remembring them that in those days was no Priest, but the Father, or the first-born of each Family; and by consequence no People to pay him Tithes, but his own Children and Servants, who had not wherewithal to pay him, but of his own. Yet grant that the People then paid Tithes, there will not yet be the like reason to enjoin us; they being then under Ceremonies, a meer Laity, we now under Christ a Royal Priesthood, *1 Pet. 2. 9.* as we are Coheirs, Kings and Priests with him, a Priest for ever after the order or manner of *Melchisedec*. As therefore *Abram* paid Tithes to *Melchisedec* because *Levi* was in him, so we ought to pay none because the true *Melchisedec* is in us, and we in him who can pay to none greater, and hath freed us, by our Union with himself, from all compulsive Tributes and Taxes in his Church. Neither doth the collateral place, *Heb. 7.* make other use of this Story, than to prove Christ, personated by *Melchisedec*, a greater Priest than *Aaron*: *Verf. 4.* *Now consider how great this Man was,* &c. and proves not in the least manner that Tithes be of any right to Ministers, but the contrary: first, the Levites had a Commandment to take Tithes of the People according to the Law, that is, of thir Brethren, though they come out of the Loins of Abraham, *Verf. 5.* The Commandment then was, it seems, to take Tithes of the Jews only, and according to the Law. That Law changing of necessity with the Priesthood, no other sort of Ministers, as they must needs be another sort under another Priesthood, can receive that Tribute of Tithes which fell with that Law, unless renu'd by another exprefs Command, and according to another Law; no such Law is extant. Next, *Melchisedec* not as a Minister, but as Christ himself in Person, bless'd *Abraham* who had the Promises, *Verf. 6.* and in him bless'd all both Ministers and People, both of the Law and Gospel: That Blessing declar'd him greater and better than whom he bless'd, *Verf. 7.* receiving Tithes from them all, not as a Maintenance, which *Melchisedec* needed not, but as a sign of Homage and Subjection to thir King and Priest: whereas Ministers bear not the Person of Christ in his Priesthood or Kingship, bless not as he blesses, are not by thir Blessing greater than *Abraham*; and all the Faithful with themselves included in him, cannot both give and take Tithes in *Abram*, cannot claim to themselves that sign of our Allegiance due only to our Eternal King and Priest, cannot therefore derive Tithes from *Melchisedec*. Lastly, The eighth Verse hath thus; *Here Men that die receive Tithes: There be received them, of whom it is witnessed that he liveth.* Which words intimate, that as he offer'd himself once for us, so he received once of us in *Abraham*, and in that place the typical acknowledgment of our Redemption: which had it been a perpetual annuity to Christ, by him claim'd as his due, *Levi* must have paid it yearly, as well as then, *Verf. 9.* and our Ministers ought still, to some *Melchisedec* or other, as well now as they did in *Abraham*. But that Christ never claim'd any such Tenth as his annual Due, much less resign'd it to the Ministers, his so officious Receivers, without exprefs Commission or Assignment, will be yet clearer as we proceed. Thus much may at length assure us, that this Example of *Abraham* and *Melchisedec*, though I see of late they build most upon it, can so little be the ground of any Law to us, that it will not so much avail them as to the Authority of an Example. Of like impertinence is that Example of *Jacob*, *Gen. 28. 22.* who of his free choice, not enjoin'd by any Law, vow'd the Tenth of all that God should give him: which, for ought appears to the contrary, he vow'd as a thing no less indifferent before his Vow, than the foregoing part therof: That the Stone which he had set there for a Pillar, should be God's House. And to whom vow'd he this Tenth, but to God? not to any Priest, for we read of none to him greater

than himself: and to God, no doubt, but he paid what he vow'd, both in the building of that *Bethel*, with other Altars elsewhere, and the expence of his continual Sacrifices, which none but he had right to offer. However therefore he paid his Tenth, it could in no likelihood, unless by such an occasion as befel his Grandfather, be to any Priest. But, say they, *All the Tithe of the Land, whether of the Seed of the Land, or of the Fruit of the Tree, is the Lord's, holy unto the Lord, Lev. 27. 30.* And this before it was given to the Levites; therefore since they ceas'd. No question; *For the whole Earth is the Lord's, and the fulnes thereof, Psal. 24. 1.* and the Light of Nature shews us no less: But that the Tenth is his more than the rest, how know I, but as he so declares it? He declares it so here of the Land of *Canaan* only, as by all Circumstances appears, and passes, by Deed of Gift, this Tenth to the Levite; yet so as offer'd to him first a Heav-offering, and consecrated on his Altar, *Numb. 18.* all which I had as little known, but by that Evidence. The Levites are ceas'd, the Gift returns to the giver. How then can we know that he hath given it to any other? or how can these Men presume to take it unoffer'd first to God, unconsecrated, without another clear and express Donation, wherof they shew no Evidence or Writing? Besides, he hath now alienated that holy Land; who can warrantably affirm, that he hath since hallow'd the tenth of this Land, which none but God hath Power to do or can warrant? Thir last proof they cite out of the Gospel, which makes as little for them, *Mat. 23. 23.* where our Saviour denouncing Wo to the Scribes and Pharisees, who paid Tithe so exactly, and omitted weightier Matters, tels them, that these they ought to have done, that is, to have paid Tithes. For our Saviour spake then to those who observ'd the Law of *Moses*, which was yet not fully abrogated, till the destruction of the Temple. And by the way here we may observe, out of thir own proof, that the Scribes and Pharisees, though then chief Teachers of the People, such at least as were not Levites, did not take Tithes, but paid them: So much less covetous were the Scribes and Pharisees in those worst times then ours at this day. This is so apparent to the Reformed Divines of other Countries, that when any one of ours hath attempted in Latin to maintain this Argument of Tithes, though a Man would think they might suffer him, without opposition, in a Point equally tending to the advantage of all Ministers, yet they forbear not to oppose him, as in a Doctrin not fit to pass unoppos'd under the Gospel. Which shews the Modesty, the Contentedness of those Forein Pastors, with the Maintenance given them, thir sincerity also in the Truth, though less gainful, and the Avarice of ours; who through the love of their old Papistical Tithes, consider not the weak Arguments, or rather Conjectures and Surmises which they bring to defend them. On the other side, although it be sufficient to have prov'd in general the abolishing of Tithes, as part of the Judaical or Ceremonial Law, which is abolish'd all, as well that before as that after *Moses*; yet I shall further prove them abrogated by an express Ordinance of the Gospel, founded not on any Type, or that Municipal Law of *Moses*, but on moral and general Equity, given us instead: *1 Cor. 9. 13, 14. Know ye not, that they who minister about holy things, live of the things of the Temple; and they which wait at the Altar, are partakers with the Altar? So also the Lord hath ordain'd, that they who preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel.* He saith not, should live on things which were of the Temple, or of the Altar, of which were Tithes, for that had given them a clear Title: but abrogating that former Law of *Moses*, which determin'd what and how much, by a later Ordinance of Christ, which leaves the what and how much indefinit and free, so it be sufficient to live on: he saith, *The Lord hath so ordain'd, that they who preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel*; which hath neither Temple, Altar, nor Sacrifice: *Heb. 7. 13. For he of whom these things are spoken, pertaineth to another Tribe, of which no Man gave attendance at the Altar*: His Ministers therefore cannot thence have Tithes. And where the Lord hath so ordain'd, we may find easily in more than one Evangelist: *Luke 10. 7, 8. In the same house remain, eating and drinking such things as they give: For the labourer is worthy of his hire, &c. And into whatsoever City you enter, and they receive you, eat such things as are set before you.* To which Ordinance of Christ it may seem likeliest, that the Apostle refers us both here, and *1 Tim. 5. 18.* where he cites this as the Saying of our Saviour, *That the labourer is worthy of*

of his hire. And both by this place of *Luke*, and that of *Mat. 10. 9, 10, 11.* it evidently appears that our Saviour ordain'd no certain Maintenance for his Apostles or Ministers, publicly or privately, in House or City receiv'd, but that, whatever it were, which might suffice to live on: and this not commanded or proportion'd by *Abram* or by *Moses*, whom he might easily have here cited, as his manner was, but declar'd only by a Rule of common Equity, which proportions the Hire as well to the Ability of him who gives, as to the labour of him who receives, and recommends him only as worthy, not invests him with a legal Right. And mark wheron he grounds this his Ordinance; not on a perpetual right of Tithes from *Melchisedec*, as Hirelings pretend, which he never claim'd, either for himself, or for his Ministers, but on the plane and common equity of rewarding the Laborer; worthy sometimes of single, sometimes of double Honor, not proportionable by Tithes. And the Apostle in this forecited Chapter to the *Corinthians*, Vers. 11. affirms it to be no great Recompence, if carnal things be reap'd for spiritual sown; but to mention Tithes, neglects here the fittest occasion that could be offer'd him, and leaves the rest free and undetermin'd. Certainly if Christ or his Apostles had approv'd of Tithes, they would have, either by Writing or Tradition, recommended them to the Church; and that soon would have appear'd in the practice of those Primitive and the next Ages. But for the first three hundred Years and more, in all the Ecclesiastical Story, I find no such Doctrin or Example: though Error by that time had brought back again Priests, Altars and Oblations; and in many other Points of Religion had miserably judaiz'd the Church. So that the defenders of Tithes, after a long pomp, and tedious preparation out of Heathen Authors, telling us that Tithes were paid to *Hercules* and *Apollo*, which perhaps was imitated from the *Jews*, and as it were bespeaking our Expectation, that they will abound much more with Authorities out of Christian Story, have nothing of general Approbation to begin with from the first three or four Ages, but that which abundantly serves to the Confutation of thir Tithes; while they confess that Churchmen in those Ages liv'd meerly upon free-will Offerings. Neither can they say, that Tithes were not then paid for want of a civil Magistrate to ordain them, for Christians had then also Lands, and might give out of them what they pleas'd; and yet of Tithes then given we find no mention. And the first Christian Emperors, who did all things as Bishops advis'd them, supply'd what was wanting to the Clergy not out of Tithes, which were never motion'd, but out of thir own imperial Revenues; as is manifest in *Eusebius*, *Theodoret*, and *Sozomen*, from *Constantine* to *Arcadius*. Hence those ancientest reformed Churches of the *Waldenses*, if they rather continu'd not pure since the Apostles, deny'd that Tithes were to be given, or that they were ever given in the primitive Church, as appears by an ancient Tractate insert'd in the *Bohemian History*. Thus far hath the Church bin always, whether in her prime or in her ancientest Reformation, from the approving of Tithes: nor without Reason; for they might easily perceive that Tithes were fitted to the *Jews* only, a national Church of many incomplete Synagogues, uniting the Accomplishment of divine Worship in one Temple; and the Levites there had thir Tithes paid where they did thir bodily Work; to which a particular Tribe was set apart by divine Appointment, not by the Peoples Election: but the Christian Church is universal; not ty'd to Nation, Diocess, or Parish, but consisting of many particular Churches complete in themselves, gather'd not by compulsion, or the accident of dwelling nigh together, but by free Consent, chusing both thir particular Church and thir Church-Officers. Whereas if Tithes be set up, all these Christian Privileges will be disturb'd and soon lost, and with them Christian Liberty.

The first Authority which our Adversaries bring, after those fabulous Apostolic Canons, which they dare not insist upon, is a provincial Council held at *Cullen*, where they voted Tithes to be *God's Rent*, in the year three hundred fifty six; at the same time perhaps when the three Kings reign'd there, and of like Authority. For to what purpose do they bring these trivial Testimonies, by which they might as well prove Altars, Candles at noon, and the greatest part of those Superstitions fetch'd from Paganism or Jewism, which the Papist inveigld by this fond Argument of Antiquity, retains to this day?

Room.

To what purpose those Decrees of I know not what Bishops, to a Parliament and People who have thrown out both Bishops and Altars, and promis'd all Reformation by the Word of God? And that Altars brought Tithes hither, as one Corruption begot another, is evident by one of those Questions which the Monk *Austin* propounded to the Pope, *concerning those things, which by Offerings of the faithful came to the Altar*; as *Beda* writes, l. i. c. 27. If then by these Testimonies we must have Tithes continu'd, we must again have Altars. Of Fathers, by custom so call'd, they quote *Ambrose*, *Augustin*, and some other ceremonial Doctors of the same Leven: whose Assertion, without pertinent Scripture, no reformed Church can admit; and what they vouch is founded on the Law of *Moses*, with which, every where pitifully mistaken, they again incorporate the Gospel; as did the rest also of those titular Fathers, perhaps an Age or two before them, by many Rights and Ceremonies, both Jewish and Heathenish, introduc'd; wherby thinking to gain all, they lost all: and instead of winning Jews and Pagans to be Christians, by too much condescending they turn'd Christians into Jews and Pagans. To heap such unconvincing Citations as these in Religion, wherof the Scripture only is our Rule, argues not much Learning nor Judgment, but the lost Labor of much unprofitable reading. And yet a late hot Querist for Tithes, whom we may know by his Wits lying ever beside him in the Margin, to be ever beside his Wits in the Text, a fierce Reformer once, now ranckl'd with a contrary heat, would send us back, very reformedly indeed, to learn Reformation from *Tyndarus* and *Rebuffus*, two canonical Promooters. They produce next the ancient Constitutions of this Land, *Saxon Laws*, Edicts of Kings, and their Councils; from *Atbelstan*, in the year nine hundred twenty eight, that Tithes by Statute were paid: and might produce from *Ina*, above two hundred years before, that *Romescot*, or *Peter's Penny*, was by as good Statute Law paid to the Pope; from seven hundred twenty five, and almost as long continu'd. And who knows not that this Law of Tithes was enacted by those Kings and Barons upon the opinion they had of thir divine Right? as the very Words import of *Edward the Confessor*, in the close of that Law: *For so blessed Austin preach'd and taught*; meaning the Monk, who first brought the Romish Religion into *England* from *Gregory* the Pope. And by the way I add, that by these Laws, imitating the Law of *Moses*, the third part of Tithes only was the Priests due; the other two were appointed for the Poor, and to adorn or repare Churches; as the Canons of *Ecbert* and *Elfric* witness: *Concil. Brit.* If then these Laws were founded upon the Opinion of divine Authority, and that Authority be found mistaken and erroneous, as hath bin fully manifested, it follows, that these Laws fall of themselves with thir false Foundation. But with what Face or Conscience can they allege *Moses*, or these Laws for Tithes, as they now enjoy or exact them? wherof *Moses* ordains the Owner, as we heard before, the Stranger, the Fatherless, and the Widow, Partakers with the Levite; and these Fathers which they cite, and these though Romish rather than English Laws, allotted both to Priest and Bishop the third part only. But these our Protestant these our new reformed English Presbyterian Divines, against thir own cited Authors, and to the shame of thir pretended Reformation, would engross to themselves all Tithes by Statute; and supported more by thir wilful Obstinacy and Desire of filthy Lucre, than by these both insufficient and impertinent Authorities, would perswade a Christian Magistracy and Parliament, whom we trust God hath restor'd for a happier Reformation, to impose upon us a Judaical Ceremonial Law, and yet from that Law to be more irregular and unwarrantable, more complying with a covetous Clergy, than any of those Popish Kings and Parliaments alleg'd. Another shift they have to plead, that Tithes may be moral as well as the Sabbath, a tenth of Fruits as well as a seventh of Days. I answer, that the Prelats who urge this Argument have least reason to use it, denying Morality in the Sabbath, and therin better agreeing with Reformed Churches abroad than the rest of our Divines. As therefore the seventh day is not moral, but a convenient Recourse of Worship in fit season, whether seventh or other number, so neither is the tenth of our Goods, but only a convenient Subsistence morally due to Ministers. The last and lowest sort of thir Arguments, that Men purchas'd not thir Tithe with thir Land, and such like

like Pettifoggery, I omit ; as refuted fufficiently by others : I omit alfo thir violent and irreligious Exactions, related no lefs credibly ; thir feiling of Pots and Pans from the Poor, who have as good right to Tithes as they ; from fome, the very Beds ; thir fuing and imprifoning ; worfe than when the Canon Law was in force ; worfe than when thofe wicked Sons of *Eli* were Priests, whose manner was thus to feife thir pretended priestly Due by force ; 1 *Sam.* 2. 12, &c. *Whereby Men abhor'd the Offering of the Lord.* And it may be fear'd that many will as much abhor the Gospel, if fuch Violence as this be fuffer'd in her Ministers, and in that which they alfo pretend to be the Offering of the Lord. For thofe Sons of *Belial* within fome Limits made feifure of what they knew was thir own by an undoubted Law ; but thefe, from whom there is no Sanctuary, feife out of Mens Grounds, out of Mens Houfes, thir other Goods of double, fometimes of treble value, for that which, did not Covetoufnefs and Rapine blind them, they know to be not thir own by the Gospel which they preach. Of fome more tolerable than thefe, thus feverely God hath fpoken ; *Ifa.* 46. 10, &c. *They are greedy dogs ; they all look to thir own way, every one for his gain, from his quarter.* With what Anger then will he judg them who ftand not looking, but under colour of a divine Right, fetch by Force that which is not thir own, taking his Name not in vain, but in violence ? Nor content, as *Gebazi* was, to make a cunning, but a constrain'd Advantage of what thir Mafter bids them give freely, how can they but return fmitten, worfe than that sharking Minister, with a fpiritual Leprofy ? And yet they cry out Sacrilege, that Men will not be gull'd and baff'd the tenth of thir eftates by giving credit to frivolous Pretences of divine Right. Where did God ever cleerly declare to all Nations, or in all Lands, (and none but Fools part with thir Eftates without cleereft Evidence, on bare Suppofals and Presumptions of them who are the Gainers therby) that he requir'd the tenth as due to him or his Son perpetually and in all places ? Where did he demand it, that we might certainly know, as in all claims of temporal Right is juft and reasonable ? or if demanded, where did he affign it, or by what evident conveyance to Ministers ? Unless they can demonstrate this by more than Conjectures, thir Title can be no better to Tithes than the Title of *Gebazi* was to thofe things which by abufing his Mafter's name he rook'd from *Naaman*. Much lefs where did he command that Tithes fhould be fetch'd by force, where left not under the Gospel whatever his Right was, to the Freewill-offerings of Men ? Which is the greater Sacrilege, to bely divine Authority, to make the name of Chrift accessory to Violence, and robbing him of the very Honor which he aim'd at in beftowing freely the Gospel, to commit Simony and Rapin, both fecular and ecclesiastical ; or on the other fide, not to give up the tenth of Civil Right and Propriety to the Tricks and Impoftures of Clergy-men, contriv'd with all the Art and Argument that thir Bellies can invent or fuggeft ; yet fo ridiculous and prefuming on the Peoples Dulnefs or Superftition, as to think they prove the divine Right of thir Maintenance by *Abram* paying Tithes to *Melchisedec*, when as *Melchisedec* in that paffage rather gave Maintenance to *Abram* ; in whom all, both Priests and Ministers, as well as Lay-men, paid Tithes, not receiv'd them. And becaufe I affirm'd above, beginning this firft part of my Difcourfe, that God hath given to Ministers of the Gospel that Maintenance only which is juftly given them, let us fee a little what hath bin thought of that other Maintenance befides Tithes, which of all Proteftants our Englifh Divines either only or moft apparently both require and take. Thofe are Fees for Chriftnings, Marriages, and Burials : which, though whofo will may give freely, yet being not of Right, but of free Gift, if they be exacted or eftablifh'd, they becom unjuft to them who are otherwife maintain'd ; and of fuch evil note, that even the Council of *Trent*, l. 2. p. 246. makes them liable to the Laws againft Simony, who take or demand Fees for the adminiftring of any Sacrament : *Che la fínodo volendo levare gli abuſi introdotti*, &c. And in the next Page, with like Severity, condemns the giving or taking for a Benefice, and the celebrating of Marriages, Chriftnings, and Burials, for Fees exacted or demanded : nor counts it lefs Simony to fell the Ground or Place of Burial. And in a State-Aſſembly at *Orleans*, 1561. it was decreed, *Che non ſi poteſſe effigier coſa alcuna*, &c. p. 429. *That nothing ſhould*
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be exacted for the administering of Sacraments, Burials, or any other spiritual Function. Thus much that Council, of all others the most Popish, and this Assembly of Papists, though, by thir own Principles, in bondage to the Clergy, were induc'd, either by thir own reason and shame, or by the light of Reformation then shining in upon them, or rather by the known Canons of many Councils and Synods long before, to condemn of Simony spiritual Fees demanded. For if the Minister be maintain'd for his whole Ministry, why should he be twice paid for any part therof? Why should he, like a Servant, seek Vails over and above his Wages? As for Christnings, either they themselves call Men to Baptism, or Men of themselves com: if Ministers invite, how ill had it becom'd *John* the Baptist to demand Fees for his baptizing, or Christ for his christnings? Far less becoms it these now, with a greedines lower than that of Tradesmen calling Passengers to thir Shop, and yet paid beforehand, to ask again for doing that which those thir Founders did freely. If Men of themselves com to be baptiz'd, they are either brought by such as already pay the Minister, or com to be one of his Disciples and Maintainers: of whom to ask a Fee as it were for entrance, is a piece of paltry craft or caution, befitting none but beggarly Artists. Burials and Marriages are so little to be any part of thir Gain, that they who consider well, may find them to be no part of thir Function. At Burials thir attendance they alledg on the Corps; all the Guests do as much unhir'd. But thir Prayers at the Grave, superstitiously requir'd: yet if requir'd, thir last performance to the deceas'd of thir own Flock. But the Funeral Sermon, at thir choise, or if not, an occasion offer'd them to preach out of season, which is one part of thir Office. But somthing must be spoken in praise; if due, thir duty; if undue, thir corruption: a peculiar Simonie of our Divines in *England* only. But the ground is broken, and especially thir unrighteous Possession, the Chancel. To sell that will not only raise up in judgment the Council of *Trent* against them, but will lose them the best Champion of Tithes, thir zealous Antiquary, Sir *Hen. Spelman*, who in a Book written to that purpose, by many cited Canons, and som even of times corruptest in the Church, proves that Fees exacted or demanded for Sacraments, Marriages, Burials, and especially for interring, are wicked, accursed, simoniacal and abominable: Yet thus is the Church, for all this noise of Reformation, left still unreform'd, by the censure of thir own Synods, thir own Favourers, a den of Thieves and Robbers. As for Marriages, that Ministers should meddle with them, as not sanctifi'd or legitimat without thir Celebration, I find no ground in Scripture either of Precept or Example. Likeliest it is (which our *Selden* hath well observ'd, *l. 2. c. 28. ux. Eb.*) that in imitation of Heathen Priests who were wont at Nuptials to use many Rites and Ceremonies, and especially, judging it would be profitable, and the increase of their Authority, not to be Spectators only in business of such concernment to the Life of Man, they insinuated that Marriage was not holy without thir Benediction, and for the better colour, made it a Sacrament; being of it self a Civil Ordinance, a household Contract, a thing indifferent and free to the whole race of Mankind, not as religious, but as Men: best, indeed, undertaken to religious ends, and as the Apostle saith, *1 Cor. 7. In the Lord*. Yet not therefore invalid or unholy without a Minister and his pretended necessary hallowing, more than any other Act, Enterprize or Contract of civil Life, which ought all to be don also in the Lord and to his Glory: All which, no less than Marriage, were by the cunning of Priests heretofore, as material to thir Profit, transacted at the Altar. Our Divines deny it to be a Sacrament; yet retain'd the Celebration, till prudently a late Parliament recover'd the Civil Liberty of Marriage from thir incroachment, and transferr'd the ratifying and registering therof from the Canonical Shop to the proper cognisance of Civil Magistrates. Seeing then, that God hath given to Ministers under the Gospel, that only which is justly given them, that is to say, a due and moderat Livelihood, the hire of thir labor, and that the heav-offering of Tithes is abolish'd with the Altar, yea though not abolish'd, yet lawles, as they enjoy them; thir Melchisedecian Right also trivial and groundles, and both Tithes and groundles, and both Tithes and Fees, if exacted or establish'd, unjust and scandalous; we may hope, with
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them remov'd, to remove Hirelings in som good measure, whom these tempting Baits, by Law especially to be recover'd, allure into the Church.

The next thing to be consider'd in the maintenance of Ministers, is by whom it should be given. Wherin though the Light of Reason might sufficiently inform us, it will be best to consult the Scripture: *Gal. 6. 6. Let him that is taught in the word, communicate to him that teacheth, in all good things*: that is to say in all manner of Gratitude, to his ability. *1 Cor. 9. 11. If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great matter if we reap your carnal things?* To whom therefore hath not bin sown, from him wherefore should be reap'd? *1 Tim. 5. 17. Let the Elders that rule well, be counted worthy of double honour; especially they who labour in word and doctrine.* By these places we see, that Recompence was given either by every one in particular who had bin instructed, or by them all in common, brought into the Church-Treasury, and distributed to the Ministers according to thir several labors: and that was judg'd either by som extraordinary Person, as *Timothy*, who by the Apostle was then left Evangelist at *Ephesus*, *2 Tim. 4. 5.* or by som to whom the Church deputed that care. This is so agreeable to reason and so clear, that any one may perceive what Iniquity and Violence hath prevail'd since in the Church, whereby it hath bin so order'd, that they also shall be compell'd to recompence the Parochial Minister, who neither chose him for thir Teacher, nor have receiv'd Instruction from him, as being either insufficient, or not resident, or inferior to whom they follow; wherein to bar them thir Choise, is to violate Christian Liberty. Our Law-books testifie, that before the Council of *Lateran*, in the year 1179, and the fifth of our *Henry 2.* or rather before a decretal Epistle of Pope *Innocent the Third*, about 1200, and the first of King *John*, any Man might have given his Tithes to what spiritual Person he would: and, as the *L. Coke* notes on that place, *Instit. part 2. that this decretal bound not the Subjects of this Realm, but as it seem'd just and reasonable.* The Pope took his reason rightly from the above cited place, *1 Cor. 9. 11.* but falsely suppos'd every one to be instructed by his Parish-Priest. Whether this were then first so decreed, or rather long before, as may seem by the Laws of *Edgar* and *Canute*, that Tithes were to be paid, not to whom he would that paid them, but to the Cathedral Church or the Parish Priest, it imports not; since the reason which they themselves bring, built on fals supposition, becomes alike infirm and absurd, that he should reap from me, who sows not to me, be the cause either his defect, or my free choise. But here it will be readily objected, What if they who are to be instructed be not able to maintain a Minister, as in many Villages? I answer, that the Scripture shews in many places what ought to be don herin. First I offer it to the reason of any Man, whether he think the knowledg of Christian Religion harder than any other Art or Science to attain. I suppose he will grant that it is far easier, both of it self, and in regard of God's assisting Spirit, not particularly promis'd us to the attainment of any other Knowledg, but of this only: since it was preach'd as well to the Shepherds of *Bethleem* by Angels, as to the Eastern Wisemen by that Star: and our Saviour declares himself anointed to preach the Gospel to the poor, *Luke 4. 18.* then surely to thir Capacity. They who after him first taught it, were otherwise unlearned Men: they who before *Hus* and *Luther* first reform'd it, were for the meannes of thir condition call'd, *the poor Men of Lions*: and in *Flanders* at this day, *les gueus*, which is to say, Beggars. Therefore are the Scriptures translated into every vulgar Tongue, as being held in main matters of Belief and Salvation, plain and easie to the poorest: and such no less than thir Teachers have the Spirit to guide them in all Truth, *Joh. 14. 26.* and *16. 13.* Hence we may conclude, if Men be not all thir life-time under a Teacher to learn Logic, natural Philosophy, Ethics or Mathematics, which are more difficult, that certainly it is not necessary to the attainment of Christian Knowledg that Men should sit all thir life long at the feet of a pulpited Divine; while he, a lollard indeed over his elbow-cushion, in almost the seventh part of forty or fifty years teaches them scarce half the Principles of Religion; and his Sheep oft-times sit the while to as little purpose of benefiting as the Sheep in thir Pues at *Smithfield*; and for the most part by som Simony or other, bought and sold like them: or, if this Comparifon be too low, like those Women, *1 Tim.*

3.7. *Ever learning and never attaining*; yet not so much through thir own fault, as through the unskilful and immethodical teaching of thir Pastor, teaching here and there at random out of this or that Text, as his ease or fanſie, and oft-times as his stealth guides him. Seeing then that Chriſtian Religion may be ſo eaſily attain'd, and by meanest Capacities, it cannot be much difficult to find ways, both how the poor, yea all Men may be ſoon taught what is to be known of Chriſtianity, and they who teach them, recompenc'd. Firſt, if Miniſters of thir own accord, who pretend that they are call'd and ſent to preach the Goſpel, thoſe eſpecially who have no particular Flock, would imitate our Saviour and his Diſciples who went preaching through the Villages, not only through the Cities, *Matth. 9. 35. Mark 6. 6. Luke 13. 22. Acts 8. 25.* and there preach'd to the poor as well as to the rich, looking for no recompence but in Heaven: *John 4. 35, 36. Look on the fields, for they are white already to Harvest: and he that reapeth, receiveth wages, and gathereth fruit unto Life eternal.* This was thir Wages. But they will ſoon reply, we our ſelves have not wherewithal; who ſhall bear the Charges of our Journey? To whom it may as ſoon be answer'd, that in likelihood they are not poorer than they who did thus; and if they have not the ſame Faith which thoſe Diſciples had to truſt in God and the Promise of Chriſt for thir Maintenance as they did, and yet intrude into the Miniſtery without any livelihood of thir own, they caſt themſelves into a miſerable hazard or temptation, and oft-times into a more miſerable neceſſity, either to ſtarve, or to pleaſe thir Paimaſters rather than God; and give Men juſt cauſe to ſuſpect, that they came neither call'd nor ſent from above to preach the Word, but from below, by the inſtinct of thir own hunger, to feed upon the Church. Yet grant it needful to allow them both the Charges of thir Journey and the Hire of thir Labor, it will belong next to the Charity of richer Congregations, where moſt commonly they abound with Teachers, to ſend ſome of thir number to the Villages round, as the Apoſtles from *Jeruſalem* ſent *Peter* and *John* to the City and Villages of *Samaria*, *Acts 8. 14, 25.* or as the Church at *Jeruſalem* ſent *Barnabas* to *Antioch*, *chap. 11. 22.* and other Churches joining ſent *Luke* to travail with *Paul*, *2 Cor. 8. 19.* though whether they had thir Charges born by the Church or no, it be not recorded. If it be objected that this itinerary preaching will not ſerve to plant the Goſpel in thoſe places, unleſs they who are ſent, abide there ſom competent time; I answer, that if they ſtay there a year or two, which was the longeſt time uſually ſtaid by the Apoſtles in one place, it may ſuffice to teach them, who will attend and learn, all the Points of Religion neceſſary to Salvation; then ſorting them into ſeveral Congregations of a moderat number, out of the ableſt and zealoſeſt among them to create Elders, who, exerciſing and requiring from themſelves what they have learn'd (for no Learning is retain'd without conſtant exerciſe and methodical repetition) may teach and govern the reſt: and ſo exhorted to continue faithful and ſtedfaſt, they may ſecurely be committed to the Providence of God and the guidance of his holy Spirit, till God may offer ſom opportunity to viſit them again, and to confirm them: which when they have don, they have don as much as the Apoſtles were wont to do in propagating the Goſpel, *Acts 14. 23. And when they had ordain'd them Elders in every Church, and had pray'd with faſting, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they believ'd.* And in the ſame Chapter, *Vers. 21, 22. When they had preach'd the Goſpel to that City, and had taught many, they returned again to Lyſtra and to Iconium and Antioch, confirming the Souls of the Diſciples, and exhorting them to continue in the Faith.* And *Chap. 15. 36. Let us go again and viſit our Brethren.* And *Vers. 41. He went thorow Syria and Cilicia, confirming the Churches.* To theſe I might add other helps, which we enjoy now, to make more eaſie the attainment of Chriſtian Religion by the meanest: the entire Scripture tranſlated into Engliſh with plenty of Notes; and ſom where or other, I truſt, may be found ſom whoſom body of Divinity, as they call it, without School Terms and Metaphyſical Notions, which have obſcur'd rather than explain'd our Religion, and made it ſeem difficult without cauſe. Thus taught once for all, and thus now and then viſited and confirm'd, in the moſt deſtitute and pooreſt places of the Land, under the Government of thir own Elders performing all Miniſterial Offices among them, they may be truſted

to meet and edifie one another whether in Church or Chappel, or, to save them the trudging of many miles thither, neerer home, though in a House or Barn. For notwithstanding the gaudy Superstition of som devoted still ignorantly to Temples, we may be well assur'd that he who disdain'd not to be laid in a Manger, disdain's not to be preach'd in a Barn; and that by such meetings as these, being indeed most Apostolical and Primitive, they will in a short time advance more in Christian Knowledg and Reformation of Life, than by the many years preaching of such an Incumbent, I may say, such an Incubus oft-times, as will be meanly hir'd to abide long in those places. They have this left perhaps to object further, that to send thus, and to maintain, though but for a year or two, Ministers and Teachers in several places, would prove chargeable to the Churches, though in Towns and Cities round about. To whom again I answer, that it was not thought so by them who first thus propagated the Gospel, though but few in number to us, and much less able to sustain the Expence. Yet this Expence would be much less than to hire Incumbents, or rather Incumbrances, for life-time; and a great means (which is the subject of this Discourse) to diminish Hirelings. But be the Expence less or more, if it be found burdensom to the Churches, they have in this Land an easie remedy in thir recourse to the Civil Magistrate; who hath in his hands the disposal of no small Revenues, left, perhaps, anciently to superstitious, but meant undoubtedly to good and best uses; and therefore, once made publick, appliable by the present Magistrate to such uses as the Church, or solid Reason from whomsoever, shall convince him to think best. And those uses may be, no doubt, much rather than as Glebes and Augmentations are now bestow'd, to grant such requests as these of the Churches; or to erect in greater number all over the Land Schools, and competent Libraries to those Schools, where Languages and Arts may be taught free together, without the needless, unprofitable and inconvenient removing to another place. So all the Land would be soon better civiliz'd, and they who are taught freely at the publick Cost, might have thir Education given them on this condition, that therewith content, they should not gad for Preferment out of thir own Country, but continue there thankful for what they receiv'd freely, bestowing it as freely on thir Country, without soaring above the meannes wherin they were born. But how they shall live when they are thus bred and dismiss'd, will be still the sluggish Objection. To which is answer'd, that those publick Foundations may be so instituted, as the Youth therein may be at once brought up to a competence of Learning and to an honest Trade; and the hours of teaching so order'd, as thir study may be no hinderance to thir labor or other calling. This was the breeding of *S. Paul*, though born of no mean Parents, a free Citizen of the Roman Empire: so little did his Trade debase him, that it rather enabl'd him to use that magnanimity of preaching the Gospel through *Asia* and *Europe* at his own charges: thus those Preachers among the poor *Waldenses*, the ancient stock of our Reformation, without these helps which I speak of, bred up themselves in Trades, and especially in Physic and Surgery, as well as in the study of Scripture (which is the only true Theology) that they might be no burden to the Church; and by the Example of Christ, might cure both Soul and Body, through industry joining that to thir Ministry, which he join'd to his by gift of the Spirit. Thus relates *Peter Gilles* in his History of the *Waldenses* in *Piemont*. But our Ministers think scorn to use a Trade, and count it the reproach of this Age, that Tradesmen preach the Gospel. It were to be wish'd they were all Tradesmen; they would not then so many of them, for want of another Trade, make a Trade of thir preaching: and yet they clamor that Tradesmen preach; and yet they preach, while they themselves are the worst Tradesmen of all. As for Church-Endowments and Possessions, I meet with none considerable before *Constantine*, but the Houses and Gardens where they met, and thir places of burial: and I perswade me, that from them the ancient *Waldenses*, whom deservedly I cite so often, held, *That to endow Churches is an evil thing*; and, that the Church then fell off and turn'd Whore sitting on that Beast in the *Revelation*, when under Pope *Sylvester* she receiv'd those Temporal Donations. So the forecited Tractat of thir Doctrin testifies. This also thir own Traditions of that heavenly Voice

witness'd, and som of the ancient Fathers then living foresaw and deplor'd. And indeed, how could these Endowments thrive better with the Church, being unjustly taken by those Emperors, without suffrage of the People, out of the Tributes and publick Lands of each City, wherby the People became liable to be oppress'd with other Taxes. Being therefore given for the most part by Kings and other publick Persons, and so likeliest out of the Publick, and if without the Peoples consent, unjustly, however to publick ends of much concernment, to the good or evil of a Commonwealth, and in that regard made publick though given by private Persons, or which is worse, given, as the Clergy then perswaded men, for thir Souls Health, a pious Gift; but as the truth was, oft-times a bribe to God, or to Christ for Absolution, as they were then taught, for Murders, Adulteries, and other hainous Crimes; what shall be found hertofore given by Kings or Princes out of the publick, may justly by the Magistrate be recall'd and reappropriated to the Civil Revenue: what by privat or publick Persons out of thir own, the price of Blood or Lust, or to som such purgatorious and superstitious Uses, not only may but ought to be taken off from Christ, as a foul dishonour laid upon him, or not impiously given, nor in particular to any one, but in general to the Churches good, may be converted to that use which shall be judg'd tending more directly to that general end. Thus did the Princes and Cities of *Germany* in the first Reformation; and defended thir so doing by many reasons, which are set down at large in *Sleidan, Lib. 6. Anno 1526, and Lib. 11. Anno 1537, and Lib. 13. Anno 1540.* But that the Magistrate either out of that Church Revenue which remains yet in his hand, or establishing any other Maintenance instead of Tithe, should take into his own Power the stipendiary maintenance of Church-ministers, or compel it by Law, can stand neither with the Peoples right, nor with Christian liberty, but would suspend the Church wholly upon the State, and turn her Ministers into State-Pensioners. And for the Magistrate in Person of a nursing Father to make the Church his meer Ward, as always in Minority, the Church, to whom he ought as a Magistrate, *Esa. 49. 23. To bow down with his face toward the Earth, and lick up the dust of her Feet*; her to subject to his political Drifts or conceiv'd opinions, by mastering her Revenue; and so by his examinant committies to circumscribe her free election of Ministers, is neither just nor Pious; no honor don to the Church, but a plain dishonor: and upon her whose only head is in Heaven, yea upon him, who is her only Head, sets another in effect, and which is most monstrous, a human on a Heavenly, a carnal on a Spiritual, a political Head on an Ecclesiastical Body; which at length by such heterogeneal, such incestuous conjunction, transforms her oft-times into a Beast of many Heads and many Horns. For if the Church be of all Societies the holiest on Earth, and so to be reverenc'd by the Magistrate, not to trust her with her own Belief and Integrity; and therefore not with the keeping, at least with the disposing of what Revenue shall be found justly and lawfully her own, is to count the Church not a Holy Congregation, but a pack of giddy or dishonest Persons, to be rul'd by Civil Power in Sacred Affairs. But to proceed further in the Truth yet more freely, seeing the Christian Church is not National, but consisting of many particular Congregations, subject to many changes, as well through Civil Accidents, as through Schism and various Opinions, not to be decided by any outward judg, being matters of Conscience, wherby these pretended Church Revenues, as they have bin ever, so are like to continue endles matter of Dissention both between the Church and Magistrate, and the Churches among themselves, there will be found no better remedy to these evils, otherwise incurable, then by the incorruptest Council of those *Waldenses*, or first Reformers, to remove them as a Pest, an apple of discord in the Church, (for what els can be the effect of Riches, and the snare of Money in Religion?) and to convert them to those more profitable Uses above express'd, or other such as shall be judg'd most necessary; considering that the Church of Christ was founded in Poverty rather than in Revenues, stood purest and prosper'd best without them, receiv'd them unlawfully from them who both erroneously and unjustly, somtimes impiously, gave them, and so justly was ensnar'd and corrupted by them. And lest it be thought that these Revenues withdrawn and better employ'd, the Magistrate

strate ought instead to settle by Statute some maintenance of Ministers, let this be consider'd first, that it concerns every mans Conscience to what Religion he contributes; and that the Civil Magistrate is intrusted with Civil Rights only, not with Conscience, which can have no Deputy or representer of it self, but one of the same Mind: next, that what each man gives to the Minister, he gives either as to God, or as to his Teacher; if as to God, no Civil Power can justly consecrate to religious Uses any part either of Civil Revenue, which is the Peoples, and must save them from other Taxes, or of any mans propriety, but God by special command, as he did by *Moses*, or the owner himself by voluntary intention and the perswasion of his giving it to God. Forc'd Consecrations out of another mans Estate are no better then forc'd Vows, hateful to God, *who loves a chearful giver*; but much more hateful, wrung out of mens Purfes to maintain a disapprov'd Ministry against thir Conscience; however unholy, infamous, and dishonorable to his Ministers, and the free Gospel maintain'd in such unworthy manner as by Violence and Extortion. If he give it as to his Teacher, what Justice or Equity compels him to pay for learning that Religion which leaves freely to his choice, whether he will learn it or no, whether of this Teacher or another, and especially to pay for what he never learn'd, or approves not; wherby, besides the wound of his Conscience, he becomes the less able to recompence his true Teacher? Thus far hath bin enquir'd by whom Church-ministers ought to be maintain'd, and hath bin prov'd most natural, most equal and agreeable with Scripture, to be by them who receive thir Teaching; and by whom, if they be unable? Which ways well observ'd, can discourage none but Hirelings, and will much lessen thir number in the Church.

It remains lastly to consider, in what manner God hath ordain'd that Recompence be given to Ministers of the Gospel; and by all Scripture it will appear that he hath given it them not by Civil Law and Freehold, as they claim, but by the Benevolence and free Gratitude of such as receive them: Luke 10. 7, 8. *Eating and drinking such things as they give you. If they receive you, eat such things as are set before you.* Matth. 10. 7, 8. *As ye go, preach, saying, The Kingdom of God is at hand, &c. Freely ye have receiv'd, freely give.* If God have ordain'd Ministers to preach freely, whether they receive recompence or no, then certainly he hath forbid both them to compel it, and others to compel it for them. But freely given, he accounts it as given to himself: Philip. 4. 16, 17, 18. *Ye sent once and again to my necessity: Not because I desire a Gift; but I desire Fruit that may abound to your account. Having receiv'd of Epaphroditus the things which were sent from you, an odor of sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, well pleasing to God:* Which cannot be from force or unwillingnes. The same is said of Alms, Heb. 13. 16. *To do good and to communicate, forget not; for with such Sacrifices God is well pleas'd.* Whence the Primitive Church thought it no shame to receive all thir maintenance as the Alms of thir Auditors. Which they who defend Tithes, as if it made for thir cause, when as it utterly confutes them, omit not to set down at large; proving to our hands out of *Origen*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, and others, that the Clergy liv'd at first upon the meer benevolence of thir Hearers; who gave what they gave, not to the Clergy, but to the Church; out of which the Clergy had thir Portions given them in Baskets, and were thence call'd *sportularii*, *basket-clerks*: that thir Portion was a very mean allowance, only for a bare livelihood; according to those Precepts of our Saviour, Matth. 10. 7, &c. the rest was distributed to the Poor. They cite also out of *Prosper*, the disciple of *St. Austin*, that such of the Clergy as had means of thir own, might not without sin partake of Church-maintenance; not receiving thereby food which they abound with, but feeding on the sins of other men: that the Holy Ghost faith of such Clergy men, they eat the sins of my People; and that a Council at *Antioch*, in the year 340, suffer'd not either Priest or Bishop to live on Church-maintenance without Necessity. Thus far Tithers themselves have contributed to thir own confutation, by confessing that the Church liv'd primitively on Alms. And I add, that about the year 359, *Constantius* the Emperor having summon'd a general Council of Bishops to *Ariminum* in Italy, and provided for thir subsistence there, the *British* and *French* Bishops judging it not decent to live on the Publick, chose rather to be at thir own charges.

Three only out of *Britain* constrain'd through want, yet refusing offer'd assistance from the rest, accepting the Emperor's Provision; judging it more convenient to subsist by publick than by private sustenance. Whence we may conclude, that *Bishops* then in this *Iland* had thir livelihood only from benevolence; in which regard this relater *Sulpitius Severus*, a good Author of the same time, highly praises them. And the *Waldenses*, our first Reformers, both from the Scripture and these Primitive examples, maintain'd those among them who bore the Office of Ministers, by Alms only. Take thir very words from the History written of them in *French*, Part 3. Lib. 2. Chap. 2. *La nourriture & ce de quoy nous sommes couverts, &c. Our Food and Clothing is sufficiently administer'd and given to us by way of gratuity and Alms, by the good People whom we teach.* If then by Alms and Benevolence, not by legal force, not by tenure of Freehold or Copyhold: for Alms, though just, cannot be compell'd; and Benevolence forc'd, is Malevolence rather, violent and inconsistent with the Gospel; and declares him no true Minister therof, but a rapacious Hireling rather, who by force receiving it, eats the bread of Violence and Exaction, no holy or just livelihood, no not civilly counted honest; much less be seeming such a spiritual Ministry. But, say they, our Maintenance is our due, Tithes the right of Christ, unseparable from the Priest, no where repeal'd; if then, not otherwise to be had, by Law to be recover'd; for though *Paul* were pleas'd to forgo his due, and not to use his Power, *1 Cor.* 9. 12. yet he had a Power, *Ver.* 4. and bound not others. I answer first, because I see them still so loth to unlearn their decimal Arithmetic, and still grasp thir Tithes as inseparable from a Priest, that Ministers of the Gospel are not Priests; and therefore separated from Tithes by thir own exclusion, being neither call'd Priests in the New Testament, nor of any Order known in Scripture: not of *Melchisedec*, proper to Christ only; not of *Aaron*, as they themselves will confess; and the third Priesthood only remaining, is common to all the Faithful. But they are Ministers of our High Priest. True, but not of his Priesthood, as the Levites were to *Aaron*; for he performs that whole Office himself incommunicably. Yet Tithes remain, say they, still unreleas'd, the due of Christ; and to whom payable, but to his Ministers? I say again, that no man can so understand them, unless Christ in som place or other so claim them. That example of *Abram* argues nothing but his voluntary act; honor once only don, but on what consideration, whether to a Priest or to a King, whether due the honor, arbitrary that kind of honor or not, will after all contending be left still in meer conjecture: which must not be permitted in the claim of such a needy and suttle spiritual Corporation, pretending by divine right to the Tenth of all other mens Estates; nor can it be allow'd by wise men, or the verdict of common Law. And the tenth part, though once declar'd Holy, is declar'd now to be no holier than the other nine, by that command to *Peter*, *Acts* 10. 15; 28. whereby all distinction of Holy and Unholy is remov'd from all things. Tithes therefore though claim'd, and Holy under the Law, yet are now releas'd and quitted both by that command to *Peter*, and by this to all Ministers abovesited, *Luke* 10. *eating and drinking such things as they give you:* made Holy now by thir free Gift only. And therefore *S. Paul*, *1 Cor.* 9. 4. asserts his Power indeed; but of what? not of Tithes, but, *to eat and drink such things as are given* in reference to this command; which he calls not Holy things, or things of the Gospel, as if the Gospel had any consecrated things in answer to things of the Temple, *Ver.* 13. but he calls them *your Carnal things*, *Ver.* 11. without changing thir property. And what Power had he? Not the Power of Force, but of Conscience only, wherby he might lawfully and without scruple live on the Gospel; receiving what was given him, as the recompence of his Labor. For if Christ the Master hath profess'd his Kingdom to be not of this World, it suits not with that profession, either in him or his Ministers, to claim temporal Right from spiritual Respects. He who refus'd to be the divider of an Inheritance between two Brethren, cannot approve his Ministers, by pretended right from him, to be dividers of Tenths and Freeholds out of other mens Possessions, making therby the Gospel but a cloak of carnal Interest, and, to the contradiction of thir Master, turning his heavenly Kingdom into a Kingdom of this World, a Kingdom of Force and Ra-

pin: To whom it will be one day thunder'd more terribly than to *Gebazi*, for thus dishonouring a far greater Master and his Gospel; *is this a time to receive Money, and to receive Garments, and Olive-yards, and Vineyards, and Sheep, and Oxen?* The Leprosy of *Naaman* link'd with that Apostolic curse of *perishing* imprecated on *Simon Magus*, may be fear'd will cleave to such and to thir seed for ever. So that when all is don, and Belly hath us'd in vain all her cunning shifts, I doubt not but all true Ministers, considering the demonstration of what hath bin here prov'd, will be wise, and think it much more tolerable to hear that no maintenance of Ministers, whether Tithes or any other, can be settl'd by Statute, but must be given by them who receive Instruction; and freely given, as God hath ordain'd. And indeed what can be a more honorable Maintenance to them than such, whether Alms or willing Oblations, as these; which being accounted both alike as given to God, the only acceptable Sacrifices now remaining, must needs represent him who receives them much in the care of God, and nearly related to him, when not by worldly force and constraint, but with religious awe and reverence; what is given to God, is given to him; and what to him, accounted as given to God. This would be well enough, say they; but how many will so give? I answer; as many, doubtles, as shall be well taught, as many as God shall so move. Why are ye so distrustful, both of your own Doctrin and of God's Promises, fulfill'd in the experience of those Disciples first sent: Luke 22. 35. *When I sent you without Purse, and Scrip, and Shoes, lacked ye any thing? And they said, Nothing.* How then came ours, or who sent them thus destitute, thus poor and empty both of Purse and Faith? Who stile themselves Embassadors of Jesus Christ, and seem to be his Tithe-gatherers, though an Office of thir own setting up to his Dishonor, his Exacters, his Publicans rather, not trusting that he will maintain them in thir embassy, unless they bind him to his Promise by a Statute-law, that we shall maintain them. Lay down for shame that magnific Title, while ye seek Maintenance from the People: It is not the manner of Embassadors to ask Maintenance of them to whom they are sent. But he who is Lord of all things, hath so ordain'd: trust him then; he doubtles will command the People to make good his Promises of Maintenance more honorably unask'd, unrak'd for. This they know, this they preach, yet believe not: but think it as impossible, without a Statute-law, to live of the Gospel, as if by those words they were bid go eat thir Bibles, as *Ezekiel* and *John* did thir Books; and such Doctrins as these are as bitter to thir Bellies; but will serve so much the better to discover Hirelings, who can have nothing, though but in appearance, just and solid to answer for themselves against what hath bin here spoken, unless perhaps this one remaining Pretence, which we shall quickly see to be either fals or uningenuous.

They pretend that thir Education, either at School or University, hath bin very chargeable, and therefore ought to be repair'd in future by a plentiful Maintenance: Whenas it is well known that the better half of them, and oft-times poor and pitiful Boys, of no merit or promising hopes that might intitle them to the publick Provision, but thir Poverty and the unjust favour of Friends, have had the most of thir breeding, both at School and University, by Scholarships; Exhibitions and Fellowships at the Publick Cost, which might engage them the rather to give freely, as they have freely receiv'd. Or if they have mis'd of these helps at the latter place, they have after two or three Years left the cours of thir studies there, if they ever well began them, and undertaken, though furnish'd with little els but Ignorance, Boldness and Ambition, if with no worse Vices, a Chaplainship in som Gentleman's house, to the frequent imbasing of his Sons with illiterate and narrow Principles. Or if they have liv'd there upon thir own, who knows not that seven years Charge of living there, to them who fly not from the Government of thir Parents to the license of a University, but com seriously to study, is no more than may be well defraid and reimburs'd by one year's Revenue of an ordinary good Benefice? If they had then means of Breeding from thir Parents, 'tis likely they have more now; and if they have, it needs must be mechanick and uningenuous in them, to bring a Bill of Charges for the learning of those liberal Arts and Sciences, which they have learn'd (if they have indeed learn'd them, as they seldom have) to thir own benefit and accomplish-

complishment. But they will say, we had betaken us to som other Trade or Profession, had we not expected to find a better Livelihood by the Ministry. This is that which I look'd for, to discover them openly neither true lovers of Learning, and so very seldom guilty of it, nor true Ministers of the Gospel. So long ago out of date is that old *true saying*, 1 Tim. 3. 1. *If a Man desire a Bishoprick, he desires a good work*: for now commonly he who desires to be a Minister, looks not at the Work, but at the Wages; and by that Lure or Loubel, may be toald from Parish to Parish all the Town over. But what can be plainer Simony, than thus to be at Charges beforehand, to no other end than to make thir Ministry doubly or trebly beneficial? To whom it might be said, as justly as to that *Simon*, *Thy Mony perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the Gift of God may be purchas'd with Money; thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter*. Next, it is a fond Error, though too much believ'd among us, to think that the University makes a Minister of the Gospel; what it may conduce to other Arts and Sciences, I dispute not now: but that which makes fit a Minister, the Scripture can best inform us to be only from above, whence also we are bid to seek them; Mat. 9. 38. *Pray ye therefore to the Lord of the Harvest, that he will send forth Laborers into his Harvest*. Acts 20. 28. *The Flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you Overseers*. Rom. 10. 15. *How shall they preach, unless they be sent?* By whom sent? by the University, or the Magistrate, or thir Belly? No surely, but sent from God only, and that God who is not thir Belly. And whether he be sent from God, or from *Simon Magus*; the inward sence of his Calling and spiritual Ability will sufficiently tell him; and that strong Obligation felt within him, which was felt by the Apostle, will often expresse from him the same words: 1 Cor. 9. 16. *Necessity is laid upon me, yea, Wo is me if I preach not the Gospel*. Not a beggarly necessity, and the Wo fear'd otherwise of perpetual want, but such a necessity as made him willing to preach the Gospel *gratis*, and to embrace Poverty, rather than as a Wo to fear it. 1 Cor. 12. 28. *God hath set som in the Church, first Apostles, &c. Ephes. 4. 11, &c. He gave som Apostles, &c. For the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the Ministry, for the edifying of the Body of Christ, till we all come to the Unity of the Faith*. Whereby we may know, that as he made them at the first, so he makes them still, and to the World's end. 2 Cor. 3. 6. *Who hath also made us fit or able Ministers of the New Testament*. 1 Tim. 4. 14. *The Gift that is in thee, which was given thee by Prophecy, and the laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery*. These are all the means which we read of requir'd in Scripture to the making of a Minister. All this is granted, you will say; but yet that it is also requisite he should be train'd in other Learning; which can be no where better had than at Universities. I answer, that what Learning, either Human or Divine, can be necessary to a Minister, may as easily and less chargeably be had in any private house. How deficient els, and to how little purpose are all those piles of Sermons, Notes, and Comments on all parts of the Bible, Bodies and Marrows of Divinity, besides all other Sciences, in our English Tongue; many of the same Books which in Latin they read at the University? And the small necessity of going thither to learn Divinity, I prove first from the most part of themselves, who seldom continue there till they have well got through Logic, thir first Rudiments; though, to say truth, Logic also may much better be wanting in Disputes of Divinity, than in the subtile Debates of Lawyers and Statesmen, who yet seldom or never deal with Syllogisms. And those Theological Disputations there held by Professors and Graduates, are such as tend least of all to the Edification or Capacity of the People, but rather perplex and leven pure Doctrin with scholastical Trash, than enable any Minister to the better preaching of the Gospel. Whence we may also compute, since they com to reckonings, the charges of his needful Library: which, though some shame not to value at 600 l. may be competently furnish'd for 60 l. If any Man for his own curiosity or delight be in Books further expensive, that is not to be reckon'd as necessary to his ministerial, either Breeding or Function. But Papists and other Adversaries, cannot be confuted without Fathers and Councils, immense Volumes, and of vast charges. I will shew them therefore a shorter and a better way of confutation: Tit. 1. 9. *Holding fast the faithful Word, as he hath bin taught, that he*
may

may be able by sound Doctrine, both to exhort and to convince Gainsayers : who are confuted as soon as heard, bringing that which is either not in Scripture, or against it. To pursue them further through the obscure and intangl'd Wood of Antiquity, Fathers and Councils fighting one against another, is needless, endless, not requisite in a Minister, and refus'd by the first Reformers of our Religion. And yet we may be confident, if these things be thought needful, let the State but erect in publick good store of Libraries, and there will not want men in the Church, who of thir own Inclinations will become able in this kind against Papists or any other Adversary. I have thus at large examin'd the usual Pretences of Hirelings, colour'd over most commonly with the cause of Learning and Universities; as if with Divines Learning stood and fell, wherein for the most part thir Pittance is so small : and, to speak freely, it were much better there were not one Divine in the University, no School-divinity known, the idle Sophistry of Monks, the Canker of Religion; and that they who intended to be Ministers, were train'd up in the Church only by the Scripture, and in the Original Languages therof at School; without fetching the compass of other Arts and Sciences, more than what they can well learn at secondary leasure, and at home. Neither speak I this in contempt of Learning, or the Ministry, but hating the common cheats of both; hating that they who have preach'd out Bishops, Prelats and Canonists, should, in what serves thir own ends, retain thir fals Opinions, thir Pharisaical Leven, thir Avarice, and closely, thir Ambition, thir Pluralities, thir Nonresidences, thir odious Fees, and use thir legal and Popish Arguments for Tithes: That Independents should take that Name, as they may justly from the true freedom of Christian Doctrin and Church-discipline subject to no superior Judg but God only, and seek to be Dependents on the Magistrate for thir Maintenance; which two things, Independence and State-hire in Religion, can never consist long or certainly together. For Magistrates at one time or other, not like these at present our Patrons of Christian Liberty, will pay none but such whom by thir Committies of Examination, they find conformable to thir Interest and Opinions: And Hirelings will soon frame themselves to that Interest, and those Opinions which they see best pleasing to thir Paymasters; and to seem right themselves, will force others as to the truth. But most of all they are to be revil'd and sham'd, who cry out with the distinct Voice of notorious Hirelings; that if ye settle not our Maintenance by Law, farewell the Gospel; then which nothing can be utter'd more fals, more ignominious, and, I may say, more blasphemous against our Saviour; who hath promis'd, without this Condition, both his Holy Spirit, and his own presence with his Church to the World's end: Nothing more fals (unless with thir own Mouths they condemn themselves for the unworthiest and most mercenary of all other Ministers) by the experience of 300 Years after Christ, and the Churches at this day in *France, Austria, Polonia*, and other places, witnessing the contrary under an advers Magistrate, not a favorable; nothing more ignominious, levelling, or rather undervaluing Christ beneath *Mahomet*. For if it must be thus, how can any Christian object it to a Turk, that his Religion stands by Force only; and not justly fear from him this Reply, yours both by Force and Money in the judgment of your own Preachers? This is that which makes Atheists in the Land, whom they so much complain of: not the want of Maintenance, or Preachers, as they allege, but the many Hirelings and Cheaters that have the Gospel in thir hands; hands that still crave, and are never satisfi'd. Likely Ministers indeed, to proclaim the Faith, or to exhort our trust in God, when they themselves will not trust him to provide for them in the Message wheron, they say, he sent them; but threaten, for want of temporal means, to desert it; calling that want of means, which is nothing els but the want of thir own Faith; and would force us to pay the hire of building our Faith to thir covetous Incredulity. Doubtless, if God only be he who gives Ministers to his Church till the World's end; and through the whole Gospel never sent us for Ministers to the Schools of Philosophy, but rather bids us beware of such *vain deceit*, Col. 2. 8. (which the Primitive Church, after two or three Ages not remembring, brought her self quickly to confusion) if all the Faithful be now *a Holy and a Royal Priesthood*, 1 Pet. 2. 5, 9. not excluded from the Dis-

pensation of things holiest, after free election of the Church, and imposition of hands, there will not want Ministers elected out of all sorts and orders of Men, for the Gospel makes no difference from the Magistrate himself to the meanest Artificer, if God evidently favour him with Spiritual Gifts, as he can easily, and oft hath done, while those Batchelor Divines and Doctors of the Tippet have bin pass'd by. Heretofore in the first Evangelic Times, (and it were happy for Christendom if it were so again) Ministers of the Gospel were by nothing els distinguish'd from other Christians, but by thir spiritual Knowledg and Sanctity of Life, for which the Church elected them to be her Teachers and Overseers, though not therby to separate them from whatever calling she then found them following besides, as the Example of *St. Paul* declares, and the first times of Christianity. When once they affected to be call'd a Clergy, and became, as it were, a peculiar Tribe of Levites, a Party, a distinct Order in the Commonwealth, bred up for Divines in babbling Schools, and fed at the Publick Cost, good for nothing els but what was good for nothing, they soon grew idle: that Idleness, with fulness of Bread, begat pride and perpetual contention with thir Feeders the despis'd Laity, through all Ages ever since; to the perverting of Religion, and the disturbance of all Christendom. And we may confidently conclude, it never will be otherwise while they are thus upheld undepending on the Church, on which alone they anciently depended, and are by the Magistrate publickly maintain'd a numerous Faction of indigent Persons, crept for the most part out of extream want and bad nurture, claiming by divine right and freehold the tenth of our Estates, to monopolize the Ministry as thir peculiar, which is free and open to all able Christians, elected by any Church. Under this pretence exempt from all other Employment, and enriching themselves on the publick, they last of all prove common Incendiaries, and exalt thir Horns against the Magistrate himself that maintains them, as the Priest of *Rome* did soon after against his Benefactor the Emperor, and the Presbyters of late in *Scotland*. Of which hireling Crew, together with all the Mischiefs, Dissensions, Troubles, Wars meerly of thir kindling, Christendom might soon rid her self and be happy, if Christians would but know thir own Dignity, thir Liberty, thir Adoption, and let it not be wonder'd if I say, thir spiritual Priesthood, wherby they have all equally access to any ministerial Function, whenever call'd by thir own Abilities, and the Church, though they never came near Commencement or University. But while Protestants, to avoid the due labor of understanding thir own Religion, are content to lodg it in the Breast, or rather in the Books of a Clergyman, and to take it thence by scraps and mammoicks, as he dispenses it in his Sundays Dole; they will be always learning, and never knowing; always Infants; always either his Vassals, as Lay-papists are to thir Priests; or at odds with him, as reformed Principles give them som light to be not wholly conformable; whence infinit disturbances in the State, as they do, must needs follow. Thus much I had to say; and, I suppose, what may be enough to them who are not avariciously bent otherwise, touching the likeliest means to remove Hirelings out of the Church; then which nothing can more conduce to Truth, to Peace and all Happiness both in Church and State. If I be not heard nor believ'd, the Event will bear me witness to have spoken Truth; and I, in the mean while, have born my Witness, not out of season to the Church and to my Country.

A
L E T T E R
T O A
F R I E N D,

Concerning the Ruptures of the Commonwealth.
Publish'd from the Manuscript.

S I R,

UPON the sad and serious Discourse which we fell into last night, concerning these dangerous Ruptures of the Commonwealth, scarce yet in her Infancy, which cannot be without some inward flaw in her Bowels; I began to consider more intently thereon than hitherto I have bin wont, resigning my self to the Wisdom and Care of those who had the Government; and not finding that either God, or the Publick requir'd more of me, than my Prayers for them that govern. And since you have not only stir'd up my thoughts, by acquainting me with the state of Affairs, more inwardly than I knew before; but also have desired me to set down my Opinion thereof, trusting to your Ingenuity, I shall give you freely my apprehension, both of our present Evils, and what Expedients, if God in Mercy regard us, may remove them. I will begin with telling you how I was over-joy'd, when I heard that the Army, under the working of God's holy Spirit, as I thought, and still hope well, had bin so far wrought to Christian Humility, and Self-denial, as to confess in publick thir backsliding from the good Old Cause, and to shew the fruits of thir Repentance, in the righteousness of thir restoring the old famous Parliament, which they had without just Authority dissolved: I call it the famous Parliament, tho not the harmles, since none well-affected, but will confess, they have deserved much more of these Nations, than they have undeserved. And I perswade me, that God was pleas'd with thir Restitution, signing it, as he did, with such a signal Victory, when so great a part of the Nation were desperately conspir'd to call back again thir Egyptian Bondage. So much the more it now amazes me, that they, whose Lips were yet scarce clos'd from giving Thanks for that great Deliverance, should be now relapsing, and so soon again backsliding into the same fault, which they confess'd so lately, and so solemnly to God and the World, and more lately punish'd in those *Cheshire* Rebels; that they should now dissolve that Parliament, which they themselves re-establish'd, and acknowledg'd for thir Supreme Power in thir other days humble Representation: and all this, for no apparent cause of publick Concernment to the Church or Commonwealth, but only for discomissioning nine great Officers in the Army; which had not bin don, as is reported, but upon notice of thir Intentions against the Parliament. I presume not to give my Censure on this Action, not knowing, as yet I do not, the bottom of it. I speak only what it appears to us without doors, till better cause be declar'd, and I am sure to all other Nations most illegal and scandalous, I fear me barbarous, or rather scarce to be exempl'd among any Barbarians, that a paid Army should, for no other cause, thus subdue the Supream Power that set them up. This, I say, other Nations will judg to the sad dishonour of that Army, lately so renown'd for the civilest and best order'd in the World, and by us here at home, for the most conscientious. Certainly, if the great

Officers and Souldiers of the *Holland, French or Venetian* Forces, should thus sit in Council, and write from Garifon to Garifon against their Superiors, they might as easily reduce the King of *France*, or Duke of *Venice*, and put the United Provinces in like Disorder and Confusion. Why do they not, being most of them held ignorant of true Religion? because the Light of Nature, the Laws of Human Society, the Reverence of their Magistrates, Covenants, Engagements, Loyalty, Allegiance, keeps them in awe. How grievous will it then be? how infamous to the true Religion which we profess? how dishonorable to the Name of God, that his Fear and the power of his Knowledge in an Army professing to be his, should not work that Obedience, that Fidelity to thir Supream Magistrates, that levied them, and paid them, when the Light of Nature, the Laws of Human Society, Covenants, and Contracts, yea common Shame works in other Armies, amongst the worst of them? Which will undoubtedly pull down the heavy Judgment of God among us, who cannot but avenge these Hypocrisies, Violations of Truth and Holines; if they be indeed so as they yet seem. For, neither do I speak this in reproach to the Army, but as jealous of thir Honour, inciting them to manifest and publish, with all speed, some better cause of these thir late Actions, than hath hitherto appear'd, and to find out the *Achan* amongst them, whose close Ambition in all likelihood abuses thir honest Natures against thir meaning to these Disorders; thir readiest way to bring in again the common Enemy, and with him the Destruction of true Religion, and civil Liberty. But, because our Evils are now grown more dangerous and extreme, than to be remedi'd by Complaints, it concerns us now to find out what Remedies may be likeliest to save us from approaching Ruin. Being now in Anarchy, without a counselling and governing Power; and the Army, I suppose, finding themselves insufficient to discharge at once both Military and Civil Affairs, the first thing to be found out with all speed, without which no Commonwealth can subsist, must be a Senate, or General Council of State, in whom must be the Power, first, to preserve the publick Peace, next the Commerce with Foreign Nations; and lastly, to raise Monies for the Management of these Affairs: this must either be the Parliament readmitted to sit, or a Council of State allow'd of by the Army, since they only now have the Power. The Terms to be stood on are, Liberty of Conscience to all professing Scripture to be the Rule of thir Faith and Worship; and the Abjuration of a single Person. If the Parliament be again thought on, to save Honour on both sides, the well-affected Party of the City, and the congregated Churches, may be induced to mediate by publick Addresses, and brotherly beseechings, which, if there be that Saintship among us which is talk'd of, ought to be of highest and undeniable Perswasion to Reconcilement. If the Parliament be thought well dissolv'd, as not complying fully to grant Liberty of Conscience, and the necessary Consequence therof, the removal of a forc'd Maintenance from Ministers, then must the Army forthwith choose a Council of State, wherof as many to be of the Parliament, as are undoubtedly affected to these two Conditions propos'd. That which I conceive only able to cement, and unite for ever the Army, either to the Parliament recall'd, or this chosen Council, must be a mutual League and Oath, private or publick, not to desert one another till Death: That is to say, that the Army be kept up, and all these Officers in thir places during Life, and so likewise the Parliament, or Counsellors of State; which will be no way unjust, considering thir known Merits on either side, in Council or in Field, unless any be found false to any of these two Principles, or otherwise personally criminous in the Judgment of both Parties. If such a Union as this be not accepted on the Army's part, be confident there is a single Person underneath. That the Army be upheld, the necessity of our Affairs and Factions will constrain long enough perhaps, to content the longest Liver in the Army. And whether the Civil Government be an annual Democracy, or a perpetual Aristocracy, is not to me a Consideration for the Extremities wherein we are, and the hazard of our Safety from our common Enemy, gaping at present to devour us. That it be not an Oligarchy, or the Faction of a few, may be easily prevented by the Numbers of thir own choosing, who may be found infallibly constant to those two Conditions forenam'd, full Liberty

of Conscience, and the Abjuration of Monarchy propos'd: and the well-order'd Committies of thir faithfullest Adherents in every County may give this Government the resemblance and effects of a perfect Democracy. As for the Reformation of Laws, and the places of Judicature, whether to be here, as at present, or in every County, as hath bin long aim'd at, and many such Proposals, tending no doubt to publick good, they may be consider'd in due time when we are past these pernicious Pangs, in a hopeful way of Health, and firm Constitution. But unless these things, which I have above propos'd, one way or other, be once settl'd, in my fear, which God avert, we instantly ruin; or at best become the Servants of one or other single Person, the secret Author and Fomenter of these Disturbances. You have the sum of my present Thoughts, as much as I understand of these Affairs freely imparted, at your request, and the Perswasion you wrought in me, that I might chance herby to be some way serviceable to the Commonwealth, in a time when all ought to be endeavouring what good they can, whether much, or but little. With this you may do what you please, put out, put in, communicate or suppress: you offend not me, who only have obey'd your Opinion, that in doing what I have don, I might happen to offer somthing which might be of som use in this great time of need. However, I have not bin wanting to the opportunity which you presented before me, of shewing the readines which I have in the midst of my Unfitness, to what ever may be requir'd of me, as a publick Duty.

October 20. 1659.

The



The ready and easy way to establish a
Free Commonwealth,
 And the Excellence therof,
 Compar'd with the Inconveniencies and Dangers
 of readmitting Kingship in this Nation.

————— *Et nos*
Consilium dedimus Syllæ, demus populo nunc.

Although since the writing of this Treatise, the face of things hath had som change, Writs for new Elections have bin recall'd, and the Members at first chosen, readmitted from exclusion; yet not a little rejoicing to hear declar'd the Resolution of those who are in Power, tending to the establishment of a Free Commonwealth; and to remove, if it be possible, this noxious humor of returning to Bondage, instill'd of late by som Deceivers, and nourish'd from bad Principles and fals Apprehensions among too many of the People, I thought best not to suppress what I had written, hoping that it may now be of much more use and concernment to be freely publish'd, in the midst of our Elections to a Free Parliament, or thir sitting to consider freely of the Government; whom it behoves to have all things represented to them that may direct thir Judgment therin; and I never read of any State, scarce of any Tyrant grown so incurable, as to refuse Counsel from any in a time of publick Deliberation, much less to be offended. If thir absolute Determination be to enthal us, before so long a Lent of Servitude, they may permit us a little Shroving-time first, wherein to speak freely, and take our leaves of Liberty. And because in the former Edition, through haste, many Faults escap'd, and many Books were suddenly dispers'd, ere the Note to mend them could be sent, I took the opportunity from this occasion to revise and somewhat to enlarge the whole Discourse, especially that part which argues for a perpetual Senate. The Treatise thus revis'd and enlarg'd, is as follows.

The Parliament of *England*, assisted by a great number of the People who appear'd and stuck to them faithfullest in defence of Religion and thir Civil Liberties, judging Kingship by long experience a Government unnecessary, burdensom and dangerous, justly and magnanimously abolish'd it, turning regal Bondage into a free Commonwealth, to the Admiration and Terrour of our emulous Neighbours. They took themselves not bound by the Light of Nature or Religion to any former Covenant, from which the King himself, by many Forfeitures of a latter date or discovery, and our own longer consideration theron, had more and more unbound us, both to himself and his posterity; as hath been ever the Justice and the Prudence of all wise Nations that have ejected Tyranny. They covenanted to *preserve the King's Person and Authority, in the preservation of the true Religion, and our Liberties*; not in his endeavouring to bring in upon our Consciences, a Popish Religion; upon our Liberties, Thralldom; upon our Lives, Destruction, by his occasioning, if not complotting, as was after discovered, the *Irish* Massacre; his fomenting and arming the

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the Rebellion ; his covert leaguings with the Rebels against us ; his refusing, more than seven times, Propositions most just and necessary to the true Religion and our Liberties, tender'd him by the Parliament both of *England* and *Scotland*. They made not thir Covnant concerning him with no difference between a King and a God ; or promis'd him, as *Job* did to the Almighty, *to trust in him though he slay us* : They understood that the solemn Ingagement, wherein we all forswore Kingship, was no more a breach of the Covnant, than the Covnant was of the Protestation before, but a faithful and prudent going on both in words well weigh'd, and in the true sense of the Covnant, *without respect of Persons*, when we could not serve two contrary Masters, God and the King, or the King and that more supreme Law, sworn in the first place to maintain, our Safety and our Liberty. They knew the People of *England* to be a free People, themselves the Representatives of that Freedom ; and although many were excluded, and as many fled (so they pretended) from Tumults to *Oxford*, yet they were left a sufficient Number to act in Parliament, therefore not bound by any Statute of preceding Parliaments, but by the Law of Nature only, which is the only Law of Laws truly and properly to all Mankind fundamental ; the beginning and the end of all Government ; to which no Parliament or People that will thoroughly reform, but may and must have recourse, as they had, and must yet have, in Church-Reformation (if they thoroughly intend it) to Evangelic Rules ; not to Ecclesiastical Canons, though never so ancient, so ratifi'd and establish'd in the Land by Statutes, which for the most part are meer positive Laws, neither natural nor moral ; and so by any Parliament, for just and serious Considerations, without scruple to be at any time repeal'd. If others of thir Number in these things were under Force, they were not, but under free Conscience ; if others were excluded by a Power which they could not resist, they were not therefore to leave the Helm of Government in no hands, to discontinue thir care of the Public Peace and Safety, to desert the People in Anarchy and Confusion, no more than when so many of thir Members left them, as made up in outward Formality a more legal Parliament of three Estates against them. The best affected also, and best principl'd of the People, stood not numbring or computing, on which side were most Voices in Parliament, but on which side appear'd to them most Reason, most Safety, when the House divided upon main Matters : What was well motion'd and advis'd, they examin'd not whether Fear or Perswasion carried it in the Vote, neither did they measure Votes and Counsels by the Intentions of them that voted ; knowing that Intentions either are but guess'd at, or not soon enough known ; and although good, can neither make the Deed such, nor prevent the Consequence from being bad : Suppose bad Intentions in things otherwise well don ; what was well don, was by them who so thought, not the less obey'd or follow'd in the State ; since in the Church, who had not rather follow *Iscaiot* or *Simon* the Magician, though to covetous Ends, preaching, than *Saul*, though in the uprightness of his Heart persecuting the Gospel ? Safer they therefore judg'd what they thought the better Counsels, though carried on by some perhaps to bad Ends, then the wors by others, though endeavor'd with best Intentions : and yet they were not to learn that a greater Number might be corrupt within the Walls of a Parliament, as well as of a City ; wherof in Matters of nearest concernment all Men will be judges ; nor easily permit, that the Odds of Voices in thir greatest Council, shall more endanger them by corrupt or credulous Votes, than the Odds of Enemies by open Assaults ; judging that most Voices ought not always to prevail where main Matters are in question. If others hence will pretend to disturb all Counsels ; what is that to them who pretend not, but are in real danger ; not they only so judging, but a great, tho not the greatest Number of thir chosen Patriots, who might be more in Weight than the others in Number ; there being in Number little Vertue, but by Weight and Measure Wisdom working all things : and the Dangers on either side they seriously thus weigh'd : From the Treaty, short Fruits of long Labours, and 7 years War ; Security for 20 Years, if we can hold it ; Reformation in the Church for three Years : then put to shift again with our vanquish'd Master. His Justice, his Honour, his Conscience declar'd quite contrary to ours ; which would have furnish'd him with many such Evasions, as in a Book

entitl'd, *An Inquisition for Blood*, soon after were not conceal'd: Bishops not totally remov'd, but left, as it were, in Ambush, a Reserve, with Ordination in thir sole Power; thir Lands already sold, not to be alienated, but rented, and the sale of them call'd *Sacrilege*; Delinquents, few of many brought to condign Punishment; Accessories punish'd; the chief Author, above Pardon, though after utmost Resistance, vanquish'd; not to give, but to receive Laws; yet besought, treated with, and to be thank'd for his gracious Concessions, to be honour'd, worship'd, glorifi'd. If this we swore to do, with what Righteousness in the sight of God, with what Assurance that we bring not by such an Oath, the whole Sea of Blood-guiltiness upon our own Heads? If on the other side we prefer a Free Government, though for the present not obtain'd, yet all those suggested Fears and Difficulties, as the Event will prove, easily overcome, we remain finally secure from the exasperated Regal Power, and out of Snares; shall retain the best part of our Liberty, which is our Religion, and the civil part will be from these who defer us, much more easily recover'd, being neither so suttile nor so awful as a King reinthron'd. Nor were thir Actions less both at home and abroad, than might become the hopes of a glorious rising Commonwealth: Nor were the Expressions both of Army and People, whether in thir publick Declarations, or several Writings other than such as testifi'd a Spirit in this Nation, no less noble and well fitted to the Liberty of a Commonwealth, than in the ancient *Greeks* or *Romans*. Nor was the heroic Cause unsuccessfully defended to all Christendom, against the Tongue of a famous and thought invincible Adversary; nor the Constancy and Fortitude that so nobly vindicated our Liberty, our Victory at once against two the most prevailing Usurpers over Mankind, Superstition and Tyranny unprais'd or uncelebrated in a written Monument, likely to outlive Detraction, as it hath hitherto convinc'd or silenc'd not a few of our Detractors, especially in parts abroad. After our Liberty and Religion thus prosperously fought for, gain'd, and many Years possess'd, except in those unhappy Interruptions, which God hath remov'd; now that nothing remains, but in all reason the certain hopes of a speedy and immediate Settlement for ever in a firm and free Commonwealth, for this extoll'd and magnifi'd Nation, regardless both of Honour won, or Deliverances voutsaf't from Heaven, to fall back, or rather to creep back so poorly, as it seems the multitude would, to thir once abjur'd and detested Thralldom of Kingship, to be our selves the slanderers of our own just and religious Deeds, though don by som to covetous and ambitious Ends, yet not therfore to be stain'd with thir Infamy, or they to asperse the Integrity of others; and yet these now by revolting from the Conscience of Deeds well done, both in Church and State, to throw away and forsake, or rather to betray a just and noble Cause for the mixture of bad Men who have ill manag'd and abus'd it, (which had our Fathers done heretofore, and on the same pretence deserted true Religion, what had long ere this become of our Gospel, and all Protestant Reformation so much intermixt with the Avarice and Ambition of som Reformers?) and by thus relapsing, to verify all the bitter Predictions of our triumphing Enemies, who will now think they wisely discern'd and justly censur'd both us and all our Actions as rash, rebellious, hypocritical and impious, not only argues a strange degenerate Contagion suddenly spread among us, fitted and prepar'd for new Slavery, but will render us a Scorn and Derision to all our Neighbours. And what will they at best say of us, and of the whole *English* Name, but scoffingly, as of that foolish Builder mention'd by our Saviour, who began to build a Tower, and was not able to finish it? Where is this goodly Tower of a Commonwealth, which the *English* boasted they would build to overshadow Kings, and be another *Rome* in the West? The Foundation indeed they laid gallantly, but fell into a worse Confusion, not of Tongues, but of Factions, than those at the Tower of *Babel*; and have left no Memorial of thir Work behind them remaining, but in the common Laughter of *Europe*. Which must needs redound the more to our shame, if we but look on our Neighbours the *United Provinces*, to us inferior in all outward Advantages; who notwithstanding, in the midst of greater Difficulties, courageously, wisely, constantly went through with the same Work, and

are settl'd in all the happy enjoyments of a potent and flourishing Republic to this day.

Besides this, if we return to Kingship, and soon repent, as undoubtedly we shall, when we begin to find the old encroachments coming on by little and little upon our Consciences, which must necessarily proceed from King and Bishop united inseparably in one Interest, we may be forc'd perhaps to fight over again all that we have fought, and spend over again all that we have spent, but are never like to attain thus far as we are now advanc'd to the recovery of our Freedom, never to have it in possession as we now have it, never to be vouchsaf'd hereafter the like Mercies and signal Assistances from Heaven in our Cause: if by our ingrateful backsliding we make these fruitless, flying now to regal Concessions from his divine condescensions, and gracious answers to our once importuning Prayers against the Tyranny which we then groan'd under; making vain and viler than dirt, the Blood of so many thousand faithful and valiant *English* men, who left us in this Liberty, bought with thir Lives; losing by a strange after-game of Folly, all the battels we have won, together with all *Scotland* as to our Conquest, hereby lost, which never any of our Kings could conquer, all the Treasure we have spent, not that corruptible Treasure only, but that far more precious of all our late miraculous Deliverances; treading back again with lost labour, all our happy steps in the progress of Reformation, and most pitifully depriving our selves the instant fruition of that free Government which we have so dearly purchas'd, a free Commonwealth, not only held by wisest men in all Ages the noblest, the manliest, the equallest, the justest Government, the most agreeable to all due Liberty and proportion'd Equality, both Human, Civil, and Christian, most cherishing to Vertue and true Religion, but also (I may say it with greatest probability) plainly commended, or rather enjoin'd by our Saviour himself, to all Christians, not without remarkable disallowance, and the brand of *Gentilism* upon Kingship. God in much displeasure gave a King to the *Israelites*, and imputed it a sin to them that they sought one: but *Christ* apparently forbids his Disciples to admit of any such heathenish Government; *The Kings of the Gentiles*, saith he, *exercise Lordship over them*; and they that *exercise Authority upon them are call'd Benefactors*: but ye shall not be so; but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that serveth. The occasion of these his words was the ambitious desire of *Zebede's* two Sons, to be exalted above thir Brethren in his Kingdom, which they thought was to be ere long upon Earth. That he speaks of Civil Government, is manifest by the former part of the Comparison, which infers the other part to be always in the same kind. And what Government comes nearer to this precept of *Christ*, than a free Commonwealth; wherein they who are greatest, are perpetual Servants and drudges to the public at thir own cost and charges, neglect thir own Affairs, yet are not elevated above thir Brethren; live soberly in thir Families, walk the Streets as other men, may be spoken to freely, familiarly, friendly, without Adoration? Whereas a King must be ador'd like a Demigod, with a dissolute and haughty Court about him, of vast expence and Luxury, Masks and Revels, to the debauching of our prime Gentry both Male and Female; not in thir pastimes only, but in earnest, by the loos employments of Court-service, which will be then thought honorable. There will be a Queen of no less charge; in most likelihood Outlandish and a Papist, besides a Queen-mother such already; together with both thir Courts and numerous Train: then a Royal issue, and ere long severally thir sumptuous Courts; to the multiplying of a servil Crew, not of Servants only, but of Nobility and Gentry, bred up then to the hopes not of Publick, but of Court-Offices, to be Stewards, Chamberlains, Ushers, Grooms, even of the Close-stool; and the lower thir Minds debas'd with Court-opinions, contrary to all Vertue and Reformation, the haughtier will be thir Pride and Profusenefs. We may well remember this not long since at home; or need but look at present into the *French* Court, where Enticements and Preferments daily draw away and pervert the Protestant Nobility. As to the burden of expence, to our cost we shall soon know it; for any good to us deserving to be term'd no better than the vast and lavish price of our subjection, and thir Debauchery, which

which we are now so greedily cheapning, and would so fain be paying most inconsiderately to a single Person ; who for any thing wherein the public really needs him, will have little els to do, but to bestow the eating and drinking of excessive Dainties, to set a pompous face upon the superficial actings of State, to pageant himself up and down in Progress among the perpetual bowing and cringings of an abject People, on either side deifying and adoring him for nothing done that can deserve it. For what can he more than another man ? who even in the expression of a late Court-poet, sits only like a great Cypher set to no purpose before a long row of other significant Figures. Nay, it is well and happy for the People if thir King be but a Cypher, being oft times a Mischief, a Pest, a scourge of the Nation, and which is wors, not to be remov'd, not to be controul'd, much less accus'd or brought to punishment, without the danger of a common ruin, without the shaking and almost subversion of the whole Land : whereas in a free Commonwealth, any Governor or chief Counselor offending, may be remov'd and punish'd without the least Commotion. Certainly then that People must needs be mad or strangely infatuated, that build the chief hope of thir common happiness or safety on a single Person ; who if he happen to be good, can do no more than another man ; if to be bad, hath in his hands to do more evil without check, then millions of other men. The happiness of a Nation must needs be firmest and certainest in a full and free Council of thir own electing, where no single Person, but Reason only sways. And what madness is it for them who might manage nobly thir own Affairs themselves, sluggishly and weakly to devolve all on a single Person ; and more like Boys under Age than Men, to commit all to his patronage and disposal, who neither can perform what he undertakes, and yet for undertaking it, though royally paid, will not be thir Servant, but thir Lord ? How unmanly must it needs be, to count such a one the breath of our Nostrils, to hang all our felicity on him, all our safety, our well-being, for which if we were aught els but Sluggards or Babies, we need depend on none but God and our own Counsels, our own active Vertue and Industry. *Go to the Ant, thou sluggard, saith Solomon ; consider her ways, and be wise ; which having no Prince, Ruler, or Lord, provides her Meat in the Summer, and gathers her food in the Harvest :* which evidently shews us, that they who think the Nation undone without a King, though they look grave or haughty, have not so much true Spirit and Understanding in them as a Pismire : neither are these diligent Creatures hence concluded to live in lawless anarchy, or that commended, but are set the examples to imprudent and ungovern'd men, of a frugal and self-governing Democracy or Commonwealth ; safer and more thriving in the joint Providence and Counsel of many industrious equals, than under the single domination of one imperious Lord. It may be well wonder'd that any Nation stiling themselves free, can suffer any man to pretend Hereditary right over them as thir Lord ; when as by acknowledging that Right, they conclude themselves his Servants and his Vassals, and so renounce thir own freedom. Which how a People and thir Leaders especially can do, who have fought so gloriously for Liberty ; how they can change thir noble Words and Actions, heretofore so becoming the majesty of a free People, into the base necessity of Court-flatteries and Prostrations, is not only strange and admirable, but lamentable to think on. That a Nation should be so valorous and courageous to win thir Liberty in the Field, and when they have won it, should be so heartless and unwise in thir Councils, as not to know how to use it, value it, what to do with it, or with themselves ; but after ten or twelve years prosperous War and contestation with Tyranny, basely and besottedly to run thir Necks again into the Yoke which they have broken, and prostrate all the fruits of thir Victory for naught at the feet of the vanquish'd, besides our loss of Glory, and such an example as Kings or Tyrants never yet had the like to boast of, will be an ignominy if it befall us, that never yet befall any Nation possess'd of thir Liberty ; worthy indeed themselves, whatsoever they be, to be for ever slaves ; but that part of the Nation which consents not with them, as I perswade me, of a great number, far worthier than by their means to be brought into the same Bondage. Considering these things so plain, so rational, I cannot but yet further admire on the other side, how any man who hath the true principles of Justice and Religion in him, can presume

or take upon him to be a King and Lord over his Brethren, whom he cannot but know whether as Men or Christians, to be for the most part every way equal or superior to himself: how he can display with such Vanity and Ostentation his regal splendor so supereminently above other Mortal men; or being a Christian, can assume such extraordinary Honour and Worship to himself, while the Kingdom of Christ our common King and Lord, is hid to this World, and such *gentilish* imitation forbid in express words by himself to all his Disciples. All Protestants hold that Christ in his Church hath left no Vicegerent of his Power; but himself without Deputy, is the only Head thereof, governing it from Heaven: how then can any Christian man derive his Kingship from Christ, but with worse usurpation than the Pope his headship over the Church, since Christ not only hath not left the least shadow of a command for any such Vicegerence from him in the State, as the Pope pretends for his in the Church, but hath expressly declar'd, that such regal Dominion is from the Gentiles, not from him, and hath strictly charg'd us not to imitate them therein?

I doubt not but all ingenuous and knowing men will easily agree with me, that a free Commonwealth without single Person, or House of Lords, is by far the best Government if it can be had; but we have all this while, say they, bin expecting it, and cannot yet attain it. 'Tis true indeed, when Monarchy was dissolv'd, the form of a Commonwealth should have forthwith bin fram'd, and the practice thereof immediatly begun; that the People might have soon bin satisfi'd and delighted with the decent Order, Ease, and Benefit thereof: we had bin then by this time firmly rooted past fear of Commotions or Mutations, and now flourishing: this care of timely settling a new Government instead of the old, too much neglected, hath bin our mischief. Yet the cause thereof may be ascrib'd with most reason to the frequent disturbances, interruptions, and dissolutions which the Parliament hath had, partly from the impatient or disaffected People, partly from some ambitious Leaders in the Army; much contrary, I believe, to the mind and approbation of the Army itself and thir other Commanders, once undeceiv'd, or in thir own Power. Now is the opportunity, now the very season wherein we may obtain a free Commonwealth, and establish it for ever in the Land, without difficulty or much delay. Writs are sent out for Elections, and which is worth observing in the name, not of any King, but of the keepers of our Liberty, to summon a free Parliament; which then only will indeed be free, and deserve the true honour of that supream Title, if they preserve us a free People. Which never Parliament was more free to do; being now call'd, not as heretofore, by the summons of a King, but by the voice of Liberty: and if the People, laying aside prejudice and impatience, will seriously and calmly now consider thir own good, both Religious and Civil, thir own Liberty and the only means thereof, as shall be here laid down before them, and will elect thir Knights and Burgesses able men, and according to the just and necessary Qualifications (which for aught I hear, remain yet in force unrepeal'd, as they were formerly decreed in Parliament) men not addicted to a single Person or House of Lords, the work is don; at least the foundation firmly laid of a free Commonwealth, and good part also erected of the main Structure. For the ground and basis of every just and free Government (since men have smarted so oft for committing all to one Person) is a general Council of ablest men, chosen by the People to consult of publick Affairs from time to time for the common good. In this Grand Council must the Sovranty, not transferr'd, but delegated only, and as it were deposited, reside; with this Caution they must have the forces by Sea and Land committed to them for preservation of the common Peace and Liberty; must raise and manage the publick Revenue, at least with some Inspectors deputed for satisfaction of the People, how it is imploid; must make or propose, as more expressly shall be said anon, Civil Laws, treat of Commerce, Peace, or War with foreign Nations, and for the carrying on some particular Affairs with more secrecy and Expedition, must elect, as they have already out of thir own number and others, a Council of State.

And although it may seem strange at first hearing, by reason that mens minds are prepossessed with the notion of successive Parliaments, I affirm that
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the Grand or General Council being well chosen, should be perpetual: for so thir business is or may be, and oft-times urgent; the opportunity of Affairs gain'd or lost in a moment. The day of Council cannot be set as the day of a Festival; but must be ready always to prevent or answer all occasions. By this continuance they will become every way skilfullest, best provided of Intelligence from abroad, best acquainted with the People at home, and the People with them. The Ship of the Commonwealth is always under sail; they sit at the Stern, and if they steer well, what need is ther to change them, it being rather dangerous? Add to this, that the Grand Council is both Foundation and main Pillar of the whole State; and to move Pillars and Foundations, not faulty, cannot be safe for the Building. I see not therefore, how we can be advantag'd by successive and transitory Parliaments; but that they are much likelier continually to unsettle rather than to settle a free Government, to breed Commotions, Changes, Novelties and Uncertainties, to bring neglect upon present Affairs and Opportunities, while all Minds are suspense with expectation of a new Assembly, and the Assembly for a good space taken up with the new settling of it self. After which, if they find no great work to do, they will make it, by altering or repealing former Acts, or making and multiplying new; that they may seem to see what thir Predecessors saw not, and not to have assembl'd for nothing: till all Law be lost in the multitude of clashing Statutes. But if the Ambition of such as think themselves injur'd that they also partake not of the Government, and are impatient till they be chosen, cannot brook the perpetuity of others chosen before them; or if it be fear'd that long continuance of Power may corrupt sincerest Men, the known Expedient is, and by som lately propounded, that annually (or if the space be longer, so much perhaps the better) the third part of Senators may go out according to the precedence of thir Election, and the like number be chosen in thir places, to prevent the settling of too absolute a Power, if it should be perpetual: and this they call *partial Rotation*. But I could wish that this wheel or partial wheel in State, if it be possible, might be avoided, as having too much affinity with the wheel of Fortune. For it appears not how this can be don, without danger and mischance of putting out a great number of the best and ablest: in whose stead new Elections may bring in as many raw, unexperienc'd and otherwise affected, to the weakning and much altering for the wors of publick Transactions. Neither do I think a perpetual Senat, especially chosen and entrusted by the People, much in this land to be fear'd, where the well-affected either in a standing Army, or in a settled Militia have thir Arms in thir own hands. Safest therfore to me it seems, and of least hazard or interruption to Affairs, that none of the Grand Council be mov'd, unless by Death or just conviction of som Crime: for what can be expected firm or stedfast from a floating Foundation? however, I forejudg not any probable Expedient, any Temperament that can be found in things of this nature so disputable on either side. Yet lest this which I affirm, be thought my single Opinion, I shall add sufficient Testimony. Kingship it self is therfore counted the more safe and durable, because the King, and for the most part his Council, is not chang'd during Life: but a Commonwealth is held immortal, and therin firmest, safest and most above Fortune: for the Death of a King causeth oft-times many dangerous Alterations; but the Death now and then of a Senator is not felt, the main body of them still continuing permanent in greatest and noblest Commonwealths, and as it were eternal. Therfore among the *Jews*, the supreme Council of Seventy, call'd the *Sanhedrim*, founded by *Moses*, in *Athens* that of *Areopagus*, in *Sparta* that of the Ancients, in *Rome* the Senat, consisted of Members chosen for term of Life; and by that means remain'd as it were still the same to Gnerations. In *Venice* they change indeed ofter than every year som particular Council of State, as that of six, or such other; but the true Senat, which upholds and sustains the Government, is the whole Aristocracy immovable. So in the United Provinces, the States General, which are indeed but a Council of State deputed by the whole Union, are not usually the same Persons for above three or six Years; but the States of every City in whom the Sovereignty hath bin plac'd time out of mind, are a standing Senat, with-

out Succession, and accounted chiefly in that regard the main prop of thir Liberty. And why they should be so in every well-order'd Commonwealth, they who write of Policy, give these Reasons; " That to make the Senat
 " successive, not only impairs the dignity and lustre of the Senat, but weakens the whole Commonwealth, and brings it into manifest danger; while
 " by this means the Secrets of State are frequently divulg'd, and matters of
 " greatest consequence committed to inexperienced and novice Counsellors, utterly to seek in the full and intimate knowledg of Affairs past. I know not therefore what should be peculiar in *England* to make successive Parliaments thought safest, or convenient here more than in other Nations, unless it be the fickleness which is attributed to us as we are Islanders: but good Education and acquit Wildom ought to correct the fluxible fault, if any such be, of our watry situation. It will be objected, that in those places where they had perpetual Senats, they had also popular Remedies against thir growing too imperious: as in *Athens*, besides *Areopagus*, another Senat of four or five hundred; in *Sparta*, the *Ephori*; in *Rome*, the Tribunes of the People. But the Event tels us, that these Remedies either little avail the People, or brought them to such a licentious and unbridl'd Democracy, as in fine ruin'd themselves with thir own excessive power. So that the main reason urg'd why popular Assemblies are to be trusted with the Peoples Liberty, rather than a Senat of principal Men, because great Men will be still endeavouring to enlarge thir Power, but the common sort will be contented to maintain thir own Liberty, is by Experience found false; none being more immoderate and ambitious to amplify thir Power, than such Popularities, which were seen in the People of *Rome*; who at first contented to have thir Tribunes, at length contended with the Senat that one Consul, then both, soon after, that the Censors and Prætors also should be created Plebeian, and the whole Empire put into thir hands; adoring lastly those, who most were advers to the Senat, till *Marius* by fulfilling thir inordinate Desires, quite lost them all the Power for which they had so long bin striving, and left them under the Tyranny of *Sylla*: the ballance therefore must be exactly so set, as to preserve and keep up due Authority on either side, as well in the Senat as in the People. And this annual Rotation of a Senat to consist of three hundred, as is lately propounded, requires also another popular Assembly upward of a thousand, with an answerable Rotation. Which besides that it will be liable to all those Inconveniencies found in the foresaid Remedies, cannot but be troublesome and chargeable, both in thir Motion and thir Session, to the whole Land, unweildie with thir own bulk, unable in so great a number to mature thir Consultations as they ought, if any be allotted them, and that they meet not from so many parts remote to sit a whole year Lieger in one place, only now and then to hold up a forest of Fingers, or to convey each Man his bean or ballot into the Box, without reason shewn or common deliberation; incontinent of Secrets, if any be imparted to them, emulous and always jarring with the other Senat. The much better way doubtless will be in this wavering condition of our Affairs, to defer the changing or circumscribing of our Senat, more than may be done with ease, till the Commonwealth be thoroughly setl'd in Peace and Safety, and they themselves give us the occasion. Military Men hold it dangerous to change the form of Battel in view of an Enemy: neither did the People of *Rome* bandy with thir Senat while any of the *Tarquins* liv'd, the Enemies of thir Liberty, nor sought by creating Tribunes to defend themselves against the fear of thir Patricians, till sixteen years after the expulsion of thir Kings, and in full security of thir State, they had or thought they had just cause given them by the Senat. Another way will be, to well qualifie and refine Elections: not committing all to the noise and shouting of a rude Multitude, but permitting only those of them who are rightly qualifi'd, to nominate as many as they will; and out of that number others of a better breeding, to chuse a less number more judiciously, till after a third or fourth sifting and refining of exactest choice, they only be left chosen who are the due number, and seem by most voices the worthiest. To make the People fittest to chuse, and the chosen fittest to govern, will be to mend our corrupt and faulty Education, to teach the People Faith not without Vertue, Temperance, Modesty, Sobriety, Parsimony, Justice,

Justice; not to admire Wealth or Honour; to hate Turbulence and Ambition; to place every one his privat Welfare and Happiness in the publick Peace, Liberty and Safety. They shall not then need to be much mistrustful of thir chosen Patriots in the Grand Council; who will be then rightly call'd the true Keepers of our Liberty, though the most of thir business will be in forein Affairs. But to prevent all Mistrust, the People then will have thir several ordinary Assemblies (which will henceforth quite annihilate the odious Power and Name of Committies) in the chief Towns of every County, without the Trouble, Charge, or time lost of summoning and assembling from far in so great a number, and so long residing from thir own Houses, or removing of thir Families, to do as much at home in thir several shires, entire or subdivided, toward the securing of thir Liberty, as a numerous Assembly of them all form'd and conven'd on purpose with the wariest Rotation. Wherof I shall speak more ere the end of this Discourse: for it may be re-ferr'd to time, so we be still going on by degrees to perfection. The People well weighing and performing these things, I suppose would have no cause to fear, though the *Parlament* abolishing that Name as originally signifying but the *Parlie* of our Lords and Commons with thir *Norman* King when he pleas'd to call them, should, with certain limitations of thir Power, sit perpetual, if thir ends be faithful and for a free Commonwealth, under the name of a Grand or General Council. Till this be don, I am in doubt whether our State will be ever certainly and thoroughly setl'd; never likely till then to see an end of our Troubles and continual Changes, or at least never the true Settlement and Assurance of our Liberty. The Grand Council being thus firmly constituted to Perpetuity, and still, upon the Death or Default of any Member, supply'd and kept in full number, ther can be no cause alleg'd why Peace, Justice, plentiful Trade, and all Prosperity, should not therupon ensue throughout the whole Land; with as much assurance as can be of human things, that they shall so continue (if God favour us, and our wilful Sins provoke him not) even to the coming of our true and rightful, and only to be expected King, only worthy as he is our only Saviour, the Messiah, the Christ, the only Heir of his eternal Father, the only by him anointed and ordained since the Work of our Redemption finish'd, universal Lord of all Mankind. The way propounded is plain, easy and open before us; without Intricacies, without the Introducement of new or obsolete Forms or Terms, or exotic Models; Ideas that would effect nothing; but with a number of new Injunctions to manacle the native Liberty of Mankind; turning all Vertue into Prescription, Servitude, and Necessity, to the great impairing and frustrating of Christian Liberty. I say again, this way lies free and smooth before us; is not tangl'd with Inconveniencies; invents no new Incumbrances; requires no perilous, no injurious Alteration or Circumscription of Mens Lands and Proprieties; secure, that in this Commonwealth, temporal and spiritual Lords remov'd, no Man or number of Men can attain to such Wealth or vast possession, as will need the hedg of an Agrarian Law (never successful, but the cause rather of Sedition, save only where it began seasonably with first possession) to confine them from endangering our public Liberty. To conclude, it can have no considerable Objection made against it, that it is not practicable; lest it be said hereafter, that we gave up our Liberty for want of a ready way or distinct Form propos'd of a free Commonwealth. And this Facility we shall have above our next neighbouring Commonwealth (if we can keep us from the fond Conceit of something like a Duke of *Venice*, put lately into many Mens heads by som one or other sutly driving on under that notion his own ambitious ends to lurch a Crown) that our Liberty shall not be hamper'd or hover'd over by any ingagement to such a potent Family as the House of *Nassaw*, of whom to stand in perpetual Doubt and Suspicion, but we shall live the clearest and absolute free Nation in the World.

On the contrary, if there be a King, which the inconsiderat multitude are now so mad upon, mark how far short we are like to com of all those Happinesses, which in a Free State we shall immediatly be possess'd of. First, the Grand Council, which, as I shew'd before, should sit perpetually (unless thir leisure give them now and then som Intermissions or Vacations, easily manageable by the Council of State left sitting) shall be call'd, by the King's good

Will

Will and utmost Endeavor, as seldom as may be. For it is only the King's Right, he will say, to call a Parliament; and this he will do most commonly about his own Affairs rather than the Kingdom's, as will appear plainly so soon as they are call'd. For what will thir business then be, and the chief Ex-
 pence of thir time, but an endless tugging between Petition of Right and Royal Prerogative, especially about the negative Voice, Militia, or Subsidies, demanded and oft-times extorted without reasonable cause appearing to the Commons, who are the only true Representatives of the People and thir Liberty, but will be then mingl'd with a Court-faction; besides which within thir own Walls, the sincere part of them who stand faithful to the People, will again have to deal with two troublesome counter-working Adversaries from without, meer Creatures of the King, spiritual, and the greater part, as is likeliest, of temporal Lords, nothing concern'd with the Peoples Liberty. If these prevail not in what they please, though never so much against the Peoples Interest, the Parliament shall be soon dissolv'd, or sit and do nothing; not suffer'd to remedy the least Grievance, or enact aught advantageous to the People. Next, the Council of State shall not be chosen by the Parliament, but by the King, still his own Creatures, Courtiers and Favorites; who will be sure in all thir Counsels to set thir Master's Grandure and absolute Power, in what they are able, far above the Peoples Liberty. I deny not but that there may be such a King, who may regard the common Good before his own, may have no vicious Favorite, may hearken only to the wisest and incorruptest of his Parliament: but this rarely happens in a Monarchy not elective; and it behoves not a wise Nation to commit the sum of thir well-being, the whole state of thir Safety to Fortune. What need they; and how absurd would it be, when as they themselves to whom his chief Vertue will be but to hearken, may with much better Management and Dispatch, with much more Commendation of thir own Worth and Magnanimity govern without a Master? Can the Folly be parallel'd, to adore and be the Slaves of a single Person, for doing that which it is ten thousand to one whether he can or will do, and we without him might do more easily, more effectually, more laudably our selves? Shall we never grow old enough to be wise to make seasonable use of gravest Authorities, Experiences, Examples? Is it such an unspeakable Joy to serve, such Felicity to wear a Yoke? to clink our Shackles, lock'd on by pretended Law of Subjection, more intolerable and hopeless to be ever shaken off, than those which are knock'd on by illegal Injury and Violence? *Aristotle*, our chief Instructor in the Universities, lest this Doctrine be thought *Sectarian*, as the Royalist would have it thought, tells us in the third of his Politicks, that certain Men at first, for the matchless Excellence of thir Vertue above others, or som great public Benefit, were created Kings by the People; in small Cities and Territories, and in the scarcity of others to be found like them: but when they abus'd thir Power, and Governments grew larger, and the number of prudent Men increas'd, that then the People soon deposing thir Tyrants, betook them, in all civilest places, to the form of a free Commonwealth. And why should we thus disparage and prejudicate our own Nation, as to fear a scarcity of able and worthy Men united in Counsel to govern us, if we will but use diligence and impartiality to find them out and chuse them, rather yoking our selves to a single Person, the natural Adversary and Oppressor of Liberty, though good, yet far easier corruptible by the excess of his singular Power and Exaltation, or at best, not comparably sufficient to bear the weight of Government, nor equally dispos'd to make us happy in the enjoyment of our Liberty under him.

But admit, that Monarchy of it self may be convenient to som Nations; yet to us who have thrown it out, receiv'd back again, it cannot but prove pernicious. For Kings to com, never forgetting thir former Ejection, will be sure to fortify and arm themselves sufficiently for the future against all such Attempts hereafter from the People: who shall be then so narrowly watch'd and kept so low, that though they would never so fain, and at the same rate of thir Blood and Treasure, they never shall be able to regain what they now have purchas'd and may enjoy, or to free themselves from any Yoke impos'd upon them: nor will they dare to go about it; utterly disheartn'd for the future, if these thir highest Attempts prove unsuccessful; which will be the
 Triumph

Triumph of all Tyrants hereafter over any People that shall resist Oppression; and thir Song will then be, to others, how sped the rebellious English? to our Posterity, how sped the Rebels your Fathers? This is not my Conjecture, but drawn from God's known Denouncement against the gentlizing *Israelites*, who though they were govern'd in a Commonwealth of God's own ordaining, he only thir King, they his peculiar People, yet affecting rather to resemble Heathen, but pretending the Misgovernment of *Samuel's* Sons, no more a reason to dislike thir Commonwealth, than the Violence of *Eli's* Sons was imputable to that Priesthood or Religion, clamour'd for a King. They had thir longing; but with this Testimony of God's Wrath; *Ye shall cry out in that day, because of your King whom ye shall have chosen, and the Lord will not bear you in that day.* Us if he shall hear now, how much less will he hear when we cry hereafter, who once deliver'd by him from a King, and not without wondrous Acts of his Providence, insensible and unworthy of those high Mercies, are returning precipitantly, if he withhold us not, back to the Captivity from whence he freed us. Yet neither shall we obtain or buy at an easy rate this new gilded Yoke which thus transports us: a new royal Revenue must be found, a new Episcopal; for those are individual: both which being wholly dissipated or bought by privat Persons, or assign'd for Service don, and especially to the Army, cannot be recovered without a general Detriment and Confusion to Mens Estates, or a heavy Imposition on all Mens Purses; Benefit to none, but to the worst and ignoblest sort of Men, whose hope is to be either the Ministers of Court, Riot and Excess, or the Gainers by it: But not to speak more of Losses and extraordinary Levies on our Estates, what will then be the Revenges and Offences remember'd and return'd, not only by the chief Person, but by all his Adherents; Accounts and Reparations that will be requir'd, Suits, Inditements, Inquiries, Discoveries, Complaints, Informations, who knows against whom or how many, though perhaps Neuters; if not to utmost Infliction, yet to Imprisonment, Fines, Banishment, or Molestation; if not these, yet disfavor, discountenance, disregard and contempt on all but the known Royalist or whom he favors, will be plenteous: nor let the new royaliz'd Presbyterians perswade themselves that thir old doings, though now recanted, will be forgotten; whatever Conditions be contriv'd or trusted on. Will they not beleve this; nor remember the Pacification how it was kept to the *Scots*; how other solemn Promises many a time to us? Let them but now read the diabolical forerunning Libels, the Faces, the Gestures that now appeer foremost and briskest in all publick places, as the Harbingers of those that are in expectation to reign over us; let them but hear the Insolencies, the Menaces, the Insultings of our newly animated common Enemies crept lately out of thir Holes, thir Hell, I might say, by the Language of thir infernal Pamphlets, the Spue of every Drunkard, every Ribald; nameless, yet not for want of Licence, but for very shame of thir own vile Persons, not daring to name themselves, while they traduce others by name; and give us to foresee, that they intend to second thir wicked Words, if ever they have Power, with more wicked Deeds. Let our zealous Backsliders forethink now with themselves, how their Necks yok'd with these Tigers of *Bacchus*, these new Fanatics of not the preaching but the sweating-tub, inspir'd with nothing holier than the Venereal Pox, can draw one way under Monarchy to the establishing of Church Disciplin with these new-disgorg'd Atheisins: yet shall they not have the honor to yoke with these, but shall be yok'd under them; these shall plow on thir backs. And do they among them who are so forward to bring in the single Person, think to be by him trusted or long regarded? So trusted they shall be and so regarded, as by Kings are wont reconcil'd Enemies; neglected and soon after discarded, if not prosecuted for old Traytors; the first Inciters, Beginners, and more than to the third part actors of all that follow'd. It will be found also, that there must be then as necessarily as now (for the contrary part will be still fear'd) a Standing Army; which for certain shall not be this, but of the fiercest Cavaliers, of no less expence, and perhaps again under *Rupert*: but let this Army be sure they shall be soon disbanded, and likeliest without Arrear or Pay; and being disbanded, not be sure but they may as soon be question'd for being in Arms against thir King: the same let them fear, who have

contributed Money; which will amount to no small number that must then take thir turn to be made Delinquents and Compounders. They who past reason and recovery are devoted to Kingship, perhaps will answer, That a greater part by far of the Nation will have it so; the rest therfore must yield. Not so much to convince these, which I little hope, as to confirm them who yield not, I reply; that this greatest part have both in Reason, and the trial of just Battel, lost the right of thir Election what the Government shall be: of them who have not lost that right, whether they for Kingship be the greater Number, who can certainly determin? Suppose they be, yet of freedom they partake all alike, one main end of Government: which if the greater part value not, but will degenerately forgo, is it just or reasonable, that most Voices against the main End of Government, should enslave the less Number that would be free? More just it is doubtless, if it come to force, that a less Number compel a greater to retain, which can be no wrong to them, thir Liberty, than that a greater Number, for the pleasure of thir baseness, compel a less most injuriously to be thir fellow Slaves. They who seek nothing but thir own just Liberty, have always right to win it, and to keep it, whenever they have Power, be the Voices never so numerous that oppose it. And how much we above others are concern'd to defend it from Kingship, and from them who in pursuance therof so perniciously would betray us and themselves to most certain Misery and Thralldom, will be needless to repeat.

Having thus far shewn with what ease we may now obtain a Free Commonwealth, and by it with as much ease all the Freedom, Peace, Justice, Plenty, that we can desire; on the other side, the Difficulties, Troubles, Uncertainties, nay rather Impossibilities to enjoy these things constantly under a Monarch: I will now proceed to shew more particularly wherin our Freedom and flourishing Condition will be more ample and secure to us under a Free Commonwealth, than under Kingship.

The whole freedom of Man consists either in Spiritual or Civil Liberty. As for Spiritual, who can be at rest, who can enjoy any thing in this World with contentment, who hath not liberty to serve God, and to save his own Soul, according to the best Light which God hath planted in him to that purpose, by the reading of his reveal'd Will, and the guidance of his Holy Spirit? That this is best pleasing to God, and that the whole Protestant Church allows no supream Judg or Rule in Matters of Religion, but the Scriptures; and these to be interpreted by the Scriptures themselves, which necessarily infers Liberty of Conscience; I have heretofore prov'd at large in another Treatise; and might yet further by the public Declarations, Confessions and Admonitions of whole Churches and States, obvious in all Histories since the Reformation.

This Liberty of Conscience, which above all other things ought to be to all Men dearest and most precious, no Government more inclinable not to favor only, but to protect, than a free Commonwealth; as being most magnanimous, most fearless and confident of its own fair Proceedings. Whereas Kingship, though looking big, yet indeed most pusillanimous, full of Fears, full of Jealousies, startl'd at every Ombrage, as it hath been observ'd of old to have ever suspected most, and mistrusted them who were in most esteem for Verue and Generosity of Mind; so it is now known to have most in doubt and suspicion, them who are most reputed to be religious. Queen *Elizabeth*, though her self accounted so good a Protestant, so moderate, so confident of her Subjects Love, would never give way so much as to Presbyterian Reformation in this Land, though once and again besought, as *Camden* relates, but imprison'd and persecuted the very Proposers therof; alleging it as her Mind and Maxim unalterable, that such Reformation would diminish Regal Authority. What Liberty of Conscience can we then expect of others, far wors princip'l'd from the Cradle, train'd up and govern'd by *Papist* and *Spanish* Counsels, and on such depending hitherto for subsistence? Especially what can this last Parliament expect, who having reviv'd lately and publish'd the Cov'nant, have reingag'd themselves, never to readmit Episcopacy? Which no Son of *Charles* returning, but will most certainly bring back with him, if he regard the last and strictest Charge of his Father, to
persevere

persevere in, not the *Doctrin* only, but *Government* of the Church of England; not to neglect the speedy and effectual suppressing of Errors and Schisms; among which he accounted Presbytery one of the chief. Or if, notwithstanding that Charge of his Father, he submit to the Cov'nant, how will he keep Faith to us, with Disobedience to him; or regard that Faith given, which must be founded on the breach of that last and solemnest paternal Charge, and the Reluctance, I may say the Antipathy, which is in all Kings against Presbyterian and Independent Discipline? For they hear the Gospel speaking much of Liberty; a word which Monarchy and her Bishops both fear and hate, but a Free Commonwealth both favors and promotes; and not the word only, but the thing it self. But let our Governors beware in time, lest thir hard measure to Liberty of Conscience be found the Rock wheron they shipwreck themselves, as others have now don before them in the cours wherin God was directing thir Steerage to a Free Commonwealth; and the abandoning of all those whom they call *Sectaries*, for the detected Falshood and Ambition of som, be a wilful rejection of thir own chief Strength and Interest in the freedom of all Protestant Religion, under what abusive Name soever calumniated.

The other part of our Freedom consists in the Civil Rights and Advancements of every Person according to his Merit: the enjoyment of those never more certain, and the access to these never more open, than in a Free Commonwealth. Both which, in my Opinion, may be best and soonest obtain'd, if every County in the Land were made a kind of subordinate Commonalty or Commonwealth, and one chief Town or more, according as the Shire is in Circuit, made Cities, if they be not so call'd already; where the Nobility and chief Gentry, from a proportionable compass of Territory annex'd to each City, may build Houses or Palaces besitting thir Quality, may bear part in the Government, make thir own Judicial Laws, or use these that are, and execute them by thir own elected Judicatures and Judges without Appeal, in all things of Civil Government between Man and Man: so they shall have Justice in thir own hands, Law executed fully and finally in thir own Counties and Precincts, long wish'd and spoken of, but never yet obtain'd; they shall have none then to blame but themselves, if it be not well administer'd; and fewer Laws to expect or fear from the supreme Authority; or to those that shall be made, of any great concernment to Public Liberty, they may, without much trouble in these Commonalties, or in more General Assemblies call'd to thir Cities from the whole Territory on such occasion, declare and publish thir assent or dissent by Deputies, within a time limited, sent to the Grand Council; yet so as this thir Judgment declar'd, shall submit to the greater number of other Counties or Commonalties, and not avail them to any exemption of themselves, or refusal of Agreement with the rest, as it may in any of the *United Provinces*, being Sovran within it self, oft-times to the great disadvantage of that Union. In these Employments they may much better than they do now, exercise and fit themselves till thir Lot fall to be chosen into the Grand Council, according as thir Worth and Merit shall betaken notice of by the People. As for Controversies that shall happen between Men of several Counties, they may repair, as they do now, to the Capital City, or any other more commodious, indifferent Place, and equal Judges. And this I find to have been practis'd in the old *Athenian* Commonwealth, reputed the first and ancientest place of Civility in all *Greece*: that they had in thir several Cities, a Peculiar; in *Athens*, a common Government; and thir Right, as it besel them, to the Administration of both. They should have here also Schools and Academies at thir own choice, wherin thir Children may be bred up in thir own sight to all Learning and noble Education; not in Grammar only, but in all Liberal Arts and Exercises. This would soon spread much more Knowledge and Civility, yea, Religion, through all parts of the Land, by communicating the natural heat of Government and Culture more distributively to all extreme parts, which now lie num and neglected, would soon make the whole Nation more industrious, more ingenious at home; more potent, more honourable abroad. To this a Free Commonwealth will easily assent; (nay, the Parliament hath already som such thing in design) for of all Governments a Commonwealth aims most to make the People flourishing, vertuous, noble and

high-spirited. Monarchs will never permit; whose Aim is to make the People wealthy indeed perhaps, and well fleec'd, for thir own shearing, and the supply of Regal Prodigality; but otherwise softest, basest, vitiousst, servilest, easiest to be kept under; and not only in Fleece, but in Mind also sheepishest; and will have all the Benches of Judicature annex'd to the Throne, as a Gift of Royal Grace, that we have Justice don us; whenas nothing can be more essential to the freedom of a People, than to have the administration of Justice, and all Publick Ornaments, in thir own Election, and within thir own Bounds, without long travelling or depending on remote Places to obtain thir Right, or any Civil Accomplishment; so it be not supreme, but subordinate to the general Power and Union of the whole Republic. In which happy firmness, as in the Particular above-mention'd, we shall also far exceed the *United Provinces*, by having, not as they (to the retarding and distracting oft-times of thir Counsels or urgentest occasions) many Sov'ranties united in one Commonwealth, but many Commonwealths under one united and entrusted Sov'ranty. And when we have our Forces by Sea and Land, either of a faithful Army, or a setl'd Militia, in our own hands, to the firm establishing of a Free Commonwealth, public Accounts under our own inspection, general Laws and Taxes, with thir Causes in our own Domestic Suffrages, Judicial Laws, Offices and Ornaments at home in our own ordering and administration, all distinction of Lords and Commons, that may any way divide or sever the Public Interest, remov'd, what can a perpetual Senat have then, wherein to grow corrupt, wherein to encroach upon us, or usurp? or if they do, wherein to be formidable? Yet if all this avail not to remove the Fear or Envy of a perpetual Sitting, it may be easily provided, to change a third part of them yearly, or every two or three Years, as was above-mention'd; or that it be at those times in the Peoples choice, whether they will change them, or renew thir Power, as they shall find cause.

I have no more to say at present: few words will save us, well consider'd; few and easy things, now seasonably don. But if the People be so affected, as to prostitute Religion and Liberty to the vain and groundless apprehension, that nothing but Kingship can restore Trade, not remembring the frequent Plagues and Pestilences that then wasted this City, such as through God's Mercy we never have felt since; and that Trade flourishes no where more than in the Free Commonwealths of *Italy*, *Germany*, and the *Low Countries*, before thir eyes at this day: yet if Trade be grown so craving and importunate through the profuse living of Tradesmen, that nothing can support it, but the luxurious Expences of a Nation upon Trifles or Superfluities; so as if the People generally should betake themselves to Frugality, it might prove a dangerous matter, lest Tradesmen should mutiny for want of Trading; and that therefore we must forgo and set to sale Religion, Liberty, Honor, Safety, all Concernments Divine or Human, to keep up Trading. If, lastly, after all this Light among us, the same Reason shall pass for current, to put our Necks again under Kingship, as was made use of by the *Jews* to return back to *Egypt*, and to the worship of thir Idol Queen, because they falsly imagin'd that they then liv'd in more plenty and prosperity; our Condition is not sound but rotten, both in Religion and all Civil Prudence; and will bring us soon, the way we are marching, to those Calamities which attend always and unavoidably on Luxury, all national Judgments under Foreign or Domestic Slavery: So far we shall be from mending our condition by monarchizing our Government, whatever new Conceit now possesses us. However with all hazard I have ventur'd what I thought my Duty to speak in season, and to forewarn my Country in time; wherein I doubt not but there be many wise Men in all Places and Degrees, but am sorry the Effects of Wisdom are so little seen among us. Many Circumstances and Particulars I could have added in those things wherof I have spoken: but a few main Matters now put speedily in execution, will suffice to recover us, and set all right: And ther will want at no time who are good at Circumstances; but Men who set thir Minds on main Matters, and sufficiently urge them, in these most difficult times I find not many. What I have spoken, is the Language of that
which

which is not call'd amiss *The good Old Cause* : if it seem strange to any, it will not seem more strange, I hope, than convincing to Backsliders. Thus much I should perhaps have said, though I were sure I should have spoken only to Trees and Stones ; and had none to cry to, but with the Prophet, *O Earth, Earth, Earth!* to tell the very Soil it self, what her perverse Inhabitants are deaf to. Nay, though what I have spoke, should happ'n (which Thou suffer not, who didst create Mankind free ; nor Thou next, who didst redeem us from being Servants of Men !) to be the last words of our expiring Liberty. But I trust I shall have spoken Perswasion to abundance of sensible and ingenuous Men ; to som perhaps whom God may raise of these Stones to become Children of reviving Liberty ; and may reclaim, though they seem now chusing them a Captain back for *Egypt*, to bethink themselves a little, and consider whither they are rushing ; to exhort this Torrent also of the People, not to be so impetuous, but to keep thir due Channel ; and at length recovering and uniting thir better Resolutions, now that they see already how open and unbounded the insolence and rage is of our common Enemies, to stay these ruinous Proceedings, justly and timely fearing to what a Precipice of Destruction the deluge of this epidemic Madness would hurry us, through the general defection of a misguided and abus'd Multitude.

THE

T H E
Present Means, and brief Delineation
O F A
Free Commonwealth,
Easy to be put in Practice, and without Delay.

In a Letter to General *Monk*.

Published from the Manuscript.

FIRST, all endeavours speedily to be us'd, that the ensuing Election be of such as are already firm, or inclinable to constitute a free Commonwealth (according to the former qualifications decreed in Parliament, and not yet repeal'd, as I hear) without single Person, or House of Lords. If these be not such, but the contrary, who foresees not, that our Liberties will be utterly lost in this next Parliament, without some powerful course taken, of speediest prevention? The speediest way will be to call up forthwith the chief Gentlemen out of every County; to lay before them (as your Excellency hath already, both in your publish'd Letters to the Army, and your Declaration recited to the Members of Parliament) the Danger and Confusion of readmitting Kingship in this Land; especially against the Rules of all Prudence and Example, in a Family once ejected, and thereby not to be trusted with the power of Revenge: that you will not longer delay them with vain expectation, but will put into their hands forthwith the possession of a free Commonwealth; if they will first return immediately and elect them, by such at least of the People as are rightly qualify'd, a standing Council in every City, and great Town, which may then be dignified with the name of City, continually to consult the good and flourishing state of that Place, with a competent Territory adjoin'd; to assume the judicial Laws, either these that are, or such as they themselves shall new make severally, in each Commonalty, and all Judicatures, all Magistracies, to the Administration of all Justice between man and man, and all the Ornaments of publick Civility, Academies, and such like, in their own hands. Matters appertaining to men of several Counties, or Territories, may be determin'd, as they are here at *London*, or in some more convenient Place, under equal Judges.

Next, That in every such Capital Place, they will choose them the usual number of ablest Knights and Burgeses, engag'd for a Commonwealth, to make up the Parliament, or (as it will from henceforth be better called) the Grand or General Council of the Nation: whose Office must be, with due Caution, to dispose of Forces, both by Sea and Land, under the conduct of your Excellency, for the preservation of Peace, both at home and abroad; must raise and manage the publick Revenue, but with provided inspection of their Accompts; must administer all foreign Affairs, make all General Laws, Peace, or War, but not without Assent of the standing Council in each City, or such other general Assembly as may be call'd on such occasion, from the whole

whole Territory, where they may without much trouble, deliberate on all things fully, and send up thir Suffrages within a set time, by Deputies appointed. Though this grand Council be perpetual (as in that Book I prov'd would be best and most conformable to best examples) yet they will then, thus limited, have so little matter in thir Hands, or Power to endanger our Liberty; and the People so much in thirs, to prevent them, having all Judicial Laws in thir own choice, and free Votes in all those which concern generally the whole Commonwealth, that we shall have little cause to fear the perpetuity of our general Senat; which will be then nothing else but a firm foundation and custody of our Public Liberty, Peace, and Union, through the whole Commonwealth, and the transactors of our Affairs with forein Nations.

If this yet be not thought enough, the known Expedient may at length be us'd, of a partial Rotation.

Lastly, if these Gentlemen convocated, refuse these fair and noble Offers of immediate Liberty, and happy Condition, no doubt there be enough in every County who will thankfully accept them, your Excellency once more declaring publickly this to be your Mind, and having a faithful Veteran Army, so ready, and glad to assist you in the prosecution therof. For the full and absolute Administration of Law in every County, which is the difficultest of these Proposals, hath bin of most long desired; and the not granting it, held a general Grievance. The rest when they shall see the beginnings and proceedings of these Constitutions propos'd, and the orderly, the decent, the civil, the safe, the noble Effects therof, will be soon convinc'd, and by degrees come in of thir own accord, to be partakers of so happy a Government.

Brief NOTES upon a late
S E R M O N

TITL'D,

The Fear of God and the King ;

Preach'd, and since publish'd,

By *MATTHEW GRIFFITH, D.D.*

And Chaplain to the late KING.

Wherin many notorious wrestings of Scripture, and
 other Falsities are observ'd.

I Affirm'd in the Preface of a late Discourse, Entitl'd, *The ready way to establish a free Commonwealth, and the dangers of readmitting Kingship in this Nation*, that the humor of returning to our old Bondage, was instill'd of late by some Deceivers; and to make good, that what I then affirm'd, was not without just ground, one of those Deceivers I present here to the People: and if I prove him not such, refuse not to be so accounted in his stead.

He begins in his Epistle to the General, and moves cunningly for a Licence to be admitted Physician both to Church and State; then sets out his practice in Physical terms, *an wholsom Elestuary to be taken every Morning next our Hearts*; tells of the opposition which he met with from the College of State-Physicians, then lays before you his Drugs and Ingredients; *Strong purgatives in the Pulpit, contemper'd of the myrrh of Mortification, the aloes of Confession and Contrition, the rubarb of Restitution and Satisfaction*; a pretty Fantastick dose of Divinity from a Pulpit-Mountibank, not unlike the Fox, that turning Pedlar, open'd his pack of War before the Kid; though he now would seem to personate the good Samaritan, undertaking to describe the Rise and Progress of our national Malady, and to prescribe the only Remedy; which how he performs, we shall quickly see.

First, he would suborn Saint Luke as his spokesman to the General, presuming, it seems, to have had as perfect understanding of things from the very first, as the Evangelist had of his Gospel; that the General who hath so eminently born his part in the whole Action, *mighty know the certainty of those things* better from him a partial Sequestred enemy; for so he presently appears, though covertly and like the Tempter, commencing his Address with an impudent Calumny and Affront to his Excellence, that he would be pleas'd to carry on what he had so happily begun in the name and cause not of God only, which we doubt not, but of his anointed, meaning the late Kings Son; which is to charge him most audaciously and fallily with the renouncing of his own public Promises and Declarations, both to the Parliament and the Army, and we trust his Actions ere long will deter such insinuating slanderers from thus approaching him for the future. But the General may well excuse him; for the Comforter himself escapes not his Presumption, avouch'd as fallily, to have impowr'd to those designs him and him only, who hath solemnly declar'd the contrary. What Phanatic, against whom he so often inveighs, could more presumptuously affirm whom the Comforter hath impowr'd, then this Antifanatic, as he would be thought?

The Text.

Prov. 24. 21. *My Son, fear God and the King, and meddle not with them that be Seditious, or desirous of change, &c.*

Letting pass matters not in Controversy, I come to the main drift of your Sermon, the *King*; which word here is either to signify any supreme Magistrate, or else your latter Object of fear is not Universal, belongs not at all to many parts of Christendom, that have no King; and in particular, not to us. That we have no King since the putting down of Kingship in this Commonwealth, is manifest by this last Parliament, who to the time of thir Dissolving, not only made no Address at all to any King, but summon'd this next to come by the Writ formerly appointed of a free Commonwealth, without Restitution or the least mention of any Kingly Right or Power; which could not be, if there were at present any King of *England*. The main part therefore of your Sermon, if it mean a King in the usual sense, is either impertinent and absurd, exhorting your Auditory to fear that which is not; or if King here be, as it is understood for any supreme Magistrate, by your own Exhortation they are in the first place not to *meddle* with you, as being your self most of all the *seditions* meant here, and the *desirous of change*, in stirring them up to *fear a King*, whom the present Government takes no notice of.

You begin with a vain Vision, *God and the King at the first blush* (which will not be your last blush) *seeming to stand in your Text like those two Cherubims on the Mercy-seat, looking on each other*. By this Similitude, your conceited Sanctuary, worse than the Altar of *Abaz*, pattern'd from *Damascus*, degrades God to a Cherub, and raises your King to be his collateral in place, notwithstanding the other differences you put; which well agrees with the Court-letters, lately publish'd from this Lord to tother Lord, that cry him up for no less than Angelical and Celestial.

Your first observation, pag. 8. is, *That God and the King are coupl'd in the Text, and what the Holy Ghost hath thus firmly combin'd, we may not, we must not dare to put asunder*; and your self is the first man who puts them asunder by the first proof of your Doctrin immediately following, *Judg. 7. 20. which couples the sword of the Lord and Gideon*, a man who not only was no King, but refus'd to be a King or Monarch, when it was offer'd him, in the very next Chapter, *Ver. 22, 23. I will not rule over you, neither shall my Son rule over you; the Lord shall rule over you*. Here we see that this worthy Heroic deliverer of his Country, thought it best govern'd, if the Lord govern'd it in that form of a free Commonwealth, which they then enjoin'd without a single Person. And this is your first Scripture, abus'd and most impertinently cited, nay against your self, to prove that *Kings at thir Coronation have a Sword given them*, which you interpret *the Militia, the power of life and death put into thir Hands*, against the declar'd judgment of our Parlements, nay of all our Laws, which reserve to themselves only the power of Life and Death, and render you in thir just resentment of this boldness, another Doctor *Manwaring*.

Your next proof is as false and frivolous, *The King, say you, is Gods Sword-bearer*; true, but not the King only, for *Gideon* by whom you seek to prove this, neither was, nor would be a King; and as you your self confess, pag. 40. *There be divers forms of Government. He bears not the Sword in vain, Rom. 13. 4. this also is as true of any lawful Rulers, especially Supreme; so that Rulers, ver. 3. and therefore this present Government, without whose Authority you excite the People to a King, bear the Sword as well as Kings, and as little in vain. They fight against God, who resist his Ordinance, and go about to wrest the Sword out of the hands of his Anointed*. This is likewise granted: but who is his *Anointed*? Not every King, but they only who were *Anointed* or made Kings by his special command; as *Saul, David*, and his race, which ended in the *Messiah*, (from whom no Kings at this day can derive thir Title) *Jehu, Cyrus*, and if any other were by name appointed by him to som particular service: as for the rest of Kings, all other supreme Magistrates are as much the Lords *Anointed* as they; and our Obedience commanded equally to them all; *For ther is no power but of God, Rom. 13. 1. and we are exhorted in*

the

the Gospel to obey Kings, as other Magistrates, not that they are call'd any where the Lord's Anointed, but as they are the *Ordinance of Man*, 1 Pet. 2. 13. You therefore and other such false Doctors, preaching Kings to your Auditory, as the Lord's only Anointed, to withdraw People from the present Government, by your own Text are self-condemn'd, and not to be follow'd, not to be *medl'd with*, but to be noted, as most of all others the *seditious and desirous of change*.

Your third Proof is no less against your self. *Psal. 105. 15. Touch not mine Anointed.* For this is not spoken in behalf of Kings, but spoken to reprove Kings, that they should not touch his anointed Saints and Servants, the Seed of *Abraham*, as the Verse next before might have taught you: He reprov'd Kings for thir sakes, saying, *Touch not mine Anointed, and do my Prophets no harm*; according to that 2 Cor. 1. 21. *He who hath anointed us, is God.* But how well you confirm one wrested Scripture with another: 1 Sam. 8. 7. *They have not rejected thee, but me*: grossly misapplying these words, which were not spoken to any who had *resisted or rejected* a King, but to them who much against the Will of God had sought a King, and rejected a Commonwealth, wherein they might have liv'd happily under the Reign of God only, thir King. Let the words interpret themselves; ver. 6, 7. *But the thing displeased Samuel, when they said, give us a King to judg us: and Samuel pray'd unto the Lord. And the Lord said unto Samuel, hearken unto the voice of the People in all that they say unto thee; for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them.* Hence you conclude, *so indissoluble is the Conjunction of God and the King.* O notorious abuse of Scripture! whenas you should have concluded, so unwilling was God to give them a King, so wide was the disjunction of God from a King. Is this the Doctrin you boast of to be *so clear in it self, and like a Mathematical Principle, that needs no farther Demonstration*? Bad Logic, bad Mathematics (for Principles can have no Demonstration at all) but wors Divinity. O People of an implicit Faith no better than *Romish*, if these be thy prime Teachers, who to thir credulous Audience dare thus juggle with Scripture, to allege those places for the proof of thir Doctrin, which are the plain Refutation: and this is all the Scripture which he brings to confirm his Point.

The rest of his Preachment is meer groundless Chat, save here and there a few grains of Corn scatter'd to intice the silly Fowl into his Net, interlac'd here and there with som human reading, tho slight, and not without Geographical and Historical Mistakes: as pag. 29. *Suevia* the German Dukedom, for *Succia* the Northern Kingdom: *Philip of Macedon*, who is generally understood of the great *Alexander's* Father only, made contemporany, pag. 31. with *T. Quintus* the Roman Commander, instead of *T. Quintius* and the latter *Philip*: and pag. 44. *Tully* cited in his third Oration against *Verres*, to say of him, *that he was a wicked Consul*, who never was a Consul: nor Trojan Sedition ever portraid by that Verse of *Virgil*, which you cite pag. 47. as that of *Troy*: School-boys could have told you, that there is nothing of *Troy* in that whole Portraiture, as you call it, of *Sedition*. These gross Mistakes may justly bring in doubt your other loose Citations, and that you take them up somewhere at the second or third hand rashly, and without due considering.

Nor are you happier in the relating or the moralizing your Fable. *The Frogs (being once a free Nation saith the Fable) petition'd Jupiter for a King: he tumbld among them a Log: They found it insensible; they petitioned then for a King that should be active: he sent them a Crane (a Stork saith the Fable) which straight fell to pecking them up.* This you apply to the reproof of them who desire change: whereas indeed the true Moral shews rather the folly of those who being free seek a King; which for the most part either as a Log lies heavy on his Subjects, without doing aught worthy of his Dignity and the Charge to maintain him, or as a Stork is ever pecking them up, and devouring them.

But by our fundamental Laws, the King is the highest Power, pag. 40. If we must hear mootings and Law Lectures from the Pulpit, what shame is it for a Doctor of Divinity, not first to consider, that no Law can be *fundamental*, but that which is grounded on the Light of Nature or right Reason, commonly call'd *Moral Law*: which no form of Government was ever counted,

but arbitrary, and at all times in the choice of every free People, or thir Representers? This choice of Government is so essential to thir Freedom, that longer than they have it, they are not free. In this Land not only the late King and his Posterity, but Kingship it self hath bin abrogated by a Law; which involves with as good reason the Posterity of a King forfeited to the People, as that Law hertofore of Treason against the King, attainted the Children with the Father. This Law against both King and Kingship they who most question, do not less question all enacted without the King and his Antiparlament at *Oxford*, though call'd Mungrel by himself. If no Law must be held good, but what passes in full Parliament, then surely in exactness of Legality, no Member must be missing: for look how many are missing, so many Counties or Cities that sent them want thir Representers. But if being once chosen, they serve for the whole Nation, then any number which is sufficient, is full, and most of all in times of discord, necessity and danger. The King himself was bound by the old Mode of Parlements, not to be absent, but in case of Sickness, or som extraordinary occasion, and then to leave his Substitute; much less might any Member be allow'd to absent himself. If the King then and many of the Members with him, without leaving any in his stead, forsook the Parliament upon a meer panic fear, as was that time judg'd by most Men, and to levy War against them that sat, should they who were left sitting, break up, or not dare enact aught of neereft and presentest concernment to public Safety, for the punctilio wanting of a full number, which no Law-book in such extraordinary cases hath determin'd? Certainly if it were lawful for them to fly from thir Charge upon pretence of privat Safety, it was much more lawful for these to sit and act in thir trust what was necessary for public. By a Law therfore of Parliament, and of a Parliament that conquer'd both *Ireland*, *Scotland*, and all thir Enemies in *England*, defended thir friends, were generally acknowledg'd for a Parliament both at home and abroad, Kingship was abolish'd: This Law now of late hath bin negatively repeal'd; yet Kingship not positively restor'd; and I suppose never was establish'd by any certain Law in this Land, nor possibly could be: for how could our Fore-fathers bind us to any certain form of Government, more than we can bind our Posterity? If a People be put to war with thir King for his Misgovernment, and overcome him, the Power is then undoubtedly in thir own hands how they will be govern'd. The War was granted *just* by the King himself at the beginning of his last Treaty, and still maintain'd to be so by this last Parliament, as appears by the Qualification prescrib'd to the Members of this next ensuing, That none shall be elected, who have born Arms against the Parliament since 1641. If the War were *just*, the Conquest was also *just* by the Law of Nations. And he who was the chief Enemy, in all right ceas'd to be the King, especially after Captivity, by the deciding Verdit of War; and Royalty with all her Laws and Pretensions, yet remains in the Victor's power, together with the choice of our future Government. Free Commonwealths have bin ever counted fittest and properest for civil, vertuous and industrious Nations, abounding with prudent Men worthy to govern: Monarchy fittest to curb degenerate, corrupt, idle, proud, luxurious People. If we desire to be of the former, nothing better for us, nothing nobler than a free Commonwealth: if we will needs condemn our selves to be of the latter, despairing of our own Vertue, Industry, and the number of our able Men, we may then, conscious of our own unworthiness to be govern'd better, sadly betake us to our besitting Thralldom: yet chusing out of our own number one who hath best aided the People, and best merited against Tyranny, the space of a Raign or two we may chance to live happily enough, or tolerably. But that a victorious People should give up themselves again to the vanquish'd, was never yet heard of; seems rather void of all Reason and good Policy, and will in all probability subject the Subduers to the Subdu'd, will expose to Revenge, to Beggary, to Ruin and perpetual Bondage the Victors under the vanquish'd: than which what can be more unworthy?

From misinterpreting our Law, you return to do again the same with Scripture, and would prove the Supremacy of *English* Kings from 1 *Pet.* 2. 13. as if that were the Apostle's work: wherein if he saith that *the King is supreme,*

preme, he speaks so of him but as an *Ordinance of Man*, and in respect of those *Governors that are sent by him*, not in respect of Parlements, which by the Law of this Land are his Bridle; in vain his Bridle, if not also his Rider: and therefore hath not only *Co-ordination* with him, which you falsely call *seditions*, but hath Superiority above him, and that neither *against Religion*, nor *right Reason*: no nor against common Law; for our Kings reign'd only by Law: but the Parliament is above all positive Law, whether civil or common, makes or unmakes them both; and still the latter Parliament above the former, above all the former Lawgivers, then certainly above all precedent Laws; entail'd the Crown on whom it pleas'd; and as a great Lawyer saith, *is so transcendent and absolute, that it cannot be confin'd either for Causes or Persons, within any bounds*. But your cry is, no Parliament without a King. If this be so, we have never had lawful Kings, who have all bin created Kings either by such Parlements, or by Conquest: if by such Parlements, they are in your allowance none: if by Conquest, that Conquest we have now conquer'd. So that as well by your own Assertion as by ours, there can at present be no King. And how could that Person be absolutely supreme, who reign'd, not under Law only, but under Oath of his good Demeanor given to the People at his Coronation, ere the People gave him his Crown? And his principal Oath was to maintain those Laws which the People should chuse. If then the Law it self, much more he who was but the Keeper and Minister of Law, was in thir choice, and both he subordinat to the performance of his Duty sworn, and our sworn Allegiance in order only to his performance.

You fall next on the *Consistorian Schismatics*; for so you call Presbyterians, pag. 40. and judg them to have *enervated the King's Supremacy by thir Opinions and Practice, differing in many things only in terms from Popery*; though some of those Principles which you there cite concerning Kingship, are to be ready in *Aristotle's Politics*, long ere Popery was thought on. The Presbyterians therefore it concerns to be well forewarn'd of you betimes; and to them I leave you.

As for your Examples of seditious Men, pag. 54, &c. *Cora, Absalom, Zimri, Sheba*, to these you might with much more reason have added your own Name, who *blow the Trumpet of Sedition* from your Pulpit against the present Government: in reward wherof they have sent you by this time, as I hear, to your own place, for preaching open Sedition, while you would seem to preach against it.

As for your Appendix annex of the *Samaritan reviv'd*, finding it so foul a Libel against all the well-affected of this Land, since the very time of *Ship-money*, against the whole Parliament, both Lords and Commons, except those that fled to *Oxford*, against the whole reform'd Church, not only in *England* and *Scotland*, but all over *Europe* (in comparison wherof you and your Prelatical Party are more truly Schismatics and Sectarians, nay more properly *Fanatics* in your *Fanes* and gilded Temples, than those whom you revile by those names) and meeting with no more Scripture or solid reason in your *Samaritan wine and oyl*, than hath already bin found sophisticated and adulterate, I leave your malignant Narrative, as needing no other Confutation, than the just Censure already pass'd upon you by the Council of State.



O F

True Religion, Heresie, Schism, Toleration,

And what best Means may be us'd against the
Growth of

P O P E R Y.

Printed in the Year 1673.

IT is unknown to no Man, who knows ought of Concernment among us, that the increase of Popery is at this day no small Trouble and Offence to greatest part of the Nation; and the rejoicing of all good Men that it is so; the more thir rejoicing, that God hath giv'n a Heart to the People to remember still thir great and happy Deliverance from Popish Thraldom, and to esteem so highly the precious benefit of his Gospel, so freely and so peaceably enjoy'd among them. Since therefore some have already in public with many considerable Arguments exhorted the People to beware the growth of this Romish Weed; I thought it no less than a common duty to lend my hand, how unable soever, to so good a purpose. I will not now enter into the Labyrinth of Councils and Fathers, an intangl'd wood which the Papist loves to fight in, not with hope of Victory, but to obscure the shame of an open Overthrow: which yet in that kind of Combat, many heretofore, and one of late, hath eminently given them. And such manner of dispute with them, to Learned Men, is useful and very commendable: But I shall insist now on what is plainer to common Apprehension, and what I have to say, without longer Introduction.

True Religion is the true Worship and Service of God, learnt and believ'd from the Word of God only. No Man or Angel can know how God would be worship'd and serv'd unless God reveal it: He hath reveal'd and taught it us in the holy Scriptures by inspir'd Ministers, and in the Gospel by his own Son and his Apostles, with strictest command to reject all other Traditions or Additions whatsoever. According to that of St. Paul, *Though we or an Angel from Heaven preach any other Gospel unto you, than that which we have preacht unto you, let him be Anathema, or accurst.* And Deut. 4. 2. *Ye shall not add to the Word which I command you, neither shall you diminish ought from it.* Rev. 22. 18, 19. *If any Man shall add, &c. If any Man shall take away from the words, &c.* With good and religious Reason therefore all Protestant Churches with one Consent, and particularly the Church of *England* in her thirty nine Articles, Artic. 6th, 19th, 20th, 21st, and elsewhere, maintain these two Points, as the main Principles of true Religion: that the Rule of true Religion is the Word of God only: and that thir Faith ought not to be an implicit Faith, that is, to believe, though as the Church believes, against or without express Authority of Scripture. And if all Protestants as universally as they hold these two Principles, so attentively and religiously would observe them, they would avoid and cut off many Debates and Contentions, Schisms and Persecutions, which too oft have been among them, and more firmly unite against the
common

common Adversary. For hence it directly follows, that no true Protestant can persecute, or not tolerate his Fellow-Protestant, though dissenting from him in som Opinions, but he must flatly deny and renounce these two his own main Principles, wheron true Religion is founded; while he compels his Brother from that which he believes as the manifest Word of God, to an implicit Faith (which he himself condemns) to the endangering of his Brother's Soul, whether by rash Belief, or outward Conformity: for *whatsoever is not of Faith, is Sin.*

I will now as briefly show what is false Religion or Heresie, which will be don as easily: for of Contraries the Definitions must needs be contrary. Heresie therefore is a Religion taken up and believ'd from the Traditions of Men and Additions to the Word of God. Whence also it follows clearly that of all known Sects or pretended Religions at this day in Christendom, Popery is the only or the greatest Heresie: and he who is so forward to brand all others for Heretics, the obstinate Papist, the only Heretic. Hence one of thir own famous Writers found just cause to stile the Romish Church *Mother of Error, School of Heresie.* And whereas the Papist boasts himself to be a Roman Catholic, it is a meer Contradiction, one of the Pope's Bulls, as if he should say, universal particular, a Catholic Schismatic. For Catholic in Greek signifies Universal: and the Christian Church was so call'd, as consisting of all Nations to whom the Gospel was to be preach'd, in contradistinction to the Jewish Church, which consisted for the most part of Jews only.

Sects may be in a true Church as well as in a false, when Men follow the Doctrin too much for the Teachers sake, whom they think almost infallible; and this becomes, through Infirmary, implicit Faith; and the name Sectary pertains to such a Disciple.

Schism is a Rent or Division in the Church, when it comes to the separating of Congregations; and may also happen to a true Church, as well as to a false; yet in the true needs not tend to the breaking of Communion, if they can agree in the right Administration of that wherein they communicate, keeping thir other Opinions to themselves, not being destructive to Faith. The Pharisees and Saduces were two Sects, yet both met together in thir common Worship of God at *Jerusalem.* But here the Papist will angrily demand, what! Are Lutherans, Calvinists, Anabaptists, Socinians, Arminians, no Heretics? I answer, all these may have some Errors, but are no Heretics. Heresie is in the Will and Choice profestly against Scripture; Error is against the Will, in misunderstanding the Scripture after all sincere Endeavours to understand it rightly: Hence it was said well by one of the Ancients, *Err I may, but a Heretic I will not be.* It is a human Frailty to err, and no Man is infallible here on Earth. But so long as all these profess to set the Word of God only before them as the Rule of Faith and Obedience; and use all Diligence and Sincerity of Heart, by Reading, by Learning, by Study, by Prayer for Illumination of the holy Spirit, to understand the Rule and obey it, they have done what Man can do: God will assuredly pardon them, as he did the Friends of *Job*, good and pious Men, though much mistaken, as there it appears, in some Points of Doctrin. But som will say, with Christians it is otherwise, whom God hath promis'd by his Spirit to teach all things. True, all things absolutely necessary to Salvation: But the hottest Disputes among Protestants, calmly and charitably enquir'd into, will be found less than such. The Lutheran holds Consubstantiation; an Error indeed, but not mortal. The Calvinist is taxt with Predestination, and to make God the Author of Sin; not with any dishonourable Thought of God, but it may be over zealously asserting his absolute Power, not without Plea of Scripture. The Anabaptist is accus'd of denying Infants thir Right to Baptism; again they say, they deny nothing but what the Scripture denies them. The Arian and Socinian are charg'd to dispute against the Trinity: they affirm to believe the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, according to Scripture and the Apostolic Creed; as for terms of Trinity, Triniunity, Coessentiality, Tripersonality, and the like, they reject them as Scholastic Notions, not to be found in Scripture, which by a general Protestant Maxim is plain and perspicuous abundantly to explain its own meaning in the properest Words, belonging to so high a Matter, and so necessary to be known; a Mystery indeed in thir Sophistic Subtilties,

tilties, but in Scripture a plain Doctrin. Their other Opinions are of less moment. They dispute the Satisfaction of Christ, or rather the word *Satisfaction*, as not Scriptural: but they acknowledg him both God and their Saviour. The *Arminian* lastly is condemn'd for setting up Free Will against Free Grace; but that Imputation he disclaims in all his Writings, and grounds himself largely upon Scripture only. It cannot be deny'd that the Authors or late Revivers of all these Sects or Opinions were learned, worthy, zealous, and religious Men, as appears by thir Lives written, and the same of thir many eminent and learned Followers, perfect and powerful in the Scriptures, holy and unblamable in thir Lives: and it cannot be imagin'd that God would desert such painful and zealous Laborers in his Church, and oft-times great Sufferers for thir Conscience, to damnable Errors and a reprobate Sense, who had so often implor'd the Assistance of his Spirit; but rather, having made no Man infallible, that he hath pardon'd thir Errors, and accepts thir pious Endeavours, sincerely searching all things according to the Rule of Scripture, with such Guidance and Direction as they can obtain of God by Prayer. What Protestant then who himself maintains the same Principles, and disavows all implicit Faith, would persecute, and not rather charitably tolerate such Men as these, unless he mean to abjure the Principles of his own Religion? If it be ask'd how far they should be tolerated? I answer, doubtless equally, as being all Protestants; that is on all occasions to give account of thir Faith, either by arguing, preaching in thir several Assemblies, publick writing, and the freedom of Printing. For if the *French* and *Polonian* Protestants enjoy all this Liberty among Papists, much more may a Protestant justly expect it among Protestants; and yet somtimes here among us, the one persecutes the other upon every slight pretence.

But he is wont to say, he enjoys only things indifferent. Let them be so still; who gave him Authority to change thir Nature by injoyning them? If by his own Principles, as is prov'd, he ought to tolerate controverted Points of Doctrin not slightly grounded on Scripture, much more ought he not impose things indifferent without Scripture. In Religion nothing is indifferent, but, if it come once to be impos'd, is either a Command or a Prohibition, and so consequently an addition to the Word of God, which he professes to disallow. Besides, how unequal, how uncharitable must it needs be, to impose that which his Conscience cannot urge him to impose, upon him whose Conscience forbids him to obey? What can it be but love of Contention for things not necessary to be don, to molest the Conscience of his Brother, who holds them necessary to be not don? To conclude, let such an one but call to mind his own Principles above-mention'd, and he must necessarily grant, that neither he can impose, nor the other believe or obey ought in Religion, but from the Word of God only. More amply to understand this may be read the 14th and 15th Chapters to the Romans, and the Contents of the 14th, set forth no doubt but with full Authority of the Church of England; the Gloss is this: *Men may not condemn or condemn one the other for things indifferent.* And in the 6th Article above mention'd, *whatsoever is not read in Holy Scripture, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any Man as an Article of Faith, or necessary to Salvation.* And certainly what is not so, is not to be required at all; as being an Addition to the Word of God expressly forbidden.

Thus this long and hot Contest, whether Protestants ought to tolerate one another, if Men will be but rational and not partial, may be ended without need of more Words to compose it.

Let us now enquire whether Popery be tolerable or no. Popery is a double thing to deal with, and claims a twofold Power, Ecclesiastical and Political, both usurpt, and the one supporting the other.

But Ecclesiastical is ever pretended to Political. The Pope by this mixt Faculty pretends Right to Kingdoms and States, and especially to this of England, thrones and unthrones Kings, and absolves the People from thir Obedience to them; somtimes interdicts to whole Nations the Public Worship of God, shutting up thir Churches: and was wont to dreign away greatest part of the Wealth of this then miserable Land, as part of his Patrimony, to maintain the Pride and Luxury of his Court and Prelats: and now since,

through the infinite Mercy and Favour of God, we have shaken off his *Babylonish* Yoke, hath not ceas'd by his Spies and Agents, Bulls and Emissaries, once to destroy both King and Parliament; perpetually to seduce, corrupt, and pervert as many as they can of the People. Whether therefore it be fit or reasonable, to tolerate Men thus princip'd in Religion towards the State, I submit it to the consideration of all Magistrates, who are best able to provide for thir own and the public Safety. As for tolerating the exercise of thir Religion, supposing thir State-Activities not to be dangerous, I answer, that Toleration is either public or private; and the exercise of thir Religion, as far as it is idolatrous, can be tolerated neither way: not publicly, without grievous and unsufferable Scandal giv'n to all conscientious Beholders; not privately, without great Offence to God, declar'd against all kind of Idolatry, though secret. Ezek. 8. 7, 8. *And he brought me to the door of the Court, and when I looked, behold a hole in the Wall. Then said he unto me, Son of Man, dig now in the Wall; and when I had digged, behold a door; and he said unto me, go in, and behold the wicked Abominations that they do here. And ver. 12. Then said he unto me, Son of Man, hast thou seen what the Ancients of the house of Israel do in the dark? &c.* And it appears by the whole Chapter, that God was no less offended with these secret Idolatries, than with those in public; and no less provok'd, than to bring on and hasten his Judgments on the whole Land for these also.

Having shown thus, that Popery, as being idolatrous, is not to be tolerated either in public or in private; it must be now thought how to remove it and hinder the growth thereof, I mean in our Natives, and not Foreigners, privileg'd by the Law of Nations. Are we to punish them by corporal Punishment, or Fines in thir Estates, upon account of thir Religion? I suppose it stands not with the Clemency of the Gospel, more than what appertains to the Security of the State: But first we must remove thir Idolatry, and all the Furniture thereof, whether Idols, or the Mass wherein they adore thir God under Bread and Wine: for the Commandment forbids to adore, not only any graven Image, but the likeness of any thing in Heaven above, or in the Earth beneath, or in the Water under the Earth; thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them, for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God. If they say that by removing thir Idols we violate thir Consciences, we have no warrant to regard Conscience which is not grounded on Scripture: and they themselves confess in thir late Defences, that they hold not thir Images necessary to Salvation, but only as they are enjoin'd them by Tradition.

Shall we condescend to dispute with them? The Scripture is our only Principle in Religion; and by that only they will not be judg'd, but will add other Principles of thir own, which, forbidden by the Word of God, we cannot assent to. And [in several places of the Gospel] the common Maxim also in Logic is, *against them who deny Principles, we are not to dispute.* Let them bound thir Disputations on the Scripture only, and an ordinary Protestant, well read in the Bible, may turn and wind thir Doctors. They will not go about to prove thir Idolatries by the Word of God, but run to Shifts and Evasions, and frivolous Distinctions: Idols they say are *Laymens* Books, and a great means to stir up pious Thoughts and Devotion in the learnedst. I say they are no means of God's appointing, but plainly the contrary: Let them hear the Prophets; Jer. 10. 8. *The Stock is a Doctrine of Vanities.* Hab. 2. 18. *What profiteth the graven Image that the Maker thereof hath graven it: The Molten Image and a Teacher of Lies?* But they allege in thir late Answers, that the Laws of Moses giv'n only to the Jews, concern not us under the Gospel: and remember not that Idolatry is forbidden as expressly, but with these Wiles and Fallacies compassing Sea and Land, like the Pharisees of old, to make one Profelito, they lead away privily many simple and ignorant Souls, Men or Women, and make them twofold more the Children of Hell than themselves, Mat. 23. 15. But the Apostle hath well warn'd us, I may say, from such Deceivers as these, for thir Mystery was then working. I beseech you, Brethren, saith he, *mark them which cause Divisions and Offences, contrary to the Doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them; for they that are such serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but thir own Belly, and by good Words and fair Speeches deceive the Heart of the simple,* Rom. 16. 17, 18.

The next means to hinder the growth of Popery will be to read duly and diligently the Holy Scriptures, which as St. Paul saith to *Timothy*, who had known them from a Child, *are able to make wise unto Salvation*. And to the whole Church of *Colossi*; *Let the word of Christ dwell in you plentifully, with all Wisdom*, Col. 3. 16. The Papal Antichristian Church permits not her Laity to read the Bible in thir own Tongue: Our Church on the contrary hath propos'd it to all men, and to this end translated it into English, with profitable Notes on what is met with obscure, though what is most necessary to be known be still plainest; that all sorts and degrees of men, not understanding the Original, may read it in thir Mother Tongue. Neither let the Countryman, the Tradesman, the Lawyer, the Physician, the Satesman, excuse himself by his much Business from the studious reading thereof. Our Saviour saith, *Luke* 10. 41, 42. *Thou art careful and troubled about many things, but one thing is needful*. If they were ask'd, they would be loth to set earthly things, Wealth, or Honour before the wisdom of Salvation. Yet most men in the course and practice of thir Lives are found to do so; and through unwillingness to take the pains of understanding thir Religion by thir own diligent study, would fain be sav'd by a Deputy. Hence comes implicit Faith, ever learning and never taught, much hearing and small proficiencie, till want of Fundamental Knowledg easily turns to Superstition or Popery: Therfore the Apostle admonishes, *Ephes.* 4. 14. *That we henceforth be no more Children, tossed to and fro and carryed about with every wind of Doctrin, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness whereby they lie in wait to deceive*. Every member of the Church, at least of any breeding or capacity, so well ought to be grounded in spiritual Knowledg, as, if need be, to examin thir Teachers themselves, *Acts* 17. 11. *They searched the Scriptures daily, whether those things were so*. *Rev.* 2. 2. *Thou hast tried them which say they are Apostles, and are not*. How should any private Christian try his Teachers, unless he be well grounded himself in the Rule of Scripture, by which he is taught. As therfore among Papists, thir ignorance in Scripture chiefly upholds Popery; so among Protestant People, the frequent and serious reading therof will soonest pull Popery down.

Another means to abate Popery, arises from the constant reading of Scripture, wherein Believers who agree in the main, are every where exhorted to mutual Forbearance and Charity one towards the other, though dissenting in som Opinions. It is written that the Coat of our Saviour was without Seam; whence som would infer, that there should be no division in the Church of Christ. It should be so indeed; yet Seams in the same Cloth, neither hurt the Garment, nor misbecome it; and not only Seams, but Schisms will be while men are fallible: But if they who dissent in matters not essential to Belief, while the common Adversary is in the Field, shall stand jarring and pelting at one another, they will be soon routed and subdued. The Papist with open mouth makes much advantage of our several Opinions; not that he is able to confute the worst of them, but that we by our continual jangle among our selves make them worse than they are indeed. To save our selves therfore, and resist the common enemy, it concerns us mainly to agree within our selves, that with joint Forces we may not only hold our own, but get ground; and why should we not? The Gospel commands us to tolerate one another, though of various Opinions, and hath promised a good and happy event therof; *Phil.* 3. 15. *Let us therfore, as many as be perfect, be thus minded; and if in any thing ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you*. And we are bid *1 Thess.* 5. 21. *Prove all things, hold fast that which is good*. St. Paul judg'd that not only to tolerate, but to examin and prove all things, was no danger to our holding fast of that which is good. How shall we prove all things, which includes all opinions at least founded on Scripture, unless we not only tolerate them, but patiently hear them, and seriously read them? If he who thinks himself in the truth, professes to have learnt it, not by implicit Faith, but by attentive study of the Scriptures, and full perswasion of Heart; with what Equity can he refuse to hear or read him, who demonstrates to have gained his knowledg by the same way? Is it a fair course to assert Truth by arrogating to himself the only freedom of Speech, and stopping the Mouths of others equally gifted? This is the direct way to bring in that Papistical implicit Faith which we all disclaim. They pretend it would unsettle the weaker sort; the
same

same groundless fear is pretended by the Romish Clergy. At least then let them have leave to write in Latin, which the common People understand not ; that what they hold may be discuss'd among the Learned only. We suffer the idolatrous Books of Papists, without this fear, to be sold and read as common as our own : Why not much rather of Anabaptists, Arians, Arminians, and Socinians ? There is no Learned man but will confess he hath much profited by reading Controversies, his Senses awak'd, his Judgment sharpen'd, and the Truth which he holds more firmly establish'd. If then it be profitable for him to read, why should it not at least be tolerable and free for his Adversary to write ? In *Logic* they teach, that contraries laid together more evidently appear : it follows then that all Controversy being permitted, Falshood will appear more false, and Truth the more true ; which must needs conduce much, not only to the confounding of Popery, but to the general confirmation of unimpeach'd Truth.

The last means to avoid Popery, is to amend our Lives : it is a general Complaint that this Nation of late years, is grown more numerous and excessively vicious than heretofore ; Pride, Luxury, Drunkenness, Whoredom, Cursing, Swearing, bold and open Atheism every where abounding : where these grow, no wonder if Popery also grow apace. There is no man so wicked, but at sometimes his Conscience will wring him with thoughts of another World, and the peril of his Soul ; the trouble and melancholy which he conceives of true Repentance and Amendment he endures not, but inclines rather to some carnal Superstition, which may pacify and lull his Conscience with some more pleasing Doctrine. None more ready and officious to offer herself than the *Romish*, and opens wide her Office, with all her faculties, to receive him ; easy Confession, easy Absolution, Pardons, Indulgences, Masses for him both quick and dead, *Agnus Dei's*, Reliques, and the like : and he, instead of *working out his Salvation with fear and trembling*, strait thinks in his Heart (like another kind of Fool than he in the *Psalms*) to bribe God as a corrupt Judge ; and by his Proctor, some Priest, or Fryer, to buy out his Peace with Money, which he cannot with his Repentance. For God, when men sin outrageously, and will not be admonish'd, gives over chastizing them, perhaps by Pestilence, Fire, Sword, or Famine, which may all turn to their good, and takes up his severest Punishments, hardness, besottedness of Heart, and Idolatry, to their final Perdition. Idolatry brought the Heathen to heinous Transgressions, *Rom. 2*. And heinous Transgressions oftentimes bring the slight Professors of true Religion, to gross Idolatry : *1 Thess. 2. 11, 12. For this cause God shall send them strong Delusion that they should believe a Lie, that they all might be damn'd who believe not the Truth, but had pleasure in Unrighteousness.* And *Isaiah 44. 18.* Speaking of Idolaters, *They have not known nor understood, for he hath shut their Eyes that they cannot see, and their Hearts that they cannot understand.* Let us therefore, using this last means, last here spoken of, but first to be done, amend our Lives with all speed ; lest through impenitency we run into that Stupidity, which we now seek all means so warily to avoid, the worst of Superstitions, and the heaviest of all God's Judgments, Popery.

F O U R
Miscellaneous Tracts,

V I Z.

- I. A Brief History of *Moscovia*, and of other less-known Countries lying Eastward of *Russia*, &c.
- II. A Declaration, or Letters Patents of the Election of *John III.* King of *Poland*; containing the Reasons therof, his great Vertues and Merits, &c.
- III. Of Education. To Mr. *Samuel Hartlib*.
- IV. Accedence commenc'd Grammar, suppli'd with sufficient Rules for the Use of such as are desirous to attain the Latin Tongue.

AMSTERDAM, MDCXCIV.

5 M

A Brief

HISTORY OF MOSCOVIA,

AND

Of other less-known Countries lying Eastward of
Russia as far as *Cathay*.

Gather'd from the Writings of several Eye-
witnesses.

The PREFACE.

THE study of Geography is both profitable and delightful ; but the Writers therof, though som of them exact enough in setting down Longitudes and Latitudes, yet in those other relations of Manners, Religion, Government, and such like, accounted Geographical, have for the most part mis'd thir proportions. Som too brief and deficient satisfy not ; others too voluminous and impertinent cloy and weary out the Reader, while they tell long Stories of absurd Superstitions, Ceremonies, quaint Habits, and other petty Circumstances little to the purpose. Wherby that which is useful, and only worth observation, in such a wood of words, is either overslipt, or soon forgotten ; which perhaps brought into the mind of some men more learned and judicious, who had not the leisure or purpose to write an entire Geography, yet at least to assay somthing in the description of one or two Countries, which might be as a Pattern or Example to render others more cautious hereafter, who intended the whole work. And this perhaps induc'd *Paulus Jovius* to describe only *Moscovy* and *Britain*. Some such thoughts, many years since, led me at a vacant time to attempt the like argument, and I began with *Muscovy*, as being the most northern Region of *Europe* reputed civil ; and the more northern parts therof, first discovered by *English* Voyages. Wherin I saw I had by much the advantage of *Jovius*. What was scatter'd in many Volumes, and observ'd at several times by Eye-witnesses, with no cursory pains I laid together, to save the Reader a far longer travail of wandring through so many desert Authors ; who yet with some delight drew me after them, from the eastern Bounds of *Russia*, to the Walls of *Cathay*, in several late Journeys made thither overland by *Russians*, who describe the Countries in thir way far otherwise then our common Geographers. From proceeding further, other occasions diverted me. This Essay, such as it is, was thought by some, who knew of it, not amiss to be published ; that so many things remarkable, dispers'd before, now brought under one view, might not hazard to be otherwise lost, nor the labour lost of collecting them.

M O S C O V I A :

O R,

Relations of M O S C O V I A,

As far as hath been discovered by English Voyages ;

Gather'd from the Writings of several Eye-witnesses : And of other less known Countries lying Eastward of *Russia* as far as *Cathay*, lately discovered at several times by *Russians*.

C H A P. I.

A brief Description.

THE Empire of *Moscovia*, or as others call it, *Russia*, is bounded on the North with *Lapland* and the Ocean ; Southward by the *Crim Tartar* ; on the West by *Lituania*, *Livonia*, and *Poland* ; on the East by the River *Ob*, or *Oby*, and the *Nagayan Tartars* on the *Tolga* as far as *Astracan*.

The North
and East,
Hack. 251.

Hack. vo. I.
248.

Saint Nicho-
las, *Hack.*
376.

Rose Island,
Hack. 365.

Archangel.
Duina.
Pinega.

Lampas, 284.

Candinos,
Colgoieve,
Purc. par. 3.
533.

The north parts of this Country are so barren, that the Inhabitants fetch thir Corn a thousand miles, and so cold in Winter that the very Sap of thir Wood-fewel burning on the fire, freezes at the Brands-end where it drops. The Mariners which were left a ship-board in the first English Voyage thither, in going up only from thir Cabins to the Hatches, had thir breath so congeal'd by the cold, that they fell down as it were still'd. The Bay of Saint *Nicholas*, where they first put in, lyeth in 64 degrees ; call'd so from the Abby there built of Wood, wherein are 20 Monks, unlearned, as then they found them, and great Drunkards : thir Church is fair, full of Images and Tapers. There are besides but 6 Houses, wherof one built by the English. In the Bay over against the Abby is *Rose Island*, full of damask and red Roses, Violets, and wild Rosemary ; the Isle is in circuit 7 or 8 miles ; about the midst of *May* the Snow there is clear'd, having two months been melting ; then the ground in 14 days is dry, and Grass knee-deep within a month ; after *September* Frost returns, and Snow a yard high : it hath a House built by the English near to a fresh fair Spring. North-east of the Abby on the other side of *Duina*, is the Castle of *Archangel*, where the English have another House. The River *Duina* beginning about 700 miles within the Country, having first receiv'd *Pinega*, falls here into the Sea, very large and swift, but shallow. It runneth pleasantly between Hills on either side ; beset like a Wilderness with high Fir, and other Trees. Thir Boats of Timber without any Iron in them, are either to sail, or to be drawn up with Ropes against the stream.

North-east beyond *Archangel* standeth *Lampas*, where twice a year is kept a great Fair of *Russes*, *Tartars*, and *Samoeds* ; and to the Land-ward *Mezen*, and *Slobotka*, two Towns of Traffick between the River *Pechora*, or *Petzora*, and *Duina* : To Seaward lies the Cape of *Candinos*, and the Island of *Colgoieve*, about 30 leagues from the Bar of *Pechora* in 69 degrees.

The

The River *Pechora* or *Petzera* holding his Course through *Siberia*, how far the *Russians* therabouts know not, runneth into the Sea at 72 months, full of Ice; abounding with Swans, Ducks, Geese and Partridg, which they take in July, sell the Feathers, and salt the Bodies for Winter Provision. On this River spreading to a Lake stands the Town of *Pustozera* in 68 degrees, having some 80 or 100 Houses, where certain Merchants of *Hull* winter'd in the year 1611. The Town *Pechora*, small and poor, hath 3 Churches. They traded there up the River four days journey to *Oustzilma* a small Town of 60 Houses. The *Russians* that have travail'd, say that this River springs out of the Mountains of *Jongoria*, and runs through *Permia*. Not far from the Mouth therof are the Straits of *Vaiguts*, of which hereafter: more Eastward is the Point of *Narany*, and next to that the River *Ob*; beyond which the *Muscovites* have extended lately thir dominion. Touching the *Riphean* Mountains, whence *Tanais* was antiently thought to spring, our men could hear nothing; but rather that the whole Country is Champain, and in the northmost part huge and desert Woods of Fir, abounding with black Wolves, Bears, Buffs, and another Beast call'd *Rollomakka*, whose Female bringeth forth by passing through some narrow place, as between two Stakes, and so presseth her Womb to a disburthening. Travelling southward they found the Country more pleasant, fair, and better inhabited, Corn, Pasture, Meadows, and huge Woods. (if it be not the same with *Archangel*) is a place of English Trade, from whence a days journey distant, but from Saint *Nicholas* a 100 Versts, *Colmogro* stands on the *Duina*; a great Town not wall'd, but scatter'd. The English have here Lands of thir own, given them by the Emperor, and fair Houses; not far beyond, *Pinega* running between Rocks of Alabaster and great Woods, meets with *Duina*. From *Colmogro* to *Usting* are 500 Versts or little miles, an antient City upon the Confluence of *Juga* and *Sucana* into *Duina*, which there first receives his name. Thence continuing by water to *Wologda*, a great City so nam'd of the River which passes through the midst; it hath a Castle wall'd about with Brick and Stone, and many wooden Churches, two for every Parish, the one in Winter to be heated, the other us'd in Summer; this is a Town of much Traffick, a 1000 miles from Saint *Nicholas*. All this way by water no lodging is to be had but under open Sky by the River side, and no other provision, only what they bring with them. From *Wologda* by Sled they go to *Teraflave* on the *Volga*, whose breadth is there at least a mile over, and thence runs 2700 Versts to the *Caspian* Sea, having his head Spring out of *Bealozera*, which is a Lake amidst wherof is built a strong Tower, wherin the Kings of *Moscouy* reserve thir Treasure in time of War. From this Town to *Rostove*, then to *Pereflave* a great Town situate on a fair Lake; thence to *Mosco*.

Between *Teraflave* and *Mosco*, which is 200 miles, the Country is so fertile, so populous and full of Villages, that in a forenoon 7 or 800 Sleds are usually seen coming with Salt Fish, or laden back with Corn.

Mosco the chief City, lying in 55 degrees, distant from Saint *Nicholas* 1500 miles, is reputed to be greater then *London* with the Suburbs, but rudely built; thir Houses and Churches most of Timber, few of Stone, thir Streets unpav'd; it hath a fair Castle four-square, upon a Hill, two miles about, with Brick Walls very high, and some say 18 foot thick, 16 Gates, and as many Bulwarks; in the Castle are kept the chief Markets, and in Winter on the River being then firm Ice. This River *Moscua* on the south-west side incloses the Castle, wherin are nine fair Churches with round gilded Towers, and the Emperor's Palace; which neither within nor without is equal for state to the King's Houses in *England*, but rather like our Buildings of old fashion, with small Windows, some of Glafs, some with Latices, or Iron Bars.

They who travail from *Mosco* to the *Caspian*, go by Water down the *Moscua* to the River *Occa*; then by certain Castles to *Rezan*, a famous City now ruinate; the 10th day to *Nysnovogrod*, where *Occa* falls into *Volga*; which the *Tartars* call *Edel*. From thence the 11th day to *Cazan* a *Tartan* City of great Wealth hertofore, now under the *Russian*; wall'd at first with Timber and Earth, but since by the Emperor *Vasilvich* with free Stone. From *Cazan* to the River *Cama*, falling into *Volga* from the Province of *Permia*, the People dwelling on the left side are *Gentiles*, and live in Woods without Houses; beyond

Pustozera,
ibid. Parc.

Parc. 549.

545, 551.

Riphean
Mountains.

From Saint
Nicholas to

Mosco.
Arkania, 546,

542.
Colmogro,

Hack. 376.

Usting.

Hack. 312.

Wologda.

Teraflave.

Hack. 377

242.

251.

335.

Mosco

313.

South-east
Hack. 325.

334.

yond them to *Astracan*, *Tartars* of *Mangat*, and *Nagay* ; on the right side those of *Crimme*. From *Mosco* to *Astracan* is about 600 Leagues. The Town is situate in an Island on a Hill-side wall'd with Earth, but the Castle with Earth and Timber ; the Houses, except that of the Governor's, and some few others, poor and simple ; the Ground utterly barren, and without Wood : they live there on Fish, and Sturgeon especially ; which hanging up to dry in the Streets and Houses, brings whole swarms of Flies, and infection to the Air, and oft. great Pestilence. This Island in length 12 leagues, 3 in breadth, is the *Russian* limit toward the *Caspian*, which he keeps with a strong Garison, being 20 Leagues from that Sea, into which *Volga* falls at 70 mouths. From *Saint Nicholas*, or from *Mosco* to the *Caspian*, they pass in 46 days and nights, most part by Water.

West.

Novogrod.

365.

West-ward from *Saint Nicholas* 1200 miles is the City *Novogrod* 58 degrees, the greatest Mart-town of all this Dominion, and in bigness not inferior to *Mosco*. The way thither is through the western bottom of *Saint Nicholas* Bay, and so along the Shoar full of dangerous Rocks, to the Monastery *Solofky*, wherein are at least 200 Monks ; the People therabout in a manner Savages, yet Tenants to those Monks. Thence to the dangerous River *Onega*, wherein are Waterfalls as steep as from a Mountain, and by the violence of thir descent kept from freezing : so that the Boats are to be carried there a mile over land ; which the Tenants of that Abby did by command, and were guides to the Merchants without taking any reward. Thence to the Town *Povenfa* standing within a mile of the famous Lake *Onega* 320 miles long, and in som places 70, at narrowest 25 broad, and of great depth. Thence by som Monasteries to the River *Swire* ; then into the Lake *Ladiscay* much longer then *Onega* ; after which into the River *Volhusky*, which through the midst of *Novogrod* runs into this Lake, and this Lake into the *Baltick* sound by *Narv* and *Revel*. Thir other Cities toward the western bound are *Plesco*, *Smolensko*, or *Vobsko*.

Government.

Hac. 243.

The Emperor exerciseth absolute power : if any man die without male Issue, his Land returns to the Emperor. Any rich man who through age or other impotence is unable to serve the Publick, being inform'd of, is turn'd out of his Estate, and forc'd with his Family to live on a small Pension, while some other more deserving is by the Duke's authority put into possession. The manner of informing the Duke is thus. Your Grace, saith one, hath such a Subject, abounding with Riches, but for service of the State unmeet, and you have others poor and in want, but well able to do thir Country good service. Immediately the Duke sends forth to enquire, and calling the rich man before him, Friend, saith he, you have too much Living, and are unserviceable to your Prince ; less will serve you, and the rest maintain others who deserve more. The man thus call'd to impart his Wealth repines not, but humbly answers, that all he hath is God's and the Duke's, as if he made restitution of what more justly was anothers than parted with his own. Every Gentleman hath rule and justice over his own Tenants : if the Tenants of two Gentlemen agree not, they seek to compose it ; if they cannot, each brings his Tenant before the high Judge of that Country. They have no Lawyers, but every man pleads his own Cause, or else by Bill or Answer in writing delivers it with his own hands to the Duke : yet Justice, by corruption of inferior Officers, is much perverted. Where other proof is wanting, they may try the matter by personal Combat, or by Champion. If a Debtor be poor, he becomes bondman to the Duke, who lets out his labour till it pay the Debt ; till then he remains in bondage. Another trial they have by Lots.

Hac. 309.

Revenues.

The Revenues of the Emperor are what he list, and what his Subjects are able ; and he omits not the coursest means to raise them : for in every good Town there is a drunken Tavern, call'd a *Curfemay*, which the Emperor either lets out to farm, or bestows on som Duke, or Gentleman in reward of his Service, who for that time is Lord of the whole Town, robbing and spoiling at his pleasure, till being well enricht, he is sent at his own charge to the Wars, and there squeez'd of his ill got wealth ; by which means the waging of War is to the Emperor little or nothing chargeable.

Hac. 314.

Forces.

Hac. 239.

250.

The *Russian* armeth not less in time of war then 300000 men, half of whom he takes with him into the Field, the rest bestows in Garisons on the Borders. He presseth no Husbandman or Merchant, but the Youth of the Realm. He useth no Foot, but such as are Pioneers, or Gunners, of both which sort 30000. The

rest

being Horsemen, are all Archers, and ride with a short Stirrup after the *Turkish*. Thir Armour is a Coat of Plate, and a Scull on thir Heads. Som of thir Coats are cover'd with Velvet, or cloth of Gold ; for they desire to be gorgeous in Arms, but the Duke himself above measure ; his Pavilion cover'd with Cloth of Gold or Silver, set with precious Stones. They use little Drums at the Saddle bow instead of Spurs, for at the sound therof the Horses run more swiftly.

They fight without order ; nor willingly give battail, but by stealth or ambush. Of Cold and hard Diet marvelously patient ; for when the Ground is cover'd with Snow froz'n a yard thick, the common Souldier will lie in the Field two months together without Tent, or covering over head ; only hangs up his Mantle against that part from whence the Weather drives, and kindling a little fire, lies him down before it, with his Back under the Wind : his Drink the cold Stream mingl'd with Oat-meal, and the same all his Food : his Horse fed with green Wood and Bark, stands all this while in the open Field, yet does his service. The Emperor gives no pay at all, but to Strangers ; yet repaies good deserts in War with certain Lands during life ; and they who oftenest are sent to the Wars, think themselves most favour'd, tho serving without Wages. *Hac. 314. 250.* On the 12th of December yearly, the Emperor rides into the Field, which is without the City, with all his Nobility, on Jennets and Turkey Horses in great state ; before him 5000 Harquebusiers, who shoot at a Bank of Ice, till they beat it down ; the Ordnance, which they have very fair of all sorts, they plant against two wooden Houses fill'd with Earth at least 30 foot thick, and beginning with the smallest, shoot them all off thrice over, having beat those two Houses flat. Above the rest 6 great Cannon they have, whose Bullet is a yard high, so that a man may see it flying : then out of Mortar-pieces they shoot Wild-fire into the Air. Thus the Emperor having seen what his Gunners can do, returns home in the same order.

They follow the *Greek Church*, but with excess of Superstitions : thir Service is in the *Russian Tongue*. They hold the Ten Commandments not to concern them, saying that God gave them under the Law, which *Christ* by his Death on the Cross hath abrogated : the Eucharist they receive in both kinds. They observe 4 Lents, have Service in thir Churches daily, from two hours before dawn to evening ; yet for Whordom, Drunkenness and Extortion none worse than the Clergy. *Religion. Hac. 253. 242, 321.*

They have many great and rich Monasteries, where they keep great hospitality. That of *Trojetes* hath in it 700 Friars, and is wall'd about with Brick very strongly, having many pieces of Brass Ordnance on the Walls ; most of the Lands, Towns, and Villages within 40 miles belong to those Monks, who are also as great Merchants as any in the Land. During Easter Holy-daies when two Friends meet, they take each other by the hand ; one of them saying, The Lord is risen ; the other answering, It is so of a truth ; and then they kiss, whether Men or Women. The Emperor esteemeth the Metropolitan next to God, after our Lady and Saint *Nicholas*, as being his spiritual Officer, himself but his temporal. But the *Muscovites* that border on *Tartaria* are yet *Pagans*. *322. 318. 320, 254.*

When there is love between two, the Man among other trifling Gifts, sends to the Woman a Whip, to signify, if she offend, what she must expect ; and it is a Rule among them, that if the Wife be not beaten once a week, she thinks her self not belov'd, and is the worse ; yet are they very obedient, and stir not forth but at some Seasons. Upon utter dislike the Husband divorces ; which Liberty no doubt they receiv'd first with thir Religion from the *Greek Church*, and the Imperial Laws. *Marriages. Hac. 322. 314.*

Thir Dead they bury with new Shooes on thir Feet, as to a long Journey, and put Letters testimonial in thir hands to Saint *Nicholas* or Saint *Peter*, that this was a *Russe* of *Russes*, and dy'd in the true Faith, which, as they believe, Saint *Peter* having read, forthwith admits him into Heaven. *Burial. 242, 254. 23.*

They have no Learning, nor will suffer to be among them : Thir greatest Friendship is in drinking : they are great Talkers, Liars, Flatterers and Dissemblers. They delight in gross Meats and noysom Fish ; thir Drink is better, being sundry sorts of Meath ; the best made with Juice of a sweet and crimson Berry call'd *Maliena*, growing also in *France* ; other sorts with Black-cherry, or divers. *Manners. 241, 314. 323.*

vers other Berries : another drink they use in the Spring drawn from the Birch-tree Root, whose Sap after *June* dries up. But there is no People that live so miserably as the Poor of *Russia* ; if they have Straw and Water, they make shift to live ; for Straw dry'd and stamp't in Winter time is thir Bread ; in Summer Grass and Roots ; at all times Bark of Trees is good Meat with them ; yet many of them die in the Street for hunger, none relieving or regarding them.

Habit.
239.

When they are sent into Foreign Countries, or that Strangers come thither, they are very sumptuous in apparel, else the Duke himself goes but meanly.

Travailing.
314.

In Winter they travail only upon Sleds, the Ways being hard and smooth with Snow, the Rivers all froz'n : one Horse with a Sled will draw a man 400 miles in 3 days ; in Summer the way is deep, and travelling ill. The *Russe* of better fort goes not out in Winter, but on his Sled ; in Summer on his Horse : in his Sled he sits on a Carpet, or a white Bears skin ; the Sled drawn with a horse well deckt, with many Fox or Wolfe-tails about his neck, guided by a Boy on his back, other Servants riding on the tail of the Sled.

Beasts.
252.

The *Russian* Sea breeds a certain Beast which they call a Morse, who seeks his Food on the Rocks, climbing up with help of his Teeth ; wherof they make as great account as we of the Elephant's tooth.

C H A P. II.

Of Samoedia, Siberia, and other Countries North East, subject to the Muscovites.

NOrth East of *Russia* lieth *Samoedia* by the River *Ob*. This Country was first discover'd by *Oneke* a *Russian* ; who first trading privatly among them in rich Furs, got great Wealth ; and the knowledg of thir Country ; then reveal'd his discovery to *Boris* Protector to *Pheodor*, shewing how beneficial that Country gain'd, would be to the Empire. Who sending Ambassadors among them gallantly attir'd, by fair means won thir subjection to the Empire, every Head paying yearly two skins of richest Sables. Those Messengers travelling also 200 leagues beyond *Ob* Eastward, made report of pleasant Countries, abounding with Woods and Fountains, and people riding on Elks and Loshes ; others drawn on Sleds by Rain-deer ; others by Dogs as swift as Deer. The *Samoeds* that came along with those Messengers, returning to *Mosco*, admir'd the stateliness of that City, and were as much admir'd for excellent Shooters, hitting every time the breadth of a penny, as far distant as hardly could be discern'd.

Purch. part 3.
543, 540.

The River *Ob* is reported by the *Russes* to be in breadth the sailing of a Summer's day : but full of Islands and Shoals, having neither Woods, nor, till of late, Inhabitants. Out of *Ob* they turn into the River *Tawze*. The *Russians* have here, since the *Samoeds* yielded them subjection, two Governours with 3 or 400 Gunners ; have built Villages and some small Castles ; all which place they call *Mongozey* or *Molgomsay*. Further up-land they have also built other Cities of Wood, consisting chiefly of *Poles*, *Tartars* and *Russes*, fugitive or condemned men ; as *Vergateria*, *Siber*, whence the whole Country is nam'd *Tinna*, thence *Tobolsca* on this side *Ob*, on the Rivers *Irtis*, and *Tobol*, chief Seat of the *Russian* Governour ; above that, *Zergolta* in an Island of *Ob*, where they have a Custom-house, beyond that on the other side *Ob*, *Narim*, and *Tooina* now a great City. Certain Churches also are crected in those Parts ; but no man forc'd to Religion ; beyond *Narim* east ward on the River *Telta* is built the Castle of *Comgoscoi*, and all this Plantation began since the year 1590. with many other Towns like these. And these are the Countries from whence come all the Sables and rich Furs.

Manners of
the *Samoeds*.
522, 555.

The *Samoeds* have no Towns or certain place of abode, but up and down where they find Moss for thir Deer ; they live in companies peaceably, and are govern'd by some of the antientest amongst them, but are Idolaters. They shoot wondrous cunningly : thir Arrow heads are sharpned Stones, or Fish-bones, which latter serve them also for Needles ; thir Thread being the Sinews of certain small Beasts, wherwith they sow the Furs which clothe them ; the furry side in Summer outward, in Winter inward. They have many Wives,

Wives, and thir Daughters they sell to him who bids most; which, if they be not lik'd, are turn'd back to thir Friends, the Husband allowing only to the Father what the Marriage Feast stood him in. Wives are brought to bed there by thir Husbands, and the next day go about as before. They till not the ground; but live on the Flesh of those wild Beasts which they hunt. They are the only Guides to such as travail *Jongoria*, *Siberia*, or any of those North-East parts in Winter; being drawn on Sleds with Bucks, riding post day and night, if it be moon-light, and lodg on the Snow under Tents of Deer Skins in whatever place they find enough of white Moss to feed thir Sled-Stags, turning them loose to dig it up themselves out of the deep Snow: another *Samoed* stepping to the next Wood, brings in store of firing: round about which they lodg within thir Tents, leaving the top open to vent Smoak; in which manner they are as warm as the Stoves in *Russia*. They carry Provision of meat with them, and partake besides of what Fowl or Venison the *Samoed* kills with shooting by the way; thir drink is melted Snow. Two Deer being yok'd to a Sled riding post, will draw 200 miles in 24 hours without resting, and laden with thir Stuff will draw it 30 miles in 12.

548.

C H A P. III.

Of Tingoefia, and the Countries adjoining Eastward as far as Cathay.

BEYOND *Narim* and *Comgofcoi* the Souldiers of those Garisons travelling by appointment of the Russian Governour in the year 1605. found many goodly Countries not inhabited; many vast Deserts and Rivers, till at the end of ten weeks they spy'd certain Cottages and Herds, or companies of People, which came to them with reverent behaviour, and signify'd to the *Samoeds* and *Tartars*, which were Guides to the Russian Souldiers, that they were call'd *Tingoefi*; that thir dwelling was on the great River *Jenissey*. This River is said to be far bigger than *Ob*, distant from the Mouth thereof 4 days and nights sailing; and likewise falls into the Sea of *Naramzie*: it hath high Mountains on the East, som of which cast out Fire, to the West a plain and fertile Country, which in the spring time it overflows about 70 leagues; all that time the Inhabitants keep them in the Mountains, and then return with thir Cattel to the Plain. The *Tingoefi* are a very gentle Nation, they have great swoln Throats, like those in *Italy* that live under the *Alps*; at perswasion of the *Samoeds* they forthwith submitted to the Russian Government: and at thir request travelling the next year to discover still Eastward, they came at length to a River, which the Savages of that place call'd *Pisida*, somewhat less than *Jenissey*; beyond which hearing oft-times the towling of Brazen Bells, and sometimes the noise of Men and Horses, they durst not pass over; they saw there certain Sails afar off, square, and therefore suppos'd to be like *Indian* or *China* Sails, and the rather for that they report that great Guns have been heard shot off from those Vessels. In *April* and *May* they were much delighted with the fair prospect of that Country, replenish'd with many rare Trees, Plants and Flowers, Beasts and Fowl. Some think here to be the Borders of *Tangut* in the north of *Cathay*. Some of those *Samoeds* about the year 1610, travail'd so far till they came in view of a white City, and heard a great din of Bells, and report there came to them Men all arm'd in Iron from head to foot. And in the year 1611. divers out of *Cathay*, and others from *Alteen Czar*, who stiles himself the golden King, came and traded at *Zergolsta*, or *Surgoot*, on the River *Ob*, bringing with them Plates of Silver. Wherupon *Michael Phedorowick* the Russian Emperor, in the year 1619. sent certain of his people from *Tooma* to *Alteen*, and *Cathay*, who return'd with Ambassadors from those Princes. These relate, that from *Tooma* in ten days and a half, three days wherof over a Lake, where Rubies and Saphirs grow, they came to the *Alteen* King, or King of *Alty*; through his Land in five weeks they pass'd into the Country of *Sheromugaly*, or *Mugalla*, where reigned a Queen call'd *Manchica*; whence in four days they came to the Borders of *Cathay*, fenc'd with a stone Wall, 15 fathom high; along the side of which, having on the other hand many pretty Towns belonging to

Par. par. 3.
527.*Jenissey*.
527.
551.
546.
527.Manners.
Ibid.

528.

543.
546.

797.

Queen *Manobica*, they travail'd ten days without seeing any on the Wall till they came to the Gate; where they saw very great Ordnance lying, and 3000 men in watch. They traffic with other Nations at the Gate, and very few at once are suffered to enter. They were travelling from *Tooma* to this Gate 12 weeks; and from thence to the great City of *Cathay* ten days. Where being conducted to the House of Ambassadors, within a few days there came a Secretary from King *Tambur* with 200 Men well apparell'd, and riding on Asses, to feast them with divers sorts of Wine, and to demand thir Message; but having brought no Presents with them, they could not be admitted to his sight; only with his Letter to the Emperor they return'd as is aforesaid to *Tobolsca*. They report that the Land of *Mugalla* reaches from *Boghar* to the North Sea, and hath many Castles built of Stone four-square, with Towers at the Corners cover'd with glazed Tiles; and on the Gates Alarum-Bells, or Watch-Bells, twenty pound weight of Metal; thir Houses built also of Stone, the Ceelings cunningly painted with Flowers of all Colours. The People are Idolaters; the Country exceeding fruitful. They have Asses and Mules, but no Horses. The people of *Cathay* say that this great Wall stretches from *Boghar* to the North Sea, four months journey, with continual Towers a flight shot distant from each other, and Beacons on every Tower; and that this Wall is the bound between *Mugalla* and *Cathay*. In which are but five Gates; those narrow, and so low that a Horse-man sitting upright cannot ride in. Next to the Wall is the City *Shirokalga*; it hath a Castle well furnish'd with short Ordnance and small shot, which they who keep watch on the Gates, Towers and Walls, duly at Sun-set and rising discharge thrice over. The City abounds with rich Merchandize, Velvets, Damasks, Cloth of Gold and Tissue, with many sorts of Sugars. Like to this is the City *Tara*, thir Markets smell odoriferously with Spices, and *Tayth* more rich than that. *Shirooan* yet more magnificent, half a day's journey through, and exceeding populous. From hence to *Cathay* the Imperial City is two days journey, built of white stone four square, in circuit four days going, corner'd with four white Towers, very high and great, and others very fair along the Wall, white intermingl'd with blew, and Loop-holes furnisht with Ordnance. In midst of this white City stands a Castle built of Magnet, where the King dwels, in a sumptuous Palace, the top wherof is overlaid with Gold. The City stands on even ground encompass'd with the River *Tonga*, 7 days journey from the Sea. The People are very fair, but not warlike, delighting most in rich Traffick. These Relations are referr'd hither, because we have them from *Russians*; who report also, that there is a Sea beyond *Ob* so warm that all kind of Sea-Fowl live therabout as well in Winter as in Summer. Thus much briefly of the Sea and Lands between *Russia* and *Cathay*.

C H A P. IV.

Hac. vol. I.
221.

The Succession of Moscovia Dukes and Emperors, taken out of thir Chronicles by a Polack, with some later Additions.

THE Great Dukes of *Muscovy* derive thir Pedegree, though without ground, from *Augustus Caesar*: whom they fable to have sent certain of his Kindred to be Governours over many remote Provinces; and among them, *Prussus* over *Prussia*; him to have had his Seat on the eastern *Baltick* Shore by the River *Wixel*; of whom *Rurek*, *Sinaus*, and *Trunor* descended by the fourth Generation, were by the *Russians*, living then without Civil Government, sent for in the year 573. to bear rule over them, at the perswasion of *Gostomislus* chief Citizen of *Novogrod*. They therefore taking with them *Olecius* thir Kinsman, divided those Countries among themselves, and each in his Province taught them Civil Government.

Ivorson of *Rurek*, the rest dying without Issue, became Successor to them all; being left in nonage under the protection of *Olechus*. He took to Wife *Olba* Daughter to a Citizen of *Plesco*, of whom he begat *Stoflaus*; but after that being slain by his Enemies, *Olba* his Wife went to *Constantinople*, and was there baptiz'd *Helena*.

Stoflaus

Stoflaus fought many Battels with his Enemies ; but was at length by them slain, who made a Cup of his Scull engrav'n with this Sentence in Gold ; Seeking after other Mens he lost his own. His Sons were *Teropolchus*, *Olega* and *Volodimir*.

Volodimir having slain the other two, made himself sole Lord of *Russia* ; yet after that fact enclining to Christian Religion, had to Wife *Anna* Sister of *Basilus* and *Constantine* Greek Emperors ; and with all his People in the year 988, was baptiz'd, and call'd *Basilus*. Howbeit *Zonarus* reporteth that before that time *Basilus* the Greek Emperor sent a Bishop to them ; at whose preaching they not being mov'd, but requiring a Miracle, he after devout Prayers, taking the Book of Gospel into his hands, threw it before them all into the Fire ; which remaining there unconsum'd, they were converted.

988.

Volodimir had eleven Sons, among whom he divided his Kingdom ; *Borislus* and *Glebus* for thir holy Life register'd Saints ; and thir Feast kept every year in *November* with great solemnity. The rest, through contention to have the sole Government, ruin'd each other, leaving only *Jaroslaus* inheritor of all.

Volodimir Son of *Jaroslaus* kept his Residence in the antient City *Kiow* upon the River *Boristenes*. And after many conflicts with the Sons of his Uncles ; and having subdu'd all, was call'd *Monomachus*. He made war with *Constantine* the Greek Emperor, wasted *Thracia* ; and returning home with great spoils to prepare new War, was appeas'd by *Constantine*, who sent *Neophytus* Bishop of *Ephesus*, and *Eustathius* Abbot of *Jerusalem*, to present him with part of our Saviour's Cross, and other rich Gifts, and to salute him by the name of *Czar*, or *Cesar* ; with whom he thenceforth enter'd into league and amity.

After him in order of descent *Vuszevolodus*, *George*, *Demetrius*.

Then *George* his Son, who in the year 1237. was slain in battle by the Tartar Prince *Barby*, who subdu'd *Muscovia*, and made it tributary. From that time the Tartarians made such Dukes of *Russia*, as they thought would be most pliable to thir ends ; of whom they requir'd, as oft as Ambassadors came to him out of *Tartary*, to go out and meet them, and in his own Court to stand bare-headed, while they sate and deliver'd thir Message. At which time the Tartars wasted also *Polonia*, *Silesia*, and *Hungaria*, till Pope *Innocent* the Fourth obtain'd peace of them for 5 years. This *Bathy* say the *Russians* was the Father of *Tamerlan*, whom they call *Temirkutla*.

1237.

Then succeeded *Jaroslaus* the Brother of *George*, then *Alexander* his Son.

Daniel the Son of *Alexander* was he who first made the City of *Mosco* his Royal Seat, builded the Castle, and took on him the Title of Great Duke.

John the Son of *Daniel* was surnamed *Kaleta*, that word signifying a Scrip, out of which, continually carried about with him, he was wont to deal his Alms.

His Son *Simeon* dying without Issue left the Kingdom to *John* his next Brother ; and he to his Son *Demetrius*, who left two Sons, *Basilus* and *George*.

Basilus reigning had a Son of his own name, but doubting lest not of his own Body, through the supicion he had of his Wife's Chastity, him he disinherits, and gives the Dukedom to his Brother *George*.

George putting his Nephew *Basilus* in prison, reigns ; yet at his death, either through remorse or other cause, surrenders him the Dukedom.

Basilus unexpectedly thus attaining his supposed right, enjoy'd it not long in quiet ; for *Andrew* and *Demetrius* the two Sons of *George* counting it injury not to succeed thir Father, made war upon him, and surprizing him on a sudden, put out his Eyes. Notwithstanding which, the *Boiarens*, or Nobles kept thir Allegiance to the Duke though blind, whom therefore they call'd *Cziemnox*.

John Vasiliwich his Son was the first who brought the *Russian* name out of obscurity into renown. To secure his own Estate he put to death as many of his Kindred as were likely to pretend ; and stil'd himself great Duke of *Volodimiria*, *Muscovia*, *Novogardia*, *Czar* of all *Russia*. He won *Plesco* the only walled City in all *Muscovy*, and *Novogrod* the richest, from the *Lituanians*, to whom they had been subject 50 years before ; and from the latter carried home 300 Wag-gons laden with Treasure. He had war with *Alexander* King of *Poland*, and with the *Livonians* ; with him, on pretence of withdrawing his Daughter *Helen*, whom he had to wife, from the Greek Church to the *Romish* ; with the *Livonians* for no other cause, but to enlarge his bounds : though he were often

foil'd by *Plettebergius* great Master of the *Prussian* Knights. His Wife was Daughter to the Duke of *Tyversky*; of her he begat *John*, and to him resign'd his Dukedom, giving him to Wife the Daughter of *Steven*, Palatine of *Moldavia*, by whom he had Issue *Demetrius*, and deceas'd soon after. *Vasiliwich* therfore reassuming the Dukedom, married a second Wife, *Sophia* Daughter to *Thomas Palæologus*; who is said to have receiv'd her Dowry out of the Pope's Treasury, upon promise of the Duke to become *Romish*.

This Princess of a haughty mind, often complaining that she was married to the *Tartars* Vassal, at length by continual perswasions, and by a wile found means to ease her Husband, and his Country of that Yoke. For wheras till then the *Tartar* had his Procurators, who dwelt in the very Castle of *Mosco*, to oversee State-affairs, she fain'd that from Heaven she had been warn'd to build a Temple to Saint *Nicholas* on the same place where the *Tartar* Agents had thir House. Being therfore delivered of a Son, she made it her request to the Prince of *Tartary*, whom she had invited to the baptizing, that he would give her that House, which obtaining, she raz'd to the ground, and remov'd those Overseers out of the Castle; and so by degrees dispossest them of all which they held in *Russia*. She prevail'd also with her Husband to transfer the Dukedom from *Demetrius* the Son of *John* deceas'd to *Gabriel* his eldest by her.

Gabriel no sooner Duke, but chang'd his name to *Basilus*, and set his mind to do nobly; he recover'd great part of *Muscovy* from *Vitoldus* Duke of *Lituania*; and on the *Boristhenes* won *Smolensko* and many other Cities in the Year 1514. He divorc'd his first Wife, and of *Helena* Daughter to Duke *Gliniski* begat *Juan Vasiliwich*.

Juan Vasiliwich being left a Child, was committed to *George* his Uncle and Protector; at 25 years of age he vanquish'd the *Tartars* of *Cazan* and *Astracan*, bringing home with him thir Princes captive; made cruel War in *Livonia*, pretending right of inheritance. He seem'd exceedingly devout; and wheras the *Russians* in thir Churches use out of zeal and reverence to knock thir Heads against the ground, his Forehead was seldom free of swellings and bruises, and very often seen to bleed. The cause of his rigour in Government he alledg'd to be the malice and treachery of his Subjects. But some of the Nobles, incited by his cruelty, call'd in the *Crim Tartar*, who in the Year 1571. broke into *Russia*, burnt *Mosco* to the ground: He reigned 54 years, had three Sons, of which the eldest being strook on a time by his Father, with grief therof dy'd; his other Sons were *Pheodor* and *Demetrius*. In the time of *Juan Vasiliwich* the *English* came first by Sea into the north parts of *Russia*.

Horsey's Ob-
servations-
1571.

1584.
Hac. vol. 1.
Horsey.

Pheodor Juanowick being under age, was left to the protection of *Boris*, Brother to the young Empress, and third Son by adoption in the Emperour's Will. After 40 daies of mourning, the appointed time of Coronation being come, the Emperour issuing out of his Palace, the whole Clergy before him, enter'd with his Nobility the Church of *Blaveschina* or Blessedness; whence after Service to the Church of *Michael*, then to our Lady Church, being the Cathedral. In the midst wherof a Chair of Majesty was plac'd, and most unvaluable Garments put upon him; there also was the imperial Crown set on his Head by the Metropolitan, who out of a small Book in his hand read Exhortations to the Emperour of Justice and peaceable Government. After this rising from his Chair he was invested with an upper Robe, so thick with Orient Pearls and Stones, as weigh'd 200 pounds, the Train born up by 6 Dukes; his Staff imperial was of a Unicorn's Horn three foot and a half long, beset with rich Stones; his Globe and six Crowns carried before him by Princes of the Blood; his Horse at the Church door stood ready with a Covering of imbroidered Pearl, Saddle and all futable, to the value of 300000 Marks. There was a kind of Bridg made three waies, 150 fathom long, three foot high, two fathom broad, wheron the Emperor with his Train went from one Church to another above the infinite throng of People making loud Acclamations: At the Emperour's returning from those Churches they were spread under-foot with Cloth of Gold, the Porches with red Velvet, the Bridges with Scarlet and Stammel-cloth, all which, as the Emperour pass'd by, were cut and snatch't by them that stood next; besides new minted Coins of Gold and Silver cast among the People. The Empress in her Palace was plac't before a great open Window in rich and shining Robes, among her Ladies. After this the Emperor came into Parliament, where

where he had a Banquet serv'd by his Nobles in princely order ; two standing on either side his Chair with Battel-axes of Gold ; three of the next Rooms great and large, being set round with Plate of Gold and Silver, from the ground up to the roof. This Triumph lasted a week, wherein many royal Pastimes were seen : after which election was made of the Nobles to new Offices and Dignities. The conclusion of all was a Peal of 170 Brass Ordnance two miles without the City, and 20000 Harquebuzes twice over : and so the Emperour with at least 50000 Horse return'd through the City to his Palace, where all the Nobility, Officers, and Merchants brought him rich Presents. Shortly after the Emperour by direction of *Boris* conquer'd the large Country of *Siberia*, and took Prisoner the King therof : he remov'd also corrupt Officers and former Taxes. In sum, a great alteration in the Government follow'd, yet all quietly and without Tumult. These things reported abroad strook such awe into the neighbour Kings, that the *Crim Tartar*, with his Wives also, and many Nobles valiant and personable men, came to visit the *Russian*. There came also 12 hundred *Polish* Gentlemen, many *Circassians*, and People of other Nations to offer service ; Ambassadors from the *Turk*, the *Persian*, *Georgian*, and other *Tartar* Princes ; from *Almany*, *Poland*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*. But this glory lasted not long through the treachery of *Boris*, who procured the Death first of *Demetrius*, then of the Emperour himself, whereby the Imperial Race after the succession of 300 years was quite extinguish'd.

Boris adopted, as before was said, third Son to *Juan Vasilivich*, without impeachment now ascended the Throne ; but neither did he enjoy long what he had so wickedly compass'd, divine revenge raising up against him a Counterfeit of that *Demetrius* whom he had caus'd to be murdered at *Ouglets*. This Upstart, strength'd with many *Poles* and *Cossacks*, appears in arms to claim his right out of the hands of *Boris*, who sent against him an army of 200000 Men, many of whom revolted to this *Demetrius* : *Peter Basman* the General returning to *Mosco* with the empty Triumph of a reported Victory. But the Enemy still advancing, *Boris* one day, after a plentiful Meal, finding himself heavy and pain'd in his Stomach, laid him down on his Bed ; but ere his Doctors, who made great haste, came to him, was found speechless, and soon after dy'd with grief, as is suppos'd, of his ill success against *Demetrius*. Before his death, though it were speedy, he would be shorn, and new christn'd. He had but one Son, whom he lov'd so fondly, as not to suffer him out of sight ; using to say he was Lord and Father of his Son, and yet his Servant, yea his Slave. To gain the Peoples love, which he had lost by his ill getting the Empire, he us'd two Policies ; first he caus'd *Mosco* to be fired in four Places, that in the quenching therof he might shew his great care and tenderness of the People ; among whom he likewise distributed so much of his Bounty, as both new built thir Houses, and repair'd thir Lottes. At another time the People murmuring that the great Pestilence which had then swept away a third part of the Nation, was the punishment of thir electing him, a Murtherer, to reign over them, he built Galleries round about the utmost Wall of *Mosco*, and there appointed for one whole month 20000 pound to be given to the Poor, which well nigh stopt their Mouths. After the death of *Boris*, *Peter Basman*, thir only hope and refuge, though a young man, was sent again to the Wars, with him many *English*, *Scots*, *French*, and *Dutch* ; who all with the other General *Goleeche* fell off to the new *Demetrius*, whose Messengers coming now to the Suburbs of *Mosco*, were brought by the Multitude to that spacious Field before the Castle Gate, within which the Council were then sitting, many of whom were by the Peoples threatening call'd out and constrain'd to hear the Letters of *Demetrius* openly read : which, long ere the end, wrought so with the Multitude, that furiously they broke into the Castle, laying violence on all they met ; when strait appear'd coming towards them two Messengers of *Demetrius* formerly sent, pitifully whipt and roasted, which added to thir rage. Then was the whole City in an uproar, all the great Counselors Houses ransack't, especially of the *Godonova's*, the Kindred and Family of *Boris*. Such of the Nobles that were best belov'd, by entreaty prevail'd at length to put an end to this Tumult. The Empreſs flying to a safer place, had her Collar of Pearl pull'd from her Neck ; and by the next Message command was given to secure her with her Son and Daughter. Whereupon *Demetrius* by general consent was proclaim'd Emperour. The Empreſs

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now seeing all lost, counsel'd the Prince her Son to follow his Father's example, who, it seems, had dispatcht himself by Poyson; and with a desperate courage beginning the deadly Health, was pledg'd effectually by her Son; but the Daughter only sipping, escap'd. Others ascribe this deed to the secret Command of *Demetrius*, and Self-murder imputed to them, to avoid the envy of such a Command.

Demetrius Evanowich, for so he call'd himself, who succeeded, was credibly reported the Son of *Gregory Peupoloy* a *Russe* Gentleman, and in his younger years to have been shorn a Friar, but escaping from the Monastery, to have travail'd *Germany* and other Countries; but chiefly *Poland*: where he attain'd to good sufficiency in Arms and other Experience; which rais'd in him such high thoughts, as grounding on a common belief among the *Russians*, that the young *Demetrius* was not dead, but convey'd away, and their hatred against *Boris*, on this foundation with some other circumstances, to build his hopes no lower than an Empire; which on his first discovery found acceptation so generally, as planted him at length on the Royal Seat: but not so firmly as the fair beginning promis'd; for in a short while the *Russians* finding themselves abus'd by an impostor, on the sixth day after his Marriage, observing when his Guard of *Poles* were most secure, rushing into the Palace before break of day, drag'd him out of his Bed, and when he had confess'd the fraud, pull'd him to pieces; with him *Peter Basman* was also slain, and both thir dead Bodies laid open in the Market-place. He was of no presence, but otherwise of a princely disposition; too bountiful, which occasion'd some exactions; in other matters a great lover of Justice, not unworthy the Empire which he had gotten, and lost only through greatness of mind, neglecting the Conspiracy, which he knew the *Russians* were plotting. Some say thir hatred grew, for that they saw him alienated from the *Russian* Manners and Religion, having made *Buchinskoy* a learned Protestant his Secretary. Some report from *Gilbert's* relation, who was a *Scot*, and Captain of his Guard, thit lying on his Bed awake, not long before the Conspiracy, he saw the appearance of an aged man coming toward him, at which he rose, and call'd to them that watch'd; but they denied to have seen any such pass by them. He returning to his Bed, and within an hour after troubl'd again with the same Apparition, sent for *Buchinskoy*, telling him he had now twice the same night seen an aged man, who at his second coming told him, that though he were a good Prince of himself, yet for the injustice and oppression of his inferiour Ministers, his Empire should be taken from him. The Secretary counsell'd him to embrace true Religion, affirming that for lack therof his Officers were so corrupt. The Emperor seem'd to be much mov'd, and to intend what was perswaded him. But a few daies after, the other Secretary, a *Russian*, came to him with a drawn Sword, of which the Emperour made slight at first; but he after bold words assaulted him, strait seconded by other Conspirators, crying Liberty. *Gilbert* with many of the Guard oversuddenly surpris'd, retreated to *Coluga* a Town which they fortify'd; most of the other Strangers were massacred, except the *Englishe*, whose mediation sav'd also *Buchinskoy*. *Shusky* who succeeded him reports in a Letter to King *James* otherwise of him; that his right name was *Gryshca* the Son of *Boughdam*; that to escape punishment for Villanies done, he turn'd Fryar, and fell at last to the Black Art; and fearing that the Metropolitan intended therefore to imprison him, fled into *Lettow*; where by counsel of *Sigismund* the *Poland* King, he began to call himself *Demetry* of *Oughlts*; and by many Libels and Spies privily sent into *Mosco*, gave out the same; that many Letters and Messengers therupon were sent from *Boris* into *Poland*, and from the Patriarch, to acquaint them who the Runagate was: but the *Polanders* giving them no credit, furnisht him the more with Arms and Money, notwithstanding the League; and sent the Palatine *Sandamersky*, and other Lords to accompany him into *Russia*, gaining also a Prince of the *Crim Tartars* to his aid; that the Army of *Boris* hearing of his sudden death, yielded to this *Gryshca*, who taking to wife the Daughter of *Sandamersko*, attempted to root out the *Russian* Clergy, and to bring in the *Romish* Religion, for which purpose many Jesuits came along with him. Wherupon *Shusky* with the Nobles and Metropolitans conspiring against him, in half a year gather'd all the Forces of *Moscovia*, and surprising him found writing under his own hand all these his intentions; Letters also from the Pope and Cardinals to the same effect, not only to set up the Religion of *Rome*, but to force it upon all, with death to them that refus'd.

Vasily Evvanovich Shusky, after the slaughter of *Demetry* or *Gryshca*, was elected Emperor, having not long before been at the Block for reporting to have seen the true *Demetrius* dead and buried ; but *Gryshca* not only recall'd him, but advanc'd him to be the instrument of his own ruin. He was then about the age of 50 ; nobly descended, never married, of great wisdom reputed, a favourer of the *English* ; for he sav'd them from rising in the former Tumults. Some say he modestly refus'd the Crown, till by lot four times together it fell to him ; *Purc. par. 3.* yet after that growing jealous of his Title, remov'd by Poyson and other means 762, &c. all the Nobles that were like to stand his Rivals ; and is said to have consulted with Witches of the *Samoeds*, *Lappians*, and *Tartarians*, about the same fears ; and being warn'd of one *Michalowich* to have put to death three of that name, yet a fourth was reserv'd by Fate to succeed him, being then a Youth attendant in the Court, one of those that held the golden Axes, and least suspected. But before that time he also was supplanted by another reviving *Demetrius* brought in by the *Poles* ; whose counterfeited Hand, and strange relating of privatest Circumstances, had almost deceiv'd *Gilbert* himself, had not thir Persons been utterly unlike ; but *Gryshca's* Wife so far believ'd him for her Husband, as to receive him to her Bed. *Shusky* besieg'd in his Castle of *Mosco*, was adventrouslly supply'd with some Powder and Ammunition by the *English* ; and with 2000 *French*, *English* and *Scots*, with other Forces from *Charles* King of *Sweden*. The *English* after many miseries of Cold, and Hunger, and assaults by the way, deserted by the *French*, yielded most of them to the *Pole* near *Smolensko*, and serv'd him against the *Russ*. Mean while this second *Demetrius* being now rejected by the *Poles*, with those *Russians* that sided with him, laid siege to *Mosco* : *Zolkiewsky* for *Sigismund* King of *Poland* beleaguers on the other side with forty thousand Men, whereof 1500 *English*, *Scotch* and *French*. *Shusky* despairing success, betakes him to a Monastery ; but with the City is yielded to the *Pole*, who turns now his force against the Counterfeit *Demetrius* ; he seeking to fly, is by a *Tartar* slain in his Camp. *Smolensko* held out a Siege of two years, then surrendr'd. *Shusky* the Emperor carried away into *Poland*, there ended miserably in prison. But before his departure out of *Muscovy* the *Polanders* in his name sending for the chief Nobility, as to a last farewell, cause them to be entertain'd in a secret place, and there dispatch'd : by this means the easier to subdue the People. Yet the *Poles* were starv'd at length out of those Places in *Mosco* which they had fortify'd. Wherin the *Russians* who besieg'd them, found, as is reported, 60 Barrels of Man's Flesh powdered, being the Bodies of such as *Jansenius.* dy'd among them, or were slain in fight.

After which the Empire of *Russia* broke to pieces, the prey of such as could catch, every one naming himself, and striving to be accounted that *Demetrius* of *Ouglits*. Some chose *Uladislaus* King *Sigismund's* Son, but he not accepting, they fell to a popular Government, killing all the Nobles under pretence of favouring the *Poles*. Some overtures of receiving them were made, as some say, to King *James*, and Sir *John Meric* and Sir *William Russel* imploy'd therein. Thus *Russia* remaining in this confusion, it happ'nd that a mean man, a Butcher dwelling in the North about *Duina*, inveighing against the baseness of *Purc. par. 3.* thir Nobility, and the corruption of Officers, uttered words, that if they 790. would but choose a faithful Treasurer to pay well the Souldiers, and a good General (naming one *Pozarsky* a poor Gentleman, who after good service don liv'd not far off retir'd and neglected) that then he doubted not to drive out the *Poles*. The People assent, and choose that General ; the Butcher they make thir Treasurer, who both so well discharg'd thir Places, that with an Army soon gather'd they raise the siege of *Mosco*, which the *Polanders* had renew'd ; and with *Boris Licin*, another great Souldier of that Country, fall into consultation about the choice of an Emperour, and chose at last *Michalowich*, or *Michael Phedorowich*, the fatal Youth, whose name *Shusky* so fear'd.

Michael Phedorowich thus elected by the valour of *Pozarsky* and *Boris Licin*, made them both Generals of his Forces, joining with them another great Commander of the *Cossacks*, whose aid had much befriended him ; the Butcher also was made a Counsellor of State. Finally a Peace was made up between the *Russians* and the *Poles* ; and that partly by the mediation of King *James*.

C H A P. V.

The first discovery of Russia by the North East, 1553, with the English Embassies and Entertainments at that Court, until the year 1604.

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243. 234.

THE Discovery of *Russia* by the Northern Ocean, made first of any Nation that we know by *English*-men, might have seem'd an Enterprize almost heroic, if any higher end than the excessive love of Gain and Traffick, had animated the design. Nevertheless that in regard that many things not unprofitable to the knowledge of Nature, and other Observations are hereby come to light, as good events oftentimes arise from evil occasions, it will not be the worst labour to relate briefly the beginning, and prosecution of this adventurous Voyage, until it became at last a familiar Passage.

When our Merchants perceiv'd the Commodities of *England* to be in small request abroad, and foreign Merchandize to grow higher in esteem and value than before, they began to think with themselves how this might be remedied. And seeing how the *Spaniards* and *Portugals* had encreas'd their Wealth by discovery of new Trades and Countries, they resolv'd upon some new and strange Navigation. At the same time *Sebastian Chabota*, a man for the knowledge of Sea-affairs much renown'd in those days, happen'd to be in *London*. With him first they consult; and by his advice conclude to furnish out three Ships for the search and discovery of the northern parts. And having heard that a certain Worm is bred in that Ocean, which many times eateth through the strongest Oak, they contrive to cover some part of the Keel of those Ships with thin sheets of Lead; and victual them for 18 months; allowing equally to their journey, their stay, and their return. Arms also they provide, and store of Munition with sufficient Captains and Governours for so great an Enterprize. To which among many, and some void of experience that offer'd themselves, Sir *Hugh Willowby* a valiant Gentleman earnestly requested to have the charge. Of whom before all others both for his goodly personage, and singular skill in the services of War, they made choice to be Admiral, and of *Richard Chancellor*, a man greatly esteem'd for his skill, to be chief Pilot. This man was brought up by Mr. *Henry Sidney*, afterwards Deputy of *Ireland*, who coming where the Adventurers were gather'd together, though then a young man, with a grave and eloquent Speech commended *Chancellor* unto them.

After this, they omitted no enquiry after any person that might inform them concerning those North-easterly parts to which the Voyage tended; and two *Tartarians* then of the Kings's Stable were sent for; but they were able to answer nothing to purpose. So, after much debate, it was concluded that by the 20th of May the Ships should depart. Being come near *Greenwich*, where the Court then lay, presently the Courtiers came running out, the Privy Council at the Windows, the rest on the Towers and Battlements. The Mariners all apparell'd in watchet or sky-coloured Cloth, discharge their Ordnance; the noise wherof, and of the People shouting, is answer'd from the Hills and Waters with as loud an Echo: Only the good King *Edward*, then sick, beheld not this sight, but dy'd soon after. From hence putting into *Harwich*, they staid long, and lost much time. At length passing by *Shetland*, they kenn'd a far off *Ægeland*, being an innumerable sort of Islands call'd *Rost Islands* in 66 degrees. Thence to *Lofoot* in 68, to *Seinam* in 70 degrees; these Islands belong all to the Crown of *Denmark*. Whence departing, Sir *Hugh Willowby* set out his Flag, by which he call'd together the chief men of his other Ships to counsel; where they conclude, in case they happen'd to be scatter'd by Tempest, that *Wardhouse* a noted Haven in *Finmark* be the appointed place of their meeting. The very same day afternoon so great a Tempest arose, that the Ships were some driv'n one way, some another in great peril. The General with his loudest voice call'd to *Chancellor* not to be far from him; but in vain, for the Admiral failing much better than his Ship, and bearing all her Sails, was carried with great swiftness soon out of sight; but before that, the Ship-boat striking against her Ship was overwhelmed in view of the *Bonaventure*, wherof *Chancellor* was Captain. The third Ship also in the same Storm was lost. But Sir

Sir *Hugh Willowby* escaping that Storm, and wandering on those desolate Seas till the 18th of *September*, put into a Haven where they had weather as in the depth of Winter; and there determining to abide till Spring, sent out three men South-West to find Inhabitants; who journey'd three days, but found none; then other three went Westward four days journey, and lastly three South East three days; but they all returning without news of People, or any sign of Habitation, Sir *Hugh* with the Company of his two Ships abode there till *January*, as appears by a Will since found in one of the Ships; but then perish'd all with cold. This River or Haven was *Arzina* in *Lapland* near to *Kegor*, where they were Hac. 464. found dead the year after by certain *Russian* Fishermen. Wherof the *English* Agent at *Mosco* having notice, sent and recover'd the Ships with the dead Bodies and most of the Goods, and sent them for *England*; but the Ships being unstaunch, as is suppos'd, by thir two years wintring in *Lapland*, sunk by the way with thir dead, and them also that brought them. But now *Chancellor* with his Ship and Company thus left, shap'd his course to *Wardhouse*, the place agreed on to expect the rest; where having staid seven days without tidings of them, he resolves at length to hold on his Voyage; and sail'd so far till he found no night, but continual day and Sun clearly shining on that huge and vast Sea for certain days. At length they enter into a great Bay, nam'd, as they knew after, from Saint *Nicholas*; and spying a Fisherman, made after him to know what People they were. The Fishermen amaz'd with the greatness of his Ship, to them a strange and new sight, sought to fly; but overtak'n, in great fear they prostrate themselves, and offer to kiss his feet; but he raising them up with all signs and gestures of courtesie, sought to win thir Friendship. They no sooner dismiss, but spread abroad the arrival of a strange Nation, whose humanity they spake of with great affection; wherupon the People running together, with like return of all courteous usage receive them; offering them Victuals freely; nor refusing to traffick, but for a Loyal Custom which bound them from that, without first the consent had of thir King. After mutual demands of each other's Nation, they found themselves to be in *Russia*, where *Juan Vasilivich* at that time reign'd Emperor. To whom privily the Governour of that place sending notice of the strange Guests that were arriv'd, held in the mean while our Men in what suspence he could. The Emperor well pleas'd with so unexpected a Message, invites them to his Court, offering them Post-horses at his own charge, or if the journey seem'd overlong, that they might freely traffic where they were. But ere this Messenger could return, having lost his way, the *Muscovites* themselves, loth that our men should depart which they made shew to do, furnish'd them with Guides and other Conveniences to bring them to thir King's Presence. *Chancellor* had now gon more than half his journey, when the Sled-man sent to Court meets him on the way; delivers him the Emperor's Letters; which when the *Russes* understood, so willing they were, to obey the Contents therof, that they quarrell'd and strove who should have the preferment to put his Horses to the Sled. So after a long and troublesom journey of 1500 miles he arrived at *Mosco*. After he had remain'd in the City about 12 days, a Messenger was sent to bring them to the King's House. Being enter'd within the Court-Gates, and brought into an outward Chamber, they beheld there a very honourable Company, to the number of a hunder'd, sitting all apparell'd in Cloth of gold down to thir Anles: next conducted to the Chamber of Presence, there sate the Emperor on a lofty and very Royal Throne; on his Head a Diadem of gold, his Robe all of Goldsmiths work, in his Hand a Chrystal Sceptre garnish'd and beset with precious Stones; no less was his Countenance full of Majesty. Beside him stood his chief Secretary; on his other side the great Commander of silence, both in Cloth of gold; then sate his Council of 150 round about on high Seats, clad all as richly. *Chancellor* nothing abash'd, made his obeysance to the Emperor after the *English* manner. The Emperor having taken and read his Letters, after some enquiry of King *Edward's* Health, invit-ed them to dinner, and till then dismiss'd them. But before dismissal the Secretary presented thir Present bare-headed; till which time they were all cover'd; and before admittance our men had charge not to speak, but when the Emperor demanded ought. Having sat two hours in the Secretary's Chamber, they were at length call'd in to dinner; where the Emperor was set at Table,

now in a Robe of Silver, and another Crown on his Head. This place was call'd the golden Palace, but without cause, for the *English*-men had seen many fairer ; round about the room, but at distance, were other long Tables ; in the midst a Cupboard of huge and massy goblets, and other Vessels of gold and silver ; among the rest four great Flagons nigh two yards high, wrought in the top with devices of Towers and Dragons heads. The Guests ascended to thir Tables by three steps ; all apparell'd in Linen, and that lin'd with rich Furs. The Messes came in without order, but all in Chargers of Gold, both to the Emperor, and to the rest that din'd there, which were two hundred Persons ; on every Board also were set Cups of gold without number. The Servitors one hundred and forty were likewise array'd in gold, and waited with Caps on thir heads. They that are in high favour, sit on the same Bench with the Emperor, but far off. Before Meat came in, according to the custom of thir Kings, he sent to every Guest a slice of Bread ; whom the Officer naming, saith thus, *John Basilivich* Emperor of *Russ*, &c. doth reward thee with Bread, at which words all men stand up. Then were Swans in several pieces serv'd in, each piece in a several Dish, which the Great Duke sends about as the Bread, and so likewise the Drink. In dinner time he twice chang'd his Crown, his Waiters thrice thir Apparel ; to whom the Emperor in like manner gives both Bread and Drink with his own hands ; which they say is done to the intent that he may perfectly know his own Household ; and indeed when Dinner was done, he call'd his Nobles every one before him by name ; and by this time Candles were brought in, for it grew dark ; and the *English* departed to thir Lodgings from Dinner, an hour within night.

Hac. 258.
263. 455.

286.

In the year 1555. *Chancelor* made another Voyage to this place with Letters from Queen *Mary* ; had a House in *Mosco*, and Diet appointed him ; and was soon admitted to the Emperor's Prefence in a large room spread with Carpets ; at his entring and salutation all stood up, the Emperor only sitting, except when the Queen's Name was read or spoken ; for then he himself would rise : at Dinner he sat bareheaded, his Crown and rich Cap standing on a Pinnacle by. *Chancelor* returning for *England*, *Osep Napea* Governour of *Wologda* came in his Ship Amballador from the *Russe* ; but suffering Shipwrack in *Pettislego*, a Bay in *Scotland*, *Chancelor*, who took more care to save the Ambassador than himself, was drown'd, the Ship rifled, and most of her lading made booty by the People therabout.

310, &c.

In the year 1557. *Osep Napea* returned into his Country with *Anthony Jenkinson* who had the command of four tall Ships. He reports of a Whirlpool between the *Rest Islands* and *Losoot* call'd *Malestrand* ; which from half ebb till half flood is heard to make such a terrible noise, as shakes the Door-rings of Houses in those Islands ten mile off ; Wales that come within the Current thereof make a pitiful cry ; Trees carried in and cast out again, have the ends and boughs of them so beaten, as they seem likethe stalks of bruized Hemp. About *Zeinam* they saw many Whales very monstrous hard by thir Ships ; wherof some by estimation sixty foot long ; they roard hideously, it being then the time of thir engendring. At *Wardhouse* he saith the Cattel are fed with Fish. Coming to *Mosco*, he found the Emperor sitting aloft in a Chair of State, richly Crown'd, a Staff of gold in his hand wrought with costly stone. Distant from him sat his Brother, and a Youth the Emperor's Son of *Casan*, whom the *Russ* had conquer'd ; there din'd with him diverse Ambassadors, Christian and Heathen, diversly apparell'd ; his Brother with some of the chief Nobles sat with him at Table : the Guests were in all six hundred. In Dinner-time came in six Musicians, and standing in the midst, sung three several times, but with little or no delight to our men ; there din'd at the same time in other Halls two thousand *Tartars* who came to serve the Duke in his Wars. The *English* were set at a small Table by themselves direct before the Emperor ; who sent them diverse Bowls of Wine and Meath, and many Dishes from his own hand : the Messes were but mean, but the change of Wines and several Meaths were wonderful. As oft as they din'd with the Emperor, he sent for them in the morning, and invited them with his own Mouth. On *Christmas*-day being invited, they had for other provision as before ; but for store of gold and silver Plate excessive ; among which were twelve Barrels of silver, hoop'd with fine gold, containing twelve gallons a piece.

317.

1560. Was the first English traffick to the *Narve* in *Livonia*, till then conceal'd by *Danishers* and *Lubeckers*.

1561. The same *Anthony Jenkinson* made another Voyage to *Mosco*; and arriv'd while the Emperor was celebrating his Marriage with a *Circassian* Lady; during which time the City Gates for three days were kept shut; and all men whatsoever straitly commanded to keep within thir Houses, except some of his Household; the cause wherof is not known.

1566. He made again the same Voyage; which now men usually made in a month from *London* to *Saint Nicholas* with good Winds, being seven hundred and fifty leagues.

1568. *Thomas Randolph*, Esq; went Ambassador to *Muscovy*, from Queen *Elizabeth*; and in his passage by Sea met nothing remarkable save great store of Whales, whom they might see engendring together; and the *Sperma-ceti* swimming on the Water. At *Colmogro* he was met by a Gentleman from the Emperor, at whose charge he was conducted to *Mosco*: but met there by no man, not so much as the *English*; lodg'd in a fair House built for Ambassadors; but there confin'd upon some suspicion which the Emperor had conceav'd; sent for at length after seventeen weeks delay, was fain to ride thither on a borrow'd Horse, his men on foot. In a Chamber before the Presence were sitting about three hundred Persons, all in rich Robes taken out of the Emperor's Wardrobe for that day; they sat on three ranks of Benches, rather for shew than that the Persons were of honour; being Merchants and other mean Inhabitants. The Ambassador saluted them, but by them unsaluted pass'd on with his Head cover'd. At the Presence-door being receiv'd by two which had been his Guardians, and brought into the midst, he was there will'd to stand still, and speak his message from the Queen; at whose name the Emperor stood up, and demanded her health: then giving the Ambassador his Hand to kiss, fell to many questions. The Present being deliver'd, which was a great silver Bowl curiously grav'n, the Emperor told him he did not that day openly because of great affairs; but, saith he, I will send thee my Dinner, and augment thy Allowance. And so dismissing him, sent a Duke richly apparell'd soon after to his Lodging with fifty Persons, each of them carrying Meat in silver Dishes cover'd; which himself deliver'd into the Ambassador's own hands, tasting first of every Dish, and every sort of Drink; that don, set him down with his Company, took part, and went not thence unrewarded. The Emperor sent back with this Ambassador another of his own call'd *Andrew Savin*.

1571. *Jenkinson* made a third Voyage; but was staid long at *Colmogro* by reason of the Plague in those Parts; at length had audience where the Court then was, near to *Peregrave*; to which place the Emperor was return'd from his *Sredish* War with ill success: and *Mosco* the same year had been wholly burnt by the *Crim*; in it the *English* house, and diverse *English* were smother'd in the Sellars, multitudes of people in the City perish'd, all that were young led captive with exceeding spoil.

1583. *Ivan Basilovich* having the year before sent his Ambassador *Pheodor Andrich* about matters of Commerce, the Queen made choice of Sir *Ferom Bowes*, one of her Household, to go into *Russia*; who being attended with more than 40 Persons, and accompanied with the *Russe* returning home, arriv'd at *St. Nicholas*. The *Dutch* by this time had intruded into the *Muscovy* Trade; which by privilege long before had been granted solely to the *English*; and had corrupted to thir side *Shalkan* the Chancellor, with others of the great ones; who so wrought, that a Creature of thir own was sent to meet Sir *Ferom* at *Colmogro*; and to offer him occasions of dislike: Until at *Vologda* he was receiv'd by another from the Emperor; and at *Yerastave* by a Duke well accompanied, who presented him with a Coach and ten Geldings. Two miles from *Mosco* met him four Gentlemen with two hundred horse, who after short salutation, told him what they had to say from the Emperor, willing him to alight, which the Ambassador soon refus'd, unless they also lighted; wheron they stood long debating; at length agreed, great dispute follow'd, whose foot should first touch the ground. Thir Message deliver'd, and then embracing, they conducted the Ambassador to a house at *Mosco*, built for him purposely. At his going to Court he and his followers honorably mounted and apparell'd, the Emperor's Guard were set on either side all the way about 6000 shot. At the Court gate met him four

Noblemen in cloth of Gold, and rich Fur-caps, embroider'd with Pearl and Stone ; then four others of greater degree, in which passage there stood along the Walls, and sat on Benches seven or eight hundred men in colour'd Sattins and gold. At the Presence-door met him the chief Herald, and with him all the great Officers of Court, who brought him where the Emperor sat : there were set by him three Crowns of *Muscovy*, *Cazan* and *Astracan* ; on each side stood two young Noblemen, costly apparell'd in white ; each of them had a broad Ax on his shoulder ; on the Benches round sat above a hundred Noblemen. Having giv'n the Ambassador his hand to kiss, and enquir'd of the Queen's health, he will'd him to go sit in the place provided for him, nigh ten paces distant ; from thence to send him the Queen's Letters and Present. Which the Ambassador thinking not reasonable, step'd forward ; but the Chancellor meeting him, would have tak'n his Letters ; to whom the Ambassador said, that the Queen had directed no Letters to him ; and so went on and deliver'd them to the Emperor's own hands ; and after a short withdrawing into the Council-Chamber, where he had Conference with som of the Council, he was call'd in to dinner : about the midst wherof, the Emperor standing up, drank a deep Carouse to the Queen's Health, and sent to the Ambassador a great Bowl of Rhenish Wine to pledg him. But at several times being call'd for to treat about Affairs, and not yielding ought beyond his Commission, the Emperor not wont to be gain-say'd, one day especially broke into passion, and with a stern Countenance told him, he did not reckon the Queen to be his fellow : for there are, quoth he, her betters. The Ambassador not holding it his part, whatever danger might ensue, to hear any derogate from the Majesty of his Princess, with like courage and countenance told him, that the Queen was equal to any in Christendom who thought himself greatest ; and wanted not means to offend her Enemies whomsoever. Yea, quoth he, what saist thou of the *French* and *Spanish* Kings ? I hold her, quoth the Ambassador, equal to either. Then what to the *German* Emperor ? Her Father, quoth he, had the Emperor in his pay. This answer missik'd the Duke so far, as that he told him, were he not an Ambassador, he would throw him out of doors. You may, said the Ambassador do your will, for I am now fast in your Country ; but the Queen I doubt not will know how to be reveng'd of any injury offer'd to her Ambassador. Wherat the Emperor in great sudden bid him get home ; and he with no more reverence than such usage requir'd, saluted the Emperor, and went his way. Notwithstanding this, the *Muscovite*, soon as his mood left him, spake to them that stood by, many praises of the Ambassador, wishing he had such a Servant, and presently after sent his chief Secretary to tell him that whatever had pass'd in words, yet for his great respect to the Queen, he would shortly after dispatch him with honour and full contentment, and in the mean while he much enlarg'd his entertainment. He also desir'd that the Points of our Religion might be set down, and caus'd them to be read to his Nobility with much approbation. And as the year before he had sought in marriage the Lady *Mary Hastings*, which took not effect, the Lady and her Friends excusing it, he now again renu'd the motion to take to Wife some one of the Queen's Kinswomen, either by sending an Ambassage, or going himself with his Treasure into *England*. Now happy was that Nobleman whom Sir *Jerom Bows* in public favour'd ; unhappy they who had oppos'd him : for the Emperor had beaten *Shalkan* the Chancellor very grievously for that cause, and threatn'd not to leave one of his race alive. But the Emperor dying soon after of a Surfeit, *Shalkan*, to whom then almost the whole Government was committed, caus'd the Ambassador to remain close Prisoner in his House nine weeks. Being sent for at length to have his dispatch, and slightly enough conducted to the Council-Chamber, he was told by *Shalkan* that this Emperor would condescend to no other agreements than were between his Father and the Queen before his coming : and so disarming both him and his Company, brought them to the Emperor with many affronts in thir passage, for which there was no help but patience. The Emperor saying but over what the Chancellor had said before, offer'd him a Letter for the Queen : which the Ambassador, knowing it contain'd nothing to the purpose of his Embassy, refus'd, till he saw his danger grow too great ; nor was he suffer'd to reply, or have his Interpreter. *Shalkan* sent him word that now the *English* Emperor was dead ; and hasten'd his departure, but with

so many disgraces put upon him, as made him fear some mischief in his journey to the Sea ; having only one mean Gentleman sent with him to be his Convoy : he commanded the *English* Merchants in the Queen's name to accompany him, but such was his danger, that they durst not. So arming himself and his Followers in the best wise he could, against any outrage, he at length recover'd the Shoar of Saint *Nicholas*. Where he now resolv'd to send them back by his Conduct some of the affronts which he had receiv'd. Ready therfore to take Ship, he causes three or four of his valiantest and discreetest men to take the Emperor's Letter, and disgraceful Present, and to deliver it, or leave it at the Lodging of his Convoy, which they safely did ; though follow'd with a great Tumult of such as would have forc'd them to take it back.

1584. At the Coronation of *Pheodor* the Emperor, *Jerom Horsey* being then Agent in *Russia*, and call'd for to Court with one *John de Wale* a Merchant of the *Netherlands* and a Subject of *Spain*, some of the Nobles would have prefer'd the *Fleming* before the *English*. But to that our Agent would in no case agree, saying he would rather have his Legs cut off by the Knees, than bring his Present in course after a Subject of *Spain*. The Emperor and Prince *Boris* perceiving the Controversy, gave order to admit *Horsey* first : who was dismiss'd with large Promises, and seventy Messes with three Carts of several Meath sent after him.

1588. Dr. *Giles Fletcher* went Ambassador from the Queen to *Pheodor* then Emperor ; whose Relations being judicious and exact, are best read entirely by themselves. This Emperor upon report of the great Learning of *John Dee* the Mathematician, invited him to *Mosco* with offer of two thousand pounds a year, and from Prince *Boris* one thousand Marks ; to have his Provision from the Emperor's Table, to be honourably receiv'd, and accounted as one of the chief men in the Land. All which *Dee* accepted not.

1604. Sir *Thomas Smith* was sent Ambassador from King *James* to *Boris* then Emperor ; and staid some days at a place five miles from *Mosco* till he was honourably receiv'd into the City ; met on horseback by many thousands of Gentlemen and Nobles on both sides the way ; where the Ambassador alighting from his Coach, and mounted on his Horse, rode with his Trumpets sounding before him ; till a Gentleman of the Emperor's Stable brought him a Gennet gorgeously trapt with Gold, Pearl and Stone, especially with a great Chain of plated Gold about his Neck, and Horses richly adorn'd for his Followers. Then came three great Noblemen with an Interpreter offering a Speech ; but the Ambassador deeming it to be ceremony, with a brief Compliment found means to put it by. Thus alighting all, they saluted, and gave hands mutually. Those three after a tedious preamble of the Emperor's Title thrice repeated, brought a several Compliment of three words apiece, as namely, the first, To know how the King did ; the next, How the Ambassador ; the third, That there was a fair House provided him. Then on they went on either hand of the Ambassador, and about six thousand Gallants behind them ; still met within the City by more of greater quality to the very Gate of his lodging : where fifty Gunners were his daily Guard both at home and abroad. The Prestaves, or Gentlemen assign'd to have the care of his entertainment, were earnest to have had the Ambassador's Speech and Message given them in writing, that the Interpreter, as they pretended, might the better translate it ; but he admonish'd them of their foolish demand. On the day of his audience other Gennets were sent him and his Attendants to ride on, and two white Palfreys to draw a rich Chariot, which was parcel of the Present ; the rest wherof was carried by his Followers through a lane of the Emperor's Guard ; many Messengers posting up and down the while, till they came through the great Castle, to the uttermost Court-gate. There met by a great Duke, they were brought up stairs through a stone-gallery, where stood on each hand many in fair Coats of *Persian* Stuff, Velvet and Damask. The Ambassador by two other Counsellors being led into the presence, after his obeysance don, was to stay and hear again the long Title repeated ; then the particular Presents ; and so deliver'd as much of his Embassage as was then requisite. After which the Emperor arising from his Throne, demanded of the King's health ; so did the young Prince. The Ambassador then deliver'd his Letters into the Emperor's own hand, though the Chancellor offer'd to have taken them. He bore the Majesty of a mighty Emperor ; his Crown and Sceptre of pure Gold, a Collar of Pearls about his Neck,

Neck, his Garment of crimson Velvet embroider'd with precious Stone and Gold. On his right Side stood a fair Globe of beaten Gold on a Pyramis with a Cross upon it; to which before he spake, turning a little he crost himself. Not much less in splendor on another Throne sat the Prince. By the Emperor stood two Noblemen in Cloth of Silver, high Caps of black Fur, and Chains of gold hanging to thir Feet; on thir Shoulders two Poleaxes of gold, and two of silver by the Prince; the ground was all cover'd with Arras or Tapisstry. Dismiss'd, and brought in again to dinner, they saw the Emperor and his Son seated in state, ready to dine; each with a Skull of Pearl on thir bare Heads, thir Vestments chang'd. In the midst of this Hall seem'd to stand a Pillar heap'd round to a great height with massy Plate curiously wrought with Beasts, Fishes and Fowl. The Emperor's Table was serv'd with two hundred Noblemen in Coats of gold; the Princes Table with young Dukes of *Casan*, *Astracan*, *Siberia*, *Tartaria* and *Circassia*. The Emperor sent from his Table to the Ambassador, thirty dishes of Meat, to each a Loaf of extraordinary fine Bread. Then follow'd a number more of strange and rare dishes pil'd up by half dozens, with boil'd, roast and bak't, most part of them besaw'd with Garlick and Onions. In midst of dinner calling the Ambassador up to him, he drank the King's health, who receiving it from his hand, return'd to his place, and in the same Cup being of fair Chrystal pledg'd it with all his Company. After dinner they were call'd up to drink of excellent and strong Meath from the Emperor's hand; of which when many did but sip, he urg'd it not; saying he was best pleas'd with what was most for thir health. Yet after that, the same day he sent a great and glorious Duke, one of them that held the golden Poleax with his Retinue, and sundry sorts of Meath to drink merrily with the Ambassador, which some of the *English* did, until the Duke and his Followers light-headed, but well rewarded with thirty yards of Cloth of gold, and two standing Cups, departed. At second audience the Ambassador had like reception as before: and being dismiss'd, had dinner sent after him with three hundred several dishes of Fish, it being Lent, of such strangeness, greatness and goodness, as scarce would be credible to report. The Ambassador departing, was brought a mile out of the City with like honour as he was first met; where lighting from the Emperor's Sled, he took him to his Coach, made fast upon a Sled; the rest to thir Sleds, an easy and pleasant passage.

Names of the Authors from whence these Relations have been taken; being all either Eye-witneses, or immediate Relaters from such as were.

THE *Journal of Sir Hugh Willowby.*
Discourse of Richard Chancellor.
Another of Clement Adams taken from the mouth of Chancellor.
Notes of Richard Johnson, Servant to Chancellor.
The Protonotaries Register.
Two Letters of Mr. Hen. Lane.
Several Voyages of Jenkinson.
Southam and Sparks.
The Journal of Randolph the Ambassador.
Another of Sir Jerom Bowes.
The Coronation of Pheodor written by Jerom Horsey.
Gourdon of Hull's Voyage to Pechora.
The Voyage of William Pursglove to Pechora.
Of Josias Logan.
Hessel Gerardus, out of Purchas, part 3. l. 3.
Russian Relations in Purch. 797. ibid. 806. ibid.
The Embassy of Sir Thomas Smith.
Papers of Mr. Hackluit.
Janfonius.

A

D E C L A R A T I O N,

O R,

Letters Patents for the Election
of this present

King of POLAND

J O H N the Third,

Elected on the 22d of May last past, Anno Dom. 1674.

C O N T A I N I N G

The Reasons of this Election, the great Vertues
and Merits of the said Serene Elect, his eminent Services
in War, especially in his last great Victory against the
Turks and **Tartars**, wherof many Particulars are
here related, not published before.

Now faithfully translated from the Latin Copy.

*In the name of the most Holy and Individual Trinity, the Father, Son,
and Holy Spirit.*

WE ANDREW TREZEBICKI, Bishop of Cracovia, Duke of Severia,
JOHN GEMBICKI of Vladislav and Pomerania, &c. Bishops to the
number of Ten.

STANISLAUS WARSZYCKI, Castellan of Cracovia; ALEXANDER MI-
CHAEL LUBOMIRSKI of Cracovia, &c. Palatins to the number of 23.

CHRISTOPHERUS GRZYMALTOUSKI of Posnania, ALEXANDER
GRATUS de Tarnow of Sandimer: Castellans to the number of 24.

HILAREUS POLUBINSKI, High Marshal of the great Dukedom of Litua-
nia, CHRISTOPHERUS PAC, High-Chancellor of the great Dukedom of Li-
thuania, Senators and great Officers, to the number of 75.

WE Declare by these our present Letters unto all and single Per-
sons whom it may concern: Our Commonwealth being again
left widowed by the unseasonable Death of that famous MI-
CHAEL late King of Poland, who having scarce reigned full
five years, on the tenth day of November, of the year last past, at Leopold, chang-
ed his fading Crown for one Immortal; in the sense of so mournful a Funeral
and fresh Calamity, yet with an undaunted Courage, mindful of her self in the
midst of Dangers, forbore not to seek Remedies, that the World may under-
stand

stand she grows in the midst of her losses ; it pleased her to begin her Counsels of preserving her Country, and delivering it from the utmost chances of an Interreign, from the Divine Deity (as it were by the only motion of whose Finger, it is easie that Kingdoms be transferred from Nation to Nation, and Kings from the lowest state to Thrones ; and therefore the business was begun according to our Country-Laws, and Ancestors Institutions. After the Convocation of all the States of the Kingdom ended, in the month of *February* at *Warsaw*, by the common consent of all those States, on the day decreed for the Election the 20th of *April* : At the report of this famous Act, as though a Trumpet had been sounded, and a Trophy of Vertue erected, the wishes and desires of Forein Princes came forth of their own accord into the Field of the *Polonian* Liberty, in a famous strife of Merits and good-will towards the Commonwealth, every one bringing thir Ornaments, Advantages and Gifts to the Commonwealth : but the Commonwealth becoming more diligent by the prodigal ambition used in the last Interreign and Factions, and disagreeings of minds, nor careless of the future, considered with her self whether firm or doubtful things were promised, and whether she should seem from the present state to transfer both the old and new Honours of *Poland* into the possession of strangers, or the military Glory, and thir late unheard of Victory over the *Turks*, and Blood spilt in the war, upon the purple of some unwarlike Prince ; as if any one could so soon put on the love of the Country, and that *Poland* was not so much an enemy to her own Nation and Fame, as to favour strangers more than her own ; and Valour being found in her, should suffer a Guest of new Power to wax proud in her : therefore she thenceforth turned her thoughts upon som one in her own Nation, and at length abolished (as she began in the former Election) that reproach cast upon her, under pretence of a secret Maxim, *That none can be elected King of Poland, but such as are born out of Poland* ; neither did she seek long among her Citizens whom she should prefer above the rest (for this was no uncertain or suspended Election, there was no place for delay) ; for although in the equality of our Nobles many might be elected, yet the vertue of a Hero appeared above his equals : therefore the eyes and minds of all men were willingly, and by a certain divine instinct turned upon the High Marshal of the Kingdom, Captain of the Army, *John Sobieski*. The admirable vertue of the Man, the High Power of Marshal in the Court, with his supreme command in Arms, Senatorial Honour, with his civil Modesty, the extraordinary Splendor of his Birth and Fortune, with open Courtesie, Piety towards God, Love to his Fellow-Citizens in words and deeds, Constancy, Faithfulness, and Clemency towards his very enemies, and what noble things soever can be said of a Hero, did lay such Golden Chains on the Minds and Tongues of all, that the Senate and People of *Poland* and of the great Dukedom of *Lithuania*, with Suffrages and agreeing Voices named and chose him thir KING ; not with his seeking or precipitate counsel, but with mature Deliberations continued and extended till the third day.

Certainly it conduced much for the honour of the most serene Elect, the Confirmation of a free Election, and the eternal praise of the People electing, that the great business of an Age was not transacted in one day, or in the shadow of the night, or by one casual heat : for it was not right that a Hero of the Age should in a moment of time (and as it were by the cast of a Die) be made a King, whenas Antiquity by an ancient Proverb has delivered, that *Hercules* was not begot in one night ; and it hath taught that Election should shine openly under a cleer Sky in the open Light.

The most serene Elect took it modestly that his Nomination should be deferred till the third day, plainly shewing to endeavour, lest his sudden facility of assent being suspected, might detract from thir Judgment, and the World might be enforced to believe by a more certain Argument, that he that was so chosen was elected without his own ambition, or the envy of corrupted Liberty ; or was it by the appointed Counsel of God that this debate continued three whole days, from *Saturday* till *Munday*, as if the *Cotimian* Victory (begun on the *Saturday*, and at length on the third day after accomplished, after the taking of the *Cotimian* Castle) had been a lucky presage of his Royal Reward ; or, as if with an auspicious *Omen*, the third day of Election had alluded to the Regal name of *JOHN* the Third.

The famous Glory of War paved his way to the Crown, and confirmed the favour of Suffrages to his most serene Elect. He the first of all the *Polonians* shewed that the *Scythian* swiftness (troublesom heretofore to all the Monarchies of the World) might be repressed by a standing Fight, and the terrible main Battalion of the *Turk* might be broken and routed at one stroke. That we may pass by in silence the antient Rudiments of Warfare which he stoutly and gloriously managed under the Conduct and Authority of another, against the *Swedes*, *Moscovites*, *Borussians*, *Transylvanians*, and *Cossacks*: though about sixty Cities taken by him from the *Cossacks* be less noised in the mouth of Fame; yet these often and prosperous Battels were a *Prelude* to greatest Victories in the memory of man. Miriads of *Tartars* had overrun within this six years with thir plundering Troops the Coast of *Podolia*, when a small force and some shattered Legions were not sufficient against the hostile assault, yet our General knowing not to yield, shut himself up (by a new stratagem of War) in *Podhajecy*, a strait Castle, and fortified in haste, wherby he might exclude the cruel destruction which was hastening into the bowels of the Kingdom, by which means the Barbarian deluded and routed, took Conditions of Peace; as if he had made his inroad for this only purpose, that he might bring to the most serene Elect matter of Glory, Victory.

For these four last years the famous Victories of *Sobieski* have signalized every year of his warlike Command on the *Cossacks* and *Tartarians* both joined together, the most strong Province of *Braclavia*, as far as it lies between *Hypanis* and *Tyras*, with thir Cities and warlike people, were won from the *Cossack* Enemy.

And those things are beyond belief which two years ago the most serene Elect, after the taking of *Lamnick* (being undaunted by the Siege of *Laopolis*) performed to a miracle by the hardness and fortitude of the *Polonian* Army, scarce consisting of three thousand men, in the continual course of five days and nights, sustaining life without any food, except wild herbs; setting upon the *Tartarians*, he made famous the names of *Narulum*, *Niemirovia*, *Konarnum*, *Kalussia*, obscure Towns before, by a great Overthrow of the Barbarians. He slew three Sultans of the *Crim Tartars*, descended of the royal *Gietian* Family, and so trampled on that great force of the *Scythians*, that in these later years they could not regain thir Courage, or recollect the Forces. But the felicity of this last Autumn exceeded all his Victories; whenas the Fortifications at *Chocim*, famous of old, were possessed and fortified by above forty thousand Turks, in which three and forty years ago the *Polonians* had sustained and repressed the Forces of the *Ottoman* Family, drawn together out of *Asia*, *Africa*, and *Europe*, fell to the ground within a few hours, by the only (under God) imperatorious Valour and Prudence of *Sobieski*; for he counted it his chief part to go about the Watches, order the Stations, and personally to inspect the preparations of warlike Ordinance, to encourage the Soldiers with voice, hands, and countenance, wearied with hunger, badness of weather, and three days standing in Arms; and he (which is most to be admired) on Foot at the head of the Foot-forces made through, and forced his way to the Battery, hazard-ing his life devoted to God and his Country; and therupon made a cruel slaughter within the Camp and Fortifications of the Enemy; while the desperation of the *Turks* whetted thir valour, and he performed the part of a most provident and valiant Captain: at which time three *Bashaws* were slain, the fourth scarce passed with difficulty the swift River of *Tyras*; eight thousand *Janizaries*, twenty thousand chosen *Spahies*, besides the more common Souldiers were cut off; the whole Camp with all thir Ammunition, and great Ordnance, besides the *Assyrian* and *Phrygian* Wealth of luxurious *Asia*, were taken and pillaged; the famous Castle of *Cotimia*, and the Bridg over *Tyras*, strong Fortresses, equal to Castles on each side the River, were additions to the Victory. Why therefore should not such renown'd Heroic Valour be crowned with the legal reward of a *Diadem*? All *Christendom* have gon before us in example, which being arrived to the recovery of *Jerusalem* under the conduct of *Godfrey of Bulloin*, on thir own accord gave him that Kingdom, for that he first scaled the walls of that City. Our most serene Elect is not inferior, for he first also ascended two main Fortresses of the Enemy.

The moment of time adorns this Victory unheard of in many ages, the most serene King *Michael* dying the day before, as it were signifying thereby that he

gave way to so great Valour, as if it were by his command and favour, that this Conqueror might so much the more gloriously succeed from the Helmet to the Crown, from the Commander's Staff to the Scepter, from his lying in the Field to the Regal Throne.

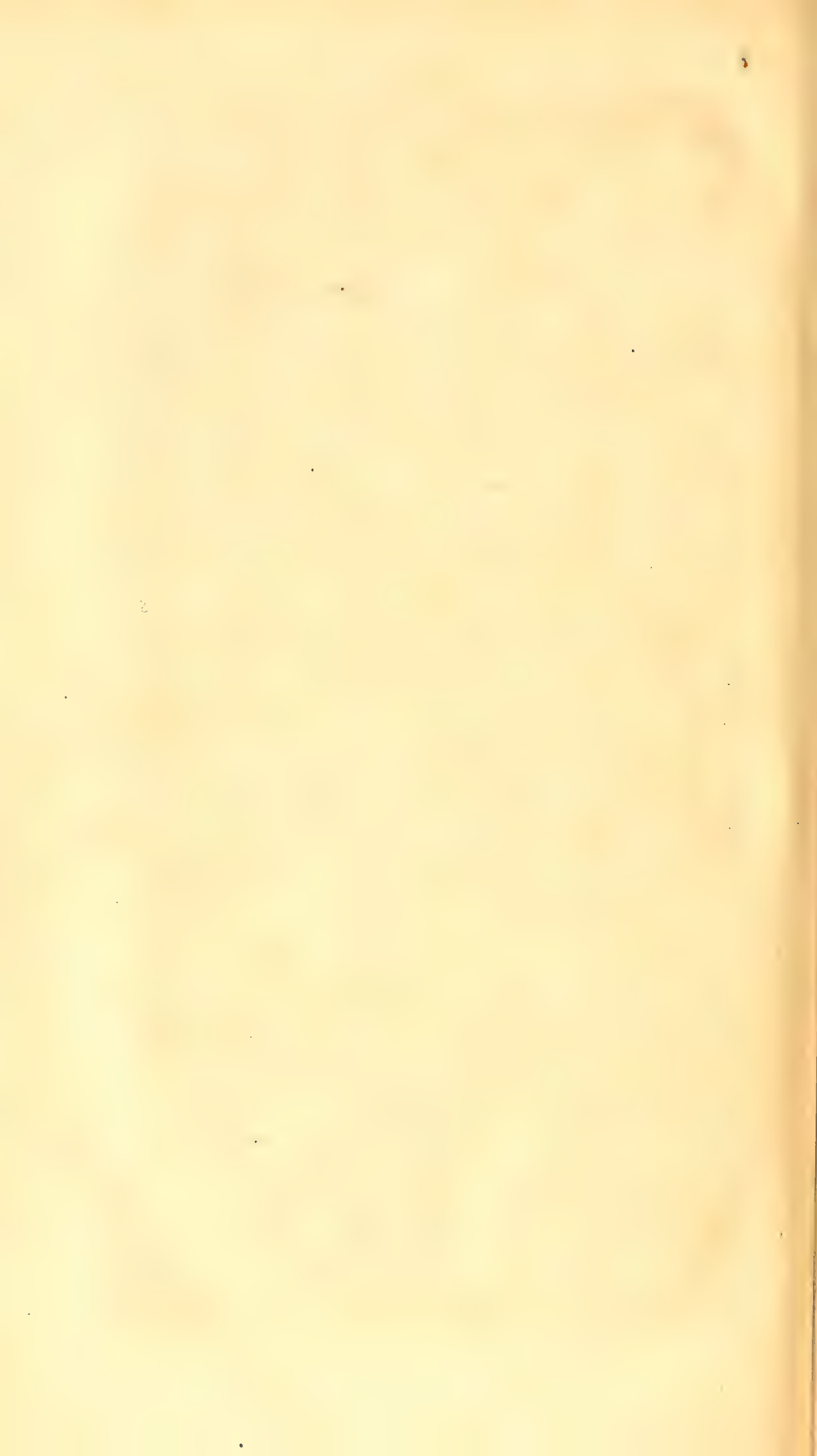
The Commonwealth recalled the grateful and never to be forgotten memory of his renowned Father, the most Illustrious and excellent *James Sobieski*, Castellan of *Cracovia*, a Man to be written of with sedulous care, who by his Golden Eloquence in the publick Councils, and by his hand in the Scene of War, had so often amplified the State of the Commonwealth, and defended it with the Arms of his Family. Neither can we believe it happened without Divine Providence, that in the same place wherein forty years ago his renowned Father, Embassador of the *Polonian* Commonwealth, had made Peace and Covnants with *Cimannus* the Turkish General, his great Son should revenge with his Sword the Peace broke (Heaven it self upbraiding the perfidious Enemy). The rest of his Grandfires and Great-Grandfires, and innumerable Names of famous Senators and great Officers have as it were brought forth light to the serene Elect by the emulous Greatness and Glory of his Mother's descent, especially *Stanislaus Zelkiewius*, High Chancellor of the Kingdom, and General of the Army, at whose Grave in the Neighbouring fields, in which by the Turkish rage in the year 1620 he died, his victorious Nephew took full revenge by so remarkable an overthrow of the Enemy: The immortal valour and fatal fall of his most noble Uncle *Stanislaus Danilowitius* in the year 1635, Palatin of *Russia*, doubled the Glory of his Ancestors; whom desirous of Honour, and not induring that sluggish Peace wherein *Poland* then slept secure, Valour and youthful Heat accited at his own expence and private forces into the Tauric fields; that by his footing, and the antient warlike *Polonian* Disciplin, he might lead and point the way to these merits of *Sobieski*, and being slain by *Cantimiz* the Tartarian Cham, in revenge of his Son by him slain, he might by his Noble Blood give lustre to this Regal Purple. Neither hath the people of *Poland* forgot the most illustrious *Marcus Sobieski* elder Brother of our most serene Elect, who when the *Polonian* Army at *Batto* was routed by the Barbarians, although occasion was offer'd him of escape, yet chose rather to die in the overthrow of such valiant men, a Sacrifice for his Country, then to buy his life with a dishonourable retreat; perhaps the divine Judgment so disposing, whose order is, that persons pass away and fail, and causes and events happen again the same; that by the repeated fate of the *Hunniades*, the elder Brother of great hopes removed by a lamented slaughter, might leave to his younger Brother surviving the readier passage to the Throne. That therefore which we pray may be happy, auspicious, and fortunate to our Orthodox Commonwealth, and to all Christendom, with free and unanimous Votes, none opposing, all consenting and applauding, by the right of our free Election, notwithstanding the absence of those which have been called and not appeared; We being led by no private respect, but having only before our eyes the Glory of God, the increase of the antient Catholick Church, the safety of the Commonwealth, and the dignity of the *Polish* Nation and Name, have thought fit to elect, create, and name, *JOHN* in *Zolkiew* and *Zloczew Sobieski*, Supreme Marshal General of the Kingdom, General of the Armies, Governour of *Neva*, *Bara*, *Strya*, *Loprovient*, and *Kalussien*, most eminently adorned with so high endowments, merits and splendor, to be KING of *Poland*, Grand-Duke of *Lituania*, *Russia*, *Prussia*, *Mazovia*, *Samogitia*, *Kyovia*, *Volhinnia*, *Padlachia*, *Podolia*, *Livonia*, *Smolensko*, *Severia*, and *Czerniechovia*, as we have elected, created, declared, and named him: I the aforesaid Bishop of *Cracovia* (the Archiepiscopal See being vacant) exercising the Office and Authority of Primat, and by consent of all the States thrice demanded, opposed by none, by all and every one approved, conclude the Election; promising faithfully that we will always perform to the same most serene and potent Elect Prince, Lord *John the third*, our King, the same Faith, Subjection, Obedience, and Loyalty, according to our Rights and Liberties, as we have performed to his blessed Ancestor, as also that we will crown the same most serene Elect in the next Assembly at *Cracovia*, to that end ordained, as our true King and Lord, with the Regal Diadem, with which the Kings of *Poland* were wont to be crown'd, and after the manner which the *Roman* Catholic Church before-time hath observed in anointing and inaugurating Kings, We will

will anoint and inaugurate him: Yet so as he shall hold fast and observe first of all the Rights, Immunities both Ecclesiastical and Secular, granted and given to us by his Ancestor of blessed memory; as also these Laws which we our selves in the time of this present and former Inter-reign, according to the Right of our Liberty, and better preservation of the Commonwealth, have established. And if moreover the most Serene Elect will bind himself by an Oath to perform the conditions concluded with those persons sent by his Majesty before the exhibition of this present Decree of Election, and will provide in best manner for the performance of them by his authentick Letters; which Decree of Election we by Divine aid desirous to put in execution, do send by common consent, to deliver it into the hands of the most Serene Elect, the most illustrious and reverend Lord Bishop of *Cracovia*, together with some Senators and chief Officers, and the illustrious and magnificent *Benedictus Sapiel*, Treasurer of the Court of the Great Dukedom of *Lithuania*, Marshal of the *Equestrian* Order; committing to them the same Decree of intimating an Oath, upon the aforesaid premises, and receiving his Subscription; and at length to give and deliver the same Decree into the hands of the said Elect, and to act and perform all other things which this Affair requires. In assurance wherof the Seals of the Lords Senators, and those of the *Equestrian* Order deputed to sign, are here affixed.

Given by the hands of the most illustrious and reverend Father in Christ, the Lord *Andrew Olszonski*, Bishop of *Culma* and *Pomifania*, High Chancellor of the Kingdom, in the general ordinary Assembly of the Kingdom, and great Dukedom of *Lithuania*, for the Election of the new King. *Warsaw* the 22^d day of *May*, in the year of our Lord 1674.

In the presence of *Franciscus Praszmowski*, Provost of *Guesna*, Abbot of *Sieciethovia*, chief Secretary of the Kingdom; *Joannes Malachowski*, Abbot of *Mogila*, Referendary of the Kingdom, &c. with other great Officers of the Kingdom and Clergy, to the number of fourscore and two. And the rest very many great Officers, Captains, Secretaries, Courtiers, and Inhabitants of the Kingdom, and Great Dukedom of *Lithuania*, gathered together at *Warsaw* to the present Assembly of the Election of the Kingdom and great Dukedom of *Lithuania*.

Assistants at the solemn Oath taken of his sacred Majesty on the 5th day of the Month of *June*, in the Palace at *Warsaw*, after the Letters Patents delivered upon the Covenants, and Agreements, or Capitulations, the most Reverend and Excellent Lord *Francisco Bonvisi*, Archbishop of *Theffalonica*, Apostolick Nuntio; Count *Christopherus a Scaffgotsch*, *Cæcæus Tuffanus de Forbin*, de *Jafon*, Bishop of *Marseilles* in *France*, *Joannes* free-barron *Hoverbec*, from the Marquess of *Brandenburg*, Embassadors, and other Envoys and Ministers of State.



O F E D U C A T I O N.

To Master *Samuel Hartlib.*

S I R,

I Am long since perswaded, that to say or do ought worth memory and imitation, no purpose or respect should sooner move us then simply the love of God, and of mankind. Nevertheless to write now the reforming of Education, though it be one of the greatest and noblest designs that can be thought on, and for the want wherof this Nation perishes, I had not yet at this time been induc't, but by your earnest entreaties, and serious conjurements; as having my mind for the present half diverted in the pursuance of some other assertions, the knowledg and the use of which cannot but be a great furtherance both to the enlargement of truth, and honest living with much more peace. Nor should the laws of any private friendship have prevail'd with me to divide thus, or transpose my former thoughts, but that I see those aims, those actions which have won you with me the esteem of a Person sent hither by some good providence from a far Country to be the occasion and the incitement of great good to this Iland. And, as I hear, you have obtain'd the same repute with men of most approved wisdom, and some of highest authority among us. Not to mention the learned correspondence which you hold in forein parts, and the extraordinary pains and diligence which you have us'd in this matter both here and beyond the Seas; either by the definite will of God so ruling, or the peculiar sway of nature, which also is God's working. Neither can I think that so reputed, and so valu'd as you are, you would to the forfeit of your own discerning ability, impose upon me an unfit and over-ponderous argument, but that the satisfaction which you profess to have receiv'd from those incidental Discourses which we have wander'd into, hath prest and almost constrain'd you into a perswasion, that what you require from me in this point, I neither ought, nor can in conscience defer beyond this time both of so much need at once, and so much opportunity to try what God hath determin'd. I will not resist therefore whatever it is, either of divine or human obligation, that you lay upon me; but will forthwith set down in writing, as you request me, that voluntary *Idea*, which hath long in silence presented it self to me, of a better Education, in extent and comprehension far more large, and yet of time far shorter, and of attainment far more certain, then hath been yet in practice. Brief I shall endeavour to be; for that which I have to say, assuredly this Nation hath extream need should be done sooner then spoken. To tell you therefore what I have benefited herein among old renowned Authors, I shall spare; and to search what many modern *Janua's* and *Didactics* more then ever I shall read, have projected, my inclination leads me not. But if you can accept of these few Observations which have flowr'd off, and are as it were the burnishing of many studious and contemplative years altogether spent in the search of religious and civil knowledg, and such as pleas'd you so well in the relating, I here give you them to dispose of.

The end then of Learning is to repair the ruins of our first Parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledg to love him, to imitate him, to be like him, as we may the nearest by possessing our souls of true vertue, which being united to the heavenly Grace or Faith, makes up the highest perfection. But because our understanding cannot in this body found it self but on sensible things, nor arrive so clearly to the knowledg of God and things invisible, as by orderly conning over the visible and inferior creature, the same method is necessarily to be follow'd in all discreet teaching. And seeing every Nation affords not experience and tradition enough for all kind of Learning, therefore we are chiefly taught

taught the Languages of those people who have at any time been most industrious after Wisdom ; so that Language is but the Instrument conveying to us things useful to be known. And though a Linguist should pride himself to have all the Tongues that *Babel* cleft the world into, yet if he have not studied the solid things in them as well as the Words and Lexicons, he were nothing so much to be esteem'd a learned man, as any Yeoman or Tradesman competently wise in his Mother-Dialect only. Hence appear the many mistakes which have made Learning generally so unpleasing and so unsuccessful ; first we do amiss to spend seven or eight years meerly in scraping together so much miserable Latin and Greek, as might be learnt otherwise easily and delightfully in one year. And that which casts our proficiency therein so much behind, is our time lost partly in too oft idle vacancies given both to Schools and Universities, partly in a preposterous exaction, forcing the empty wits of Children to compose Theams, Verses and Orations, which are the acts of ripest judgment, and the final work of a head fill'd by long reading and observing, with elegant maxims, and copious invention. These are not matters to be wrung from poor striplings, like blood out of the nose, or the plucking of untimely fruit : besides the ill habit which they get of wretched barbarizing against the Latin and Greek *idiom*, with thir untutor'd *Anglicisms*, odious to be read, yet not to be avoided without a well continued and judicious conversing among pure Authors digested, which they scarce taste ; whereas, if after some preparatory grounds of speech by thir certain forms got into memory, they were led to the praxis thereof in some chosen short book lesson'd thoroughly to them, they might then forthwith proceed to learn the substance of good things, and Arts in due order, which would bring the whole Language quickly into thir power. This I take to be the most rational and most profitable way of learning Languages, and whereby we may best hope to give account to God of our youth spent herein. And for the usual method of teaching Arts, I deem it to be an old error of Universities, not yet well recover'd from the Scholastic grossness of barbarous ages, that instead of beginning with Arts most easy, and those be such as are most obvious to the sense, they present thir young unmatriculated Novices at first coming with the most intellective abstractions of Logic and Metaphysics : so that they having but newly left those Grammatic Flats and Shallows where they stuck unreasonably to learn a few words with lamentable construction, and now on the sudden transported under another climat to be toss'd and turmoil'd with thir unballasted wits in fadomless and unquiet deeps of Controversy, do for the most part grow into hatred and contempt of Learning, mockt and deluded all this while with ragged Notions and Babblements, while they expected worthy and delightful knowledg ; till poverty or youthful years call them importunately thir several ways, and hasten them with the sway of friends either to an ambitious and mercenary, or ignorantly zealous Divinity ; some allur'd to the trade of Law, grounding thir purposes not on the prudent and heavenly Contemplation of Justice and Equity which was never taught them, but on the promising and pleasing thoughts of litigious terms, fat contentions, and flowing fees ; others betake them to State-affairs, with souls so unprincip'd in virtue, and true generous breeding, that flattery and Court-shifts and tyrannous Aphorisms appear to them the highest points of wisdom ; instilling thir barren Hearts with a conscientious slavery, if as I rather think, it be not fain'd. Others lastly of a more delicious and airie spirit, retire themselves, knowing no better, to the enjoiments, of ease and luxury, living out thir days in feast and jollity ; which indeed is the wisest and the safest course of all these, unless they were with more integrity undertaken. And these are the fruits of mispending our prime youth at the Schools and Universities as we do, either in learning meer words, or such things chiefly as were better unlearn't.

I shall detain you no longer in the demonstration of what we should not do, but strait conduct ye to a hill side, where I will point ye out the right path of a vertuous and noble Education ; laborious indeed at the first ascent, but else so smooth, so green, so full of goodly prospect, and melodious sounds on every side, that the harp of *Orpheus* was not more charming. I doubt not but ye shall have more ado to drive our dullest and laziest youth, our stocks and stubs, from the infinite desire of such a happy nurture, then we have now to hale and drag our choicest and hopefulest wits to that asinine feast of sowthistles and bramble

brambles which is commonly set before them, as all the food and entertainment of thir tenderest and most docible age. I call therfore a compleat and generous Education, that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously all the offices both private and public of Peace and War. And how all this may be don between twelve, and one and twenty, less time then is now bestow'd in pure trifling at Grammar and *Sophistry*, is to be thus order'd.

First to find out a spacious house and ground about it fit for an *Academy*, and big enough to lodg a hundred and fifty persons, wherof twenty or therabout may be attendants, all under the government of one, who shall be thought of desert sufficient, and ability either to do all, or wisely to direct and oversee it don. This place should be at once both School and University, not needing a remove to any other house of Scholership, except it be som peculiar Colledg of Law, or Physick, where they mean to be Practitioners; but as for those general studies which take up all our time from *Lilly* to the commencing, as they term it, Master of Art, it should be absolute. After this pattern, as many Edifices may be converted to this use as shall be needful in every City throughout this Land, which would tend much to the encrease of Learning and Civility every where. This number, less or more thus collected, to the convenience of a foot Company, or interchangeably two Troops of Cavalry, should divide thir days work into three parts as it lies orderly. Thir Studies, thir Exercise, and thir Diet.

For thir Studies. First they should begin with the chief and necessary rules of som good Grammar, either that now us'd, or any better: and while this is doing, thir speech is to be fashion'd to a distinct and clear pronuntiation, as near as may be to the *Italian*, especially in the Vowels. For we *Englishmen* being far Northerly, do not open our mouths in the cold air, wide enough to grace a Southern Tongue; but are observ'd by all other Nations to speak exceeding close and inward: so that to smatter Latin with an English mouth, is as ill a hearing as Law-French. Next to make them expert in the usefulest points of Grammar, and withal to season them and win them early to the love of Vertue and true Labour, e're any flattering seducement, or vain principle seize them wandering, som easy and delightful Book of Education would be read to them; wherof the Greeks have store, as *Cebes*, *Plutarch*, and other Socratic Discourses. But in Latin we have none of classic authority extant, except the two or three first Books of *Quintilian*, and some select pieces elsewhere. But here the main skill and groundwork will be, to temper them such Lectures and Explanations upon every opportunity, as may lead and draw them in willing obedience, enflam'd with the study of Learning, and the admiration of Vertue; stir'd up with high hopes of living to be brave Men, and worthy Patriots, dear to God, and famous to all Ages. That they may despise and scorn all thir childish and ill-taught qualities, to delight in manly and liberal Exercises: which he who hath the Art and proper Eloquence to catch them with, what with mild and effectual perswasions, and what with the intimation of som fear, if need be, but chiefly by his own example, might in a short space gain them to an incredible diligence and courage: infusing into thir young breasts such an ingenuous and noble ardor, as would not fail to make many of them renowned and matchless men. At the same time som other hour of the day, might be taught them the rules of Arithmetick, and soon after the Elements of Geometry, even playing, as the old manner was. After evening repast, till bed-time, thir thoughts would be best taken up in the easy grounds of Religion, and the story of Scripture. The next step would be to the Authors of *Agriculture*, *Cato*, *Varro*, and *Columella*, for the matter is most easy; and if the language be difficult, so much the better it is not a difficulty above thir years. And here will be an occasion of inciting and inabling them hereafter to improve the tillage of thir Country, to recover the bad Soil, and to remedy the waste that is made of good; for this was one of *Hercules's* praises. E're half these Authors be read (which will soon be with plying hard and daily) they cannot chuse but be masters of any ordinary prose. So that it will be then seasonable for them to learn in any modern Author the use of the Globes, and all the Maps; first with the old names, and then with the new, or they might be then capable to read any compendious method of natural Philosophy. And at the same time might be entring into the Greek tongue, after the same manner as was before prescrib'd in the Latin; wherby the difficulties of Grammar being soon overcom, all the Historical Physiology of *Aristotle*

Plotle and *Theophrastus* are open before them, and as I may say, under contribution. The like access will be to *Vitruvius*, to *Seneca's* natural questions, to *Mela*, *Celsus*, *Pliny*, or *Solinus*. And having thus past the principles of *Arithmetic*, *Geometry*, *Astronomy*, and *Geography* with a general compact of *Physic*, they may descend in *Mathematics* to the instrumental science of *Trigonometry*, and from thence to *Fortification*, *Architecture*, *Enginry*, or *Navigation*. And in natural *Philosophy* they may proceed leisurely from the *History* of *Meteors*, *Minerals*, *Plants* and living *Creatures* as far as *Anatomy*. Then also in course might be read to them out of som not tedious Writer the *Institution* of *Physic*; that they may know the tempers, the humours, the seasons, and how to manage a *Crudity*: which he who can wisely and timely do, is not only a great *Physician* to himself and to his friends, but also may at sometime or other, save an *Army* by this frugal and expensless means only; and not let the healthy and stout bodies of young men rot away under him for want of this *Disciplin*; which is a great pity, and no less a shame to the *Commander*. To set forward all these proceedings in *Nature* and *Mathematics*, what hinders but that they may procure, as oft as shall be needful, the helpful experiences of *Hunters*, *Fowlers*, *Fishermen*, *Shepherds*, *Gardeners*, *Apothecaries*; and in the other *Sciences*, *Architects*, *Engineers*, *Mariners*, *Anatomists*; who doubtless would be ready, som for reward, and som to favour such a hopeful *Seminary*. And this will give them such a real tincture of natural knowledg, as they shall never forget, but daily augment with delight. Then also those *Poets* which are now counted most hard, will be both facil and pleasant, *Orpheus*, *Hesiod*, *Theocritus*, *Aratus*, *Nicander*, *Oppian*, *Dionysius*, and in Latin *Lucretius*, *Manilius*, and the rural part of *Virgil*.

By this time, years and good general precepts will have furnisht them more distinctly with that act of reason which in *Ethics* is call'd *Proairesis*: that they may with som judgment contemplate upon moral good and evil. Then will be requir'd a special reinforcement of constant and sound endoctrinating to set them right and firm, instructing them more amply in the knowledg of *Vertue* and the hatred of *Vice*: while thir young and pliant affections are led through all the moral works of *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, *Laertius*, and those *Locrian* remnants; but still to be reduc't in thir nightward studies wherewith they close the days work, under the determinate sentence of *David* or *Salomon*, or the *Evanges* and *Apostolic* *Scriptures*. Being perfect in the knowledg of personal duty, they may then begin the study of *Economics*. And either now or before this they may have easily learnt at any odd hour the *Italian* Tongue. And soon after, but with wariness and good antidote, it would be wholsom enough to let them taste som choice *Comedies*, *Greek*, *Latin*, or *Italian*: Those *Tragedies* also that treat of Household matters, as *Trachinia*, *Alcestis*, and the like. The next remove must be to the study of *Politics*; to know the beginning, end, and reasons of *Political* *Societies*; that they may not in a dangerous fit of the *Common-wealth* be such poor, shaken, uncertain Reeds of such a tottering *Conscience*, as many of our great *Counsellors* have lately shewn themselves, but stedfast *Pillars* of the *State*. After this they are to dive into the grounds of *Law*, and legal *Justice*; deliver'd first and with best warrant by *Mosis*; and as far as human prudence can be trusted, in those extoll'd remains of *Grecian* *Law-givers*, *Licurgus*, *Solon*, *Zaleucus*, *Charondas*, and thence to all the *Roman* *Edicts* and *Tables* with thir *Justinian*; and so down to the *Saxon* and common *Laws* of *England*, and the *Statutes*. *Sundaies* also and every evening may be now understandingly spent in the highest matters of *Theology*, and *Church-History* antient and modern: and e're this time the *Hebrew* Tongue at a set hour might have been gain'd, that the *Scriptures* may be now read in thir own original; wherto it would be no impossibility to add the *Chaldee*, and the *Syrian* *Dialect*. When all these employments are well conquer'd, then will the choice *Histories*, *Heroic* *Poems*, and *Attic* *Tragedies* of stateliest and most regal *Argument*, with all the famous *Political* *Orations*, offer themselves; which if they were not only read, but som of them got by memory, and solemnly pronounce't with right accent and grace, as might be taught, would endure them even with the spirit and vigour of *Demosthenes* or *Cicero*, *Euripides*, or *Sophocles*. And now lastly will be the time to read with them those organic *Arts* which inable men to discourse and write perspicuously, elegantly, and according to the fitted stile

stile of lofty, mean, or lowly. Logic therefore so much as is useful, is to be re-ferr'd to this due place with all her well coucht Heads and Topics, until it be time to open her contracted palm into a graceful and ornate Rhetoric taught out of the rule of *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Phalereus*, *Cicero*, *Hermogenes*, *Longinus*. To which Poetry would be made subsequent, or indeed rather precedent, as being less subtle and fine, but more simple, sensuous, and passionate. I mean not here the prosody of a verse, which they could not but have hit on before among the rudiments of Grammar; but that sublime art which in *Aristotles Poetics*, in *Horace*, and the *Italian Commentaries* of *Castelvetro*, *Tasso*, *Mazzoni*, and others, teaches what the Laws are of a true *Epic Poem*, what of a *Dramatic*, what of a *Lyric*, what Decorum is, which is the grand master-piece to observe. This would make them soon perceive what despicable Creatures our common Rimers and Play-writers be, and shew them what religious, what glorious and magnificent use might be made of Poetry both in divine and human things. From hence, and not till now will be the right season of forming them to be able Writers and Composers in every excellent matter, when they shall be thus fraught with an universal insight into things. Or whether they be to speak in Parliament or Council, honour and attention would be waiting on thir lips. There would then also appear in Pulpits other visages, other gestures, and stuff otherwise wrought then what we now sit under, oftentimes to as great a trial of our patience as any other that they preach to us. These are the Studies wherin our noble and our gentle Youth ought to bestow thir time in a disciplinary way from twelve to one and twenty; unless they rely more upon thir ancestors dead, then upon themselves living. In which methodical course it is so suppos'd they must proceed by the steddty pace of Learning onward, as at convenient times for memories sake to retire back into the middle ward, and sometimes into the rear of what they have been taught, until they have confirm'd, and solidly united the whole body of their perfeted knowledg, like the last embattelling of a Roman Legion. Now will be worth the seeing, what Exercises and Recreations may best agree, and become these Studies.

Thir Exercise.

The course of Study hitherto briefly describ'd, is what I can guess by reading likest to those antient and famous Schools of *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, *Isocrates*, *Aristotle* and such others, out of which were bred such a number of renowned Philosophers, Orators, Historians, Poets and Princes all over *Greece*, *Italy* and *Asia*, besides the flourishing Studies of *Cyrene* and *Alexandria*. But herein it shall exceed them, and supply a defect as great as that which *Plato* noted in the Commonwealth of *Sparta*; whereas that City train'd up thir Youth most for War, and these in thir Academies and *Lycaum*, all for the Gown, this institution of breeding which I here delineate shall be equally good both for Peace and War. Therefore about an hour and half ere they eat at Noon should be allow'd them for exercise, and due rest afterwards; but the time for this may be enlarg'd at pleasure, according as thir rising in the morning shall be early. The Exercise which I commend first is the exact use of thir Weapon, to guard, and to strike safely with edge or point; this will keep them healthy, nimble, strong, and well in breath, is also the likeliest means to make them grow large and tall, and to inspire them with a gallant and fearless Courage, which being temper'd with seasonable Lectures and Precepts to them of true Fortitude and Patience, will turn into a native and heroic Valour, and make them hate the cowardise of doing wrong. They must be also practis'd in all the Locks and Gripes of Wrestling, wherin Englishmen were wont to excel, as need may often be in fight to tug or grapple, and to close. And this perhaps will be enough, wherin to prove and heat thir single strength. The interim of unsweating themselves regularly, and convenient rest before meat, may both with profit and delight be taken up in recreating and composing thir travail'd spirits with the solemn and divine harmonies of Music heard or learnt; either while the skilful *Organist* plies his grave and fancied deslant in lofty Fugues, or the whole Symphony with artful and unimaginable touches adorn and grace the well-studied chords of some choice Composer; sometimes the Lute, or soft Organ stop waiting on elegant Voices either to religious, martial or civil Ditties, which, if wise Men and Prophets be not extreemly out, have a great power over Dispositions and Manners to smooth and make them

gentle from rustic harshness and distemper'd passions. The like also would not be unexpedient after Meat to assist and cherish Nature in her first concoction, and send thir minds back to study in good tune and satisfaction. Where having follow'd it close under vigilant eyes, till about two hours before supper, they are by a sudden alarm or watch word to be call'd out to thir military motions, under skie or covert, according to the season, as was the Roman wont, first on foot, then as thir age permits, on horse-back, to all the Art of Cavalry; that having in sport, but with much exactness and daily muster, serv'd out the rudiments of thir Souldiership in all the skill of embattelling, marching, encamping, fortifying, besieging, and battering, with all the helps of antient and modern Stratagems, *Tactics*, and warlike Maxims, they may as it were out of a long War com forth renowned and perfect Commanders in the service of thir Country. They would not then, if they were trusted with fair and hopeful Armies, suffer them for want of just and wise disciplin to shed away from about them like sick Feathers, though they be never so oft suppli'd: they would not suffer thir empty and unrecrutible Colonels of twenty men in a Company to quaff out, or convey into secret hoards, the wages of a delusive list, and a miserable remnant: yet in the mean while to be over-master'd with a score or two of drunkards, the only souldiery left about them, or else to comply with all rapines and violences. No certainly, if they knew ought of that knowledg that belongs to good men or good Governours, they would not suffer these things. But to return to our own Institute, besides these constant exercises at home, there is another opportunity of gaining experience to be won from pleasure it self abroad; in those vernal seasons of the year, when the air is calm and pleasant, it were an injury and fullness against nature not to go out and see her riches, and partake in her rejoicing with Heaven and Earth. I should not therefore be a perswader to them of studying much then, after two or three year that they have well laid thir grounds, but to ride out in companies with prudent and staid Guides to all the quarters of the Land; learning and observing all places of strength, all commodities of building and of soil, for Towns and Tillage, Harbours and Ports for Trade. Sometimes taking Sea as far as to our Navy, to learn there also what they can in the practical knowledg of Sailing and of Sea-fight. These ways would try all thir peculiar gifts of Nature, and if there were any secret excellence among them would fetch it out, and give it fair opportunities to advance it self by, which could not but mightily redound to the good of this Nation, and bring into fashion again those old admired Vertues and Excellencies with far more advantage now in this purity of Christian knowledg. Nor shall we then need the *Monsieurs* of *Paris* to take our hopeful Youth into thir slight and prodigal custodies, and send them over back again transform'd into Mimics, Apes, and Kichshoes. But if they desire to see other Countries at three or four and twenty years of age, not to learn Principles, but to enlarge Experience, and make wise observation, they will by that time be such as shall deserve the regard and honour of all men where they pass, and the society and friendship of those in all places who are best and most eminent. And perhaps then other Nations will be glad to visit us for thir breeding, or else to imitate us in thir own Country.

Now lastly for thir Diet, there cannot be much to say, save only that it would be best in the same House; for much time else would be lost abroad, and many ill habits got; and that it should be plain, healthful, and moderate, I suppose is out of controversie. Thus Mr. *Hartlib*, you have a general view in writing, as your desire was, of that which at several times I had discours'd with you concerning the best and noblest way of Education; not beginning, as som have done, from the Cradle, which yet might be worth many considerations, if brevity had not been my scope: many other circumstances also I could have mention'd, but this to such as have the worth in them to make trial, for light and direction may be enough. Only I believe that this is not a Bow for every man to shoot in that counts himself a Teacher; but will require sinews almost equal to those which *Homer* gave *Ulysses*: yet I am withal perswaded that it may prove much more easy in the assay then it now seems at distance, and much more illustrious; howbeit not more difficult then I imagin, and that imagination presents me with nothing but very happy, and very possible according to best wishes, if God have so decreed, and this Age have spirit and capacity enough to apprehend.

ACCEDENCE

Commenc't

GRAMMAR,

Supply'd with sufficient

RULES

For the use of such as, Younger or Elder, are desirous, without more trouble then needs, to attain the *Latin Tongue*; the elder sort especially, with little teaching, and thir own industry.

To the READER.

IThath bin long a general complaint, not without cause, in the bringing up of Youth, and still is, that the tenth part of man's life, ordinarily extended, is taken up in learning, and that very scarcely, the *Latin Tongue*. Which tardy proficience may be attributed to several causes: In particular, the making two Labours of one, by learning first the Accedence, then the Grammar in Latin, e're the Language of those Rules be understood. The only remedy of this, was to join both Books into one, and in the English Tongue; wherby the long way is much abbreviated, and the labour of understanding much more easy: A work suppos'd not to have been don formerly; or if don, not without such difference here in brevity and alteration, as may be found of moment. That of Grammar, touching Letters and Syllables, is omitted, as learnt before, and little different from the English Spelling-book; especially since few will be perswaded to pronounce Latin otherwise then thir own English. What will not com under Rule, by reason of the much variety in Declension, Gender, or Construction, is also here omitted, lest the course and clearness of method be clog'd with Catalogues instead of Rules, or too much interruption between Rule and Rule: Which Linaker, setting down the various Idioms of many Verbs, was forc't to do by Alphabet; and therefore, though very learned, not thought fit to be read in Schools. But in such words, a Dictionary stor'd with good Authorities will be found the readiest guide. Of figurate Construction what is useful is digested into several Rules of Syntaxis: and Prosodie, after this Grammar well learnt, will not need to be English't for him who hath a mind to read it. Account might be now giv'n what addition or alteration from other Grammars hath bin here made, and for what reason. But he who would be short in teaching, must not be long in prefacing: The Book it self follows, and will declare sufficiently to them who can discern.

ACCEDENCE

Commenc't

GRAMMAR.

Latin Grammar is the Art of right understanding, speaking, or writing Latin, observ'd from them who have spoken or written it best.

Grammar hath two Parts : right-wording, usually call'd *Etymologie* ; and right-joyning of words, or *Syntaxis*.

Etymologie, or right-wording, teacheth what belongs to every single word or part of Speech.

Of Latin SPEECH

Are eight General Parts :

Noun	{	De-	clin'd.	{	Adverb	{	Unde-
Pronoun					Conjunction		
Verb					Preposition		
Participle					Interjection		

Declin'd are those words which have divers endings ; as *homo* a man, *hominis* of a man ; *Amo* I love, *amas* thou lovest. Undeclin'd are those words which have but one ending, as *bene* well, *cum* when, *tum* then.

Nouns, Pronouns, and Participles, are declin'd with Gender, Number, and Case ; Verbs, as hereafter in the verb.

Of Genders.

Genders are three, the Masculin, Feminin, and Neuter. The Masculin may be declin'd with this Article *Hic*, as *hic Vir* a Man ; the Feminin with this Article *Hec*, as *hec Mulier* a Woman ; the Neuter with this Article *Hoc*, as *hoc Saxum* a Stone.

Of the Masculin are generally all Nouns belonging to the Male kind, as also the Names of Rivers, Months and Winds.

Of the Feminin, all Nouns belonging to the Female kind, as also the names of Countries, Cities, Trees, som few of the two latter excepted : Of Cities, as *Agragus* and *Sulmo*, Masculin ; *Argos*, *Tibur*, *Præneste*, and such as end in *um*, Neuter ; *Anxur* both. Of Trees, *Oleaster* and

Spinus, Masculin ; but *Oleaster* is read also Feminin, *Cic. verr. 4. Acer*, *filer*, *suber*, *thus*, *robur*, Neuter.

And of the Neuter are all Nouns, not being proper Names, ending in *um*, and many others.

Som Nouns are of two Genders, as *hic* or *hec dies* a day ; and all such as may be spoken both of Male and Female, as *hic* or *hec Parens* a Father or Mother : som be of three, as *hic hec* and *hoc Felix* happy.

Of Numbers.

Words declin'd have two Numbers, the Singular and the Plural. The singular speaketh but of one, as *Lapis* a Stone. The plural of more than one, as *lapides* stones ; yet sometimes but of one, as *Athens* the City *Athens*, *Litera* an Epistle, *ades adium* a House.

Note that som Nouns have no singular, and som no plural, as the nature of thir signification requires. Som are of one Gender in the singular ; of another, or of two Genders in the plural, as reading will best teach.

Of Cases.

Nouns, Pronouns, and Participles are declin'd with six endings, which are called Cases, both in the singular and plural number. The Nominative, Genitive, Dative, Accusative, Vocative, and Ablative.

The *Nominative* is the first Case, and properly nameth the thing, as *Liber* a Book.

The *Genitive* is enligth with this Sign of, as *Libri* of a Book.

The *Dative* with this Sign to, or for, as *Libro* to or for a Book.

The *Accusative* hath no sign.

The *Vocative* calleth or speaketh to, as *O Liber* O Book, and is commonly like the Nominative.

But in the Neuter Gender the Nominative, Accusative, and Vocative, are like in both Numbers, and in the Plural end always in *a*.

The

The *Ablative* is englisht with these Signs, *in, with, of, for, from, by,* and such like, as *De Libro* of or from the Book, *pro Libro* for the Book; and the *Ablative Plural* is always like the *Dative*.

Note, that som Nouns have but one ending throughout all Cases, as *Frugi, nequam, nihil*; and all words of number from three to a hundred, as *quatuor* four, *quinque* five, &c.

Som have but one, som two, som three Cases only, in the Singular or Plural, as use will best teach.

Of a Noun.

A Noun is the name of a thing, as *Manus* a Hand, *Domus* a House, *Bonus* Good, *Pulcher* Fair.

Nouns be Substantives or Adjectives.

A Noun Substantive is understood by it self, as *homo* a man, *domus* a house.

An Adjective, to be well understood, requireth a Substantive to be join'd with it, as *bonus* good, *parvus* little, which cannot be well understood unless something good or little be either nam'd, as *bonus vir* a good man, *parvus puer* a little boy; or by use understood, as *honestum* an honest thing, *boni* good men.

The Declining of Substantives.

Nouns Substantives have five Declensions or forms of ending thir Cases, chiefly distinguish'd by the different ending of thir Genitive Singular.

The first Declension.

The first is when the Genitive and Dative singular end in *a, &c.* as in the Example following.

Singular.	Plural.
No. Vo. Abl. <i>musæ</i>	Nom. Voc. <i>musæ</i>
Gen. Dat. <i>musæ</i>	Gen. <i>musarum</i>
Acc. <i>musam</i>	Dat. Abl. <i>musis.</i>
	Acc. <i>musas</i>

This one word *familia* joyn'd with *pater, mater, filius, or filia*, endeth the Genitive in *as*, as *pater familias*, but sometimes *familia*. *Dea, mula, equa, liberta*, make the Dative and Ablative plural in *abus*; *filia* and *nata* in *is* or *abus*.

The first Declension endeth always in *a*, unless in som words deriv'd of the Greek: and is always of the Feminin Gender, except in names attributed to men, according to the general Rule, or to Stars, as *Cometa, Planeta*.

Nouns, and especially proper Names derived of the Greek, have here three endings, *as, es, e*, and are declin'd in som of thir Cases after the Greek form.

Aneas, acc. *Anean*, voc. *Anea*; *Anchises*, acc. *Anchisen*, voc. *Anchise* or *Anchisa*, abl. *Anchise*. *Penelope, Penelopes, Penelope, Penelopen*. voc. abl. *Penelope*. Sometimes following the Latin, as *Marsya, Philotteta*, for *as* and *es*; *Philottetam, Eriphylam*, for *an* and *en*. Cic.

The second Declension.

The second is when the Genitive Singular endeth in *i*, the Dative in *o, &c.*

Sing.	Plur.
Nom. Voc. <i>Liber</i>	Nom. Voc. <i>Libri</i>
Gen. <i>libri</i>	Gen. <i>librorum</i>
Dat. Abl. <i>libro</i>	Dat. Abl. <i>libris</i>
Acc. <i>librum</i>	Acc. <i>libros.</i>

Note that when the Nominative endeth in *us*, the Vocative shall end in *e*, as *Dominus* ô *Domine*, except *Deus* ô *Deus*. And these following, *Agnus, lucus, vulgus, populus, chorus, fluvius, e* or *us*.

When the Nominative endeth in *ius*, if it be the proper name of a man, the Vocative shall end in *i*, as *Georgius* ô *Georgi*; hereto add *filium* ô *fili*, and *genius* ô *geni*.

All Nouns of the Second Declension are of the Masculin or Neuter Gender; of the Masculin, such as end in *ir, or, or us*, except som few, *humus, domus, alvus*, and others deriv'd of the Greek, as *methodus, antidotus*, and the like, which are of the Feminin, and som of them sometimes also Masculin, as *atomus, phaselus*; to which add *ficus* the name of a disease, *grossus, pampinus, and rubus*.

Those of the Neuter, except *virus, pelagus*, and *vulgus* (which last is sometimes Masculin) end all in *um*, and are declin'd as followeth:

Sing.	Plur.
No. Ac. vo. <i>Studium</i>	No. Ac. Voc. <i>Studia</i>
Gen. <i>studii</i>	Gen. <i>studiorum</i>
Dat. Abl. <i>studio</i>	Dat. Abl. <i>studiis.</i>

Som Nouns in this Declension are of the first Example Singular, of the second Plural, as *Pergamus* the City Troy, Plur. *Hæc Pergama*; and som names of hills, as *Manalus, Ismarus, hæc Ismara*; so also *Tartarus*, and the Lake *Avernus*; others are of both, as *sibilus, jocus, locus, hi loci, or hæc loca*. Som are

are of the second example Singular, of the first Plural, as *Argos, Cælum*, Plur. *hi Cæli*; others of both, as *Rastrum, Capistrum, Filum, Frænum*; Plur. *frani* or *frana*. *Nundinum, & Epulum*, are of the first Declension Plural, *Nundina, Epula*; *Balneum* of both, *balnea* or *balnea*.

Greek proper names have here three endings, *os, on*, and *us* long from a Greek Diphthong. *Hæc Delos, hæc Delon. Hoc Ilion*. The rest regular, *Hic panthus, ô panthu, Virg.*

The third Declension.

The third is when the Genitive singular endeth in *is*, the Dative in *i*, the Accusative in *em*, and sometimes in *im*, the Ablative in *e*, and sometimes in *i*; the Nom. Acc. Voc. Plural in *es*, the Genitive in *um*, and sometimes in *ium*, &c.

Sing.	Plur.
No. Gen. Vo. <i>Panis</i>	Nom. Ac. Vo. <i>panes</i>
Dat. <i>pani</i>	Gen. <i>panum</i>
Acc. <i>panem</i>	Dat. Abl. <i>panibus</i>
Abl. <i>pane</i>	
Sing.	Plur.
Nom. Voc. <i>Parentis</i>	No. Ac. Vo. <i>parentes</i>
Gen. <i>parentis</i>	Gen. <i>parentum</i>
Dat. <i>parenti</i>	Dat. Ab. <i>parentibus</i>
Ac. <i>parentem</i>	
Abl. <i>parente</i>	

This third Declension, with many endings, hath all Genders, best known by dividing all Nouns hereto belonging into such as either increase one syllable long or short in the Genitive, or increase not at all.

Such as increase not in the Genitive are generally Feminin, as *Nubes nubis, Caro carnis*.

Except such as end in *er*, as *hic venter ventris*, and these in *is* following, *natalis, aqualis, lienis, orbis, callis, caulis, collis, follis, mensis, ensis, fustis, funis, panis, penis, crinis, ignis, cassis, fascis, torris, piscis, unguis, vermis, vectis, postis, axis*, and the compounds of *assis*, as *centussis*.

But *Canalis, finis, clunis, restis, sentis, amnis, corbis, lintes, torquis, unguis, hic* or *hæc*: To these add *vepres*.

Such as end in *e* are Neuters, as *mare, rete*, and two Greek in *es*, as *hippomanes, cacoethes*.

Nouns encreasing long.

Nouns encreasing one syllable long in the Genitive are generally Feminin, as *hæc pietas pietatis, virtus virtutis*.

Except such as end in *ans* Masculin, as *dodrans, quadrans, sextans*; in *ens*, as *oriens, torrens, bidens*, a pick-ax.

In *or*, most commonly deriv'd of Verbs, as *pallor, clamor*; in *o*, not thence deriv'd, as *ternio, senio, sermo, temo*, and the like.

And these of one syllable, *sal, sol, ren, splen, as, bes, pes, mos, flos, ros, dens, mons, pons, fons, grex*.

And words deriv'd from the Greek in *en*, as *lichen*; in *er*, as *crater*; in *as*, as *adamas*; in *es*, as *lebes*; to these, *hydrops, thorax, phenix*.

But *scrobs, rudens, stirps*, the body or root of a tree, and *calx* a heel, *hic* or *hæc*.

Neuter, these of one syllable, *mel, fel, lac, far, ver, cor, as, vas, vasis, os, ossis, os, oris, rus, thus, jus, crus, pus*. And of more syllables in *al* and *ar*, as *capital, laquear*, but *balec hoc* or *hæc*.

Nouns encreasing short.

Nouns encreasing short in the Genitive are generally Masculin, as *hic sanguis sanguinis, lapis lapidis*.

Except, Feminin all words of many syllables ending in *do* or *go*, as *dulcedo, compago*; *arbor, hyems, cuspis, pecus, pectus*: These in *ex*, *forfex, carex, tomex, supellex*: In *ix*, *appendix, histrix, coxendix, filix*; Greek Nouns in *as* and *is*, as *lampas, iaspis*: To these add *chlamys, bacchar, syndon, icon*.

But *margo, cinis, pulvis, adeps, forceps, pumex, ramex, imbrex, obex, silex, cortex, onix* and *sardonix, hic* or *hæc*.

Neuters are all ending in *a*, as *problema*; in *en*, except *hic pecten*; in *ar*, as *jubar*; in *er* these, *verber, iter, uber, cadaver, zinziber, laser, ciccr, sifer, piper, papaver*; sometimes in *ur*, except *hic fursur*, in *us*, as *onus*, in *ut*, as *caput*; to these *marmor, aquor, ador*.

Greek proper names here end in *as, an, is*, and *ens*, and may be declin'd som wholly after the Greek form, as *Pallas, pallados, palladi, pallada*; others in som Cases, as *Atlas, acc. Atlanta, voc. Atla. Garamas, plur. garamantes, acc. garamantas. Pan, panos, pana. Phyllis, phyllidos, voc. phylli, plur. Phyllides, acc. phyllidas. Tethys, tethyos, acc. tethyn, voc. tethy. Neapolis, neapolios, acc. neapolin. Paris, paridos or parios, acc. parida or parin. Orpheus, orpheos, orphei, orphea, orpheu. But Names in *eus* borrow sometimes thir Genitive of the Second Declension, as *Erechtheus, erachthei. Cic. Achilles* or *Achilleus*.*

Achil-

Achillei; and sometimes thir Accusative in *on* or *um*, as *Orpheus Orpheon*, *Theseus Theseum*, *Perseus Perseum*, which sometimes is form'd after Greek words of the first Declension Latin, *Perseus* or *Perse*, *Perse* *Perse* *Perse* *Perse* *Perse*.

The fourth Declension.

THe fourth is when the Genitive Singular endeth in *us*, the Dative Singular in *ui*, and sometimes in *u*, Plural in *ibus*, and sometimes in *ubus*.

Sing.	Plur.
No. Ge. Vo. <i>Sensus</i>	No. Ac. Vo. <i>Sensus</i>
Dat. <i>sensui</i>	Gen. <i>sensuum</i>
Acc. <i>sensum</i>	Dat. Abl. <i>sensibus</i>
Abl. <i>sensu</i>	

The fourth Declension hath two endings, *us* and *u*; *us* generally Masculin, except som few, as *hec manus*, *ficus*, the fruit of a tree, *acus*, *particus*, *tribus*; but *penus* and *specus hic* or *hec*. *U* of the Neuter, as *gelu*, *genu*, *veru*; but in the Singular most part defective.

Proper Names in *os* and *o* long, pertaining to the fourth Declension Greek, may belong best to the fourth in Latin, as *Androgeos*, Gen. *Androgeo*, Ac. *Androgeon*; *Hic Athos*, hunc *Atho*, Virg. *Hec Sappho*, Gen. *Sapphus*, Acc. *Sappho*. Better Authors follow the Latin form, as *Dido Didonis Didnem*. But *Iesus Iesu* *Iesu Iesum Iesu Iesu*.

The fifth Declension.

THe fifth is when the Genitive and Dative Singular end in *ei*, &c.

Sing.	Plur.
Nom. Voc. <i>Res</i>	No. Acc. Voc. <i>res</i>
Gen. Dat. <i>rei</i>	Gen. <i>rerum</i>
Acc. <i>rem</i>	Dat. Abl. <i>rebus</i>
Abl. <i>re</i>	

All Nouns of the fifth Declension are of the Feminin Gender, except *dies hic* or *hec*, and his Compound *meridies hic* only.

Som Nouns are of more Declensions then one, as *vas vasis* of the third in the Singular, of the second in the Plural *vasa vasorum*. *Colus*, *laurus*, and som others, of the second and fourth. *Saturnalia*, *saturnalium* or *saturnaliorum*, *saturnalibus*, and such other names of feasts. *Poëmata poëmatum*, *poëmatis* or *poëmatibus*, of the second and third Plural. *Plebs* of the third and fifth, *plebis* or *plebei*.

The Declining of Adjectives.

A Noun Adjective is declin'd with three Terminations, or with three Articles.

An Adjective of three terminations is declin'd like the first and second Declension of Substantives joyn'd together after this manner.

Sing.	Plur.
Nom. <i>bonus bona bonum</i>	Nom. Vo. <i>boni bone bona</i>
Gen. <i>boni bonæ boni</i>	Gen. <i>bonorum bonarum bonorum</i>
Dat. <i>bono bonæ bono</i>	Dat. Abl. <i>bonis bonis</i>
Ac. <i>bonum bonam bonum</i>	Ac. <i>bonos bonas bona</i>
Voc. <i>bone bona bonum</i>	
Abl. <i>bono bona bono</i>	

In like manner those in *er* and *ur*, as *sacer sacra sacrum*, *satur satura saturum*; but *unus*, *totus*, *solus*, *alius*, *alter*, *ullus*, *uter*, with thir compounds *Neuter*, *utroque*, and the like, make thir Genitive Singular in *ius*, the Dative in *i*, as *Unus una unum*, Gen. *unius*, Dat. *uni*, in all the rest like *bonus*, save that *alius* maketh in the Neuter Gender *aliud*, and in the Dative *alii*, and sometimes in the Genitive.

Ambo and *duo* be thus declin'd in the plural only.

Nom. Voc. <i>Ambo amba ambo</i>
Gen. <i>amborum ambarum amborum</i>
Dat. Abl. <i>ambobus ambabus ambobus</i>
Acc. <i>ambos</i> or <i>ambo</i> , <i>ambas ambo</i> .

Adjectives of three Articles have in the Nominative either one ending, as *hic*, *hec*, & *hoc felix*; or two, as *hic* & *hec tristis* & *hoc triste*; and are declin'd like the third Declension of Substantives, as followeth.

Sing.	Plur.
Nom. <i>hic hec & hoc felix</i>	Nom. <i>hi he & he felices</i> , & <i>hec felicia</i>
Gen. <i>felici</i>	Gen. <i>felicium</i>
Dat. <i>felici</i>	Dat. Abl. <i>feliciibus</i>
Acc. <i>hunc & hanc felicem</i> , & <i>hoc felix</i>	Acc. <i>hos & has felices</i> , & <i>hec felicia</i>
Voc. <i>ô felix</i>	Voc. <i>ô felices</i> , & <i>ô felicia</i>
Abl. <i>felice</i> or <i>felici</i>	

Sing.	Plur.
No. <i>hic & hec tristis</i> , & <i>hoc triste</i>	Nom. <i>hi & he tristes</i> , & <i>hec tristia</i>
Gen. <i>tristis</i>	Gen. <i>tristium</i>
Dat. Abl. <i>tristis</i>	Dat. Abl. <i>tristibus</i>
Ac. <i>hunc & hanc tristem</i> , & <i>hoc triste</i>	Ac. <i>hos & has tristes</i> , & <i>hec tristia</i>
Voc. <i>ô tristis</i> , & <i>ô triste</i>	Voc. <i>ô tristes</i> , & <i>ô tristia</i>

There be also another sort which have in the Nominative Case three Terminations and three Articles, as *hic acer*, *hic & hec acris*, *hoc acre*. In like manner be declined *equester*, *voluc*, and som few others, being in all other cases like the Examples beforegoing.

Com-

Comparisons of Nouns.

ADjectives, whose signification may increase or be diminished, may form Comparison, whereof there be two degrees above the positive word it self, The Comparative, and Superlative.

The Positive signifieth the thing it self without comparing, as *durus* hard.

The Comparative exceedeth his Positive in signification, compar'd with som other, as *durior* harder; and is form'd of the first Case of his Positive that endeth in *i*, by putting therto *or* and *us*, as of *duri*, *hic & hæc durior*, & *hoc durius*: of *dulci*, *dulcior*, *dulcius*.

The Superlative exceedeth his Positive in the highest degree, as *durissimus* hardest; and it is form'd of the first Case of his Positive that endeth in *is*, by putting therto *simus*, as of *duris* *durissimus*, *dulcis* *dulcissimus*.

If the Positive end in *er*, the Superlative is form'd of the nominative case by putting to *rimus*, as *pulcher* *pulcherrimus*. Like to these are *vetus* *veterrimus*, *maturus* *maturissimus*; but *dexter* *dexterissimus*, and *sinister*, *sinisterior*, *sinisterimus*.

All these Nouns ending in *lis* make the Superlative by changing *is* into *linus*, as *humilis*, *similis*, *facilis*, *gracilis*, *agilis*, *docilis* *docilissimus*.

All other Nouns ending in *lis* do follow the general Rule, as *utilis* *utilissimus*.

Of these Positives following are form'd a different sort of Superlatives; of *superus*, *supremus* and *summus*; *inferus*, *infimus* and *imus*; *exterus*, *extimus* and *extremus*; *posterus* *postremus*.

Som of these want the Positive, and are form'd from Adverbs; of *intra*, *interior* *intimus*, *ultra* *ulterior* *ultimus*, *citra* *citerior* *citimus*, *pridem* *prior* *primus*, *prope* *propior* *proximus*.

Others from Positives without Case, as *nequam*, *nequior*, *nequissimus*.

Som also from no Positive, as *ocior* *ociissimus*. Some want the Comparative, as *novus* *novissimus*, *inclutus* *inclutissimus*.

Som the Superlative, as *senex* *senior*, *juvenis* *junior*, *adolescens* *adolescencior*.

Som ending in *us*, frame thir Comparative as if they ended in *ens*, *benevolus*, *maledicus*, *magnificus* *magnificencior* *magnificentissimus*.

These following are without Rule, *Bonus* *melior* *optimus*, *Malus* *peior* *pestissimus*, *Magnus* *major* *maximus*, *Parvus* *minor* *minimus*; *Multus* *plurimus*, *multa* *plurima*, *multum* *plus* *plurimum*.

If a Vowel come before *us*, it is compared with *magis* and *maximè*, as *pius*, *magis pius*, *maximè pius*; *idoneus*, *magis* and *maximè idoneus*. Yet som of these follow the general Rule, as *Affiduus* *affiduisissimus*, *strenuus* *strenuior*, *exiguus* *exiguissimus*, *tenuis* *tenuior* *tenuissimus*.

Of a Pronoun.

APronoun is a part of Speech that standeth for a Noun Substantive, either at present or before spoken of, as *ille*, he or that, *hic* this, *qui* who.

There be ten Pronouns, *Ego*, *tu*, *sui*, *ille*, *ipse*, *iste*, *hic*, *is*, *qui* and *quis*, besides thir Compounds, *egomet*, *tute*, *hicce*, *idem*, *quisnam*, *aliquis*, and such others. The rest so call'd, as *meus*, *tuus*, *suus*, *noſter*, *vester*, *noſtras*, *vestras*, *cujus* and *cujas*, are not Pronouns, but Adjectives thence deriv'd.

Of Pronouns such as shew the thing present are called *Demonstratives*, as *ego*, *tu*, *hic*; and such as refer to a thing antecedent, or spoken of before, are called *Relatives*, as *qui* who or which.

Quis, and often *qui*, because they ask a question, are called *Interrogatives*, with thir Compounds *ecquis*, *numquis*.

Declensions of Pronouns are three.

Ego, *tu*, *sui*, be of the first Declension, and be thus delin'd.

Sing.	Plur.
Nom. <i>Ego</i>	Nom. Acc. <i>Nos</i>
Gen. <i>mei</i>	Gen. <i>noſtrum</i> or <i>noſtri</i>
Dat. <i>mibi</i>	Dat. Abl. <i>nobis</i>
Acc. Abl. <i>me</i>	Voc. <i>caret.</i>
Voc. <i>caret.</i>	
Sing.	Plur.
Nom. Voc. <i>Tu</i>	Nom. Acc. Voc. <i>us</i>
Gen. <i>tui</i>	Gen. <i>veſtrum</i> or <i>veſtri</i>
Dat. <i>tibi</i>	Dat. Abl. <i>vobis.</i>
Acc. Abl. <i>te</i>	
Sing. } Nom. Voc. <i>caret</i>	Dat. <i>sibi</i>
Plur. } Gen. <i>sui</i>	Acc. Abl. <i>se.</i>

From these three be deriv'd *meus*, *tuus*, *suus*, *noſter*, *vester*, *noſtras*, *vestras*, (which are called Possessives) whereof the former five be declin'd like Adjectives of three Terminations, except that *meus* in the Vocative Case maketh *mi*, *mea*, *meum*; *Noſtras*, *Vestras*, with three Articles, as *hic & hæc noſtras*, & *hoc noſtras* or *noſtrate*, *vestrate*. In other Cases according to rule.

These three, *ille*, *iste*, *ipse*, be of the second Declension, making thir Genitive

tive singular in *ius*, thir Dative in *i*; and the former two be declin'd like the Adjective *alius*, and the third like *unus* before spoken of.

Sing. { Nom. *ille illa illud*, Gen. *illius*, Dat. *illi*.
 { Nom. *iste ista istud*, Gen. *istius*, Dat. *isti*.
 { Nom. *ipse ipsa ipsum*, Gen. *ipsius*, Dat. *ipsi*.

These four, *hic*, *is*, *qui* and *quis*, be of the third Declension. making thir Genitive singular in *ius*, with *j* consonant, and be declin'd after this manner.

Sing.	Plur.
Nom. <i>hic hæc hoc</i>	Nom. <i>hi hæc hæc</i>
Gen. <i>hujus</i>	Gen. <i>horum harum horum</i>
Dat. <i>huic</i>	
Acc. <i>hunc hanc hoc</i>	Dat. <i>his</i>
Voc. <i>caret.</i>	Acc. <i>hos has hæc</i>
Abl. <i>hoc hæc hoc</i>	Voc. <i>caret.</i>

Of *iste* and *hic* is compounded *istic*, *istæc*, *istoc* or *istuc*. Acc. *istunc*, *istanc*, *istoc* or *istuc*. Abl. *istoc*, *istac*, *istoc*. Plu. *istæc* only.

Sing.	Plur.
Nom. <i>is ea id</i>	Nom. <i>ii eæ ea</i>
Gen. <i>ejus</i>	Gen. <i>eorum earum eorum</i>
Dat. <i>ei</i>	Dat. Abl. <i>iis</i> or <i>eis</i>
Acc. <i>eam eam id</i>	Acc. <i>eos eas ea</i>
Voc. <i>caret</i>	Voc. <i>caret.</i>
Abl. <i>eo ea eo</i>	

Sing.	Plur.
Nom. <i>qui quæ quod</i>	Nom. <i>qui quæ quæ</i>
Gen. <i>cujus</i>	Gen. <i>quorum quarum</i>
Dat. <i>cui</i>	Gen. <i>quorum</i> (<i>quæis</i>)
Acc. <i>quem quam quod</i>	Dat. Abl. <i>quibus</i> or
Voc. <i>caret</i>	Acc. <i>quos quas quæ</i>
Abl. <i>quo qua quo or qui</i>	Voc. <i>caret.</i>

In like manner *quivis*, *quilibet*, and *quicumque* the Compounds.

Sing. Nom. *quis*, *qua* or *quæ*, *quid*, Gen. &c. like *qui*. So *quisquam*, *quisnam*, Compounds.

Of *Quis* are made these Pronoun Adjectives, *cujus* *cujæ* *cujum*, whose; and *hic* & *hæc* *cujus* and *hoc* *cujate*, of what Nation.

Quisquis is defective, and thus declin'd,

No.	{ <i>Quisquis</i>	Ac.	{ <i>Quicquid</i>	Ab.	{ <i>Quoquo</i>
	{ <i>Quicquid</i>				{ <i>Quaqua</i>
					{ <i>Quoquo</i>

Of a Verb.

A Verb is a part of speech, that betokeneth *being*, as *sum* I am, or *doing*, as *laudo* I praise; and is declin'd with Mood, Tense, Number and Person.

Moods.

There be four Moods which express the *manner of doing*; the Indicative, the Imperative, the Potential or Subjunctive, and the Infinitive.

The Indicative Mood sheweth or declareth, as *laudo* I praise.

The Imperative biddeth or exhorteth as *lauda* praise thou.

The Potential or Subjunctive is enligth with these Signs, *may*, *can*, *might*, *would*, *could*, *should*: Or without them as the Indicative, if a Conjunction go before or follow; as *laudem*, I may or can praise. *Cum laudarem* when I praised. *Cavissem*, *si prævadissem*, I had be-war'd if I had foreseen.

The Infinitive is enligth with this sign *to*, as *laudare* to praise.

Tenses.

There be three Tenses which express the *time of doing*: The Present, the Preterit or past, and the Future.

The Present Tense speaketh of the time that *now is*, as *laudo* I praise.

The Preterit speaketh of the time *past*, and is distinguished by three degrees: the Preterimperfect, the Preterperfect, and the Preterpluperfect.

The Preterimperfect speaketh of the time *not perfectly past*, as *laudabam* I praised or did praise.

The Preterperfect speaketh of the time *perfectly past*, as *laudavi* I have praised.

The Preterpluperfect speaketh of the time *more then perfectly past*, as *laudaveram* I had praised.

The Future Tense speaketh of the time *to come*, as *laudabo* I shall or will praise.

Persons.

Through all Moods, except the Infinitive, there be three Persons in both Numbers, as, Sing. *Laudo* I praise, *laudas* thou praifest, *laudat* he praifest; Plur. *Laudamus* we praise, *laudatis* ye praise, *laudent* they praise. Except som Verbs which are declin'd or form'd in the Third Person only, and have before them this sign, *it*, as *Tadet* it irketh, *oportet* it behoveth, and are called Impersonals.

The Verb which betokeneth *being*, is properly the Verb *sum* only, which is therefore call'd a Verb Substantive, and formed after this manner.

Indicative.

Pres.	{ <i>I am.</i>
Sing.	{ <i>Sum</i> , <i>es</i> , <i>est</i> , Plur. <i>sumus</i> , <i>estis</i> , <i>sunt</i> .
Pret.	{ <i>I was.</i>
imp.	{ <i>Eram</i> , <i>eras</i> , <i>erat</i> , Pl. <i>eramus</i> , <i>eratis</i> , <i>erant</i> .

5 R Pret.

I have been.	
Pret. perfect	{ Fui, fuisti, fuit, Plur. fuimus, fuistis, fuerunt or fuere.
I had been.	
Pret. plup.	{ Fueram, fueras, fuerat, Pl. fueramus, fueratis, fuerant.
I shall or will be.	
Future.	{ Ero, eris, erit, Pl. erimus, eritis, erunt.

Imperative.

Be thou,	
Sing.	{ Sis, es, Sit, esto, Plur. Sitis, estote, Sint, finto

Potential.

I may or can be.	
Pref. sing.	{ Sim, sis sit, Pl. simus, sitis, sint.
I might or could be.	
Preter-imperf.	{ Essem or forem, es, et, Pl. essemus, essetis, essent or forent.
I might or could have been.	
Preter-perfect.	{ Fuerim, ris, rit, Pl. rimus, ritis, rint.
If I had been.	
Preterplup. with a conjunction Si.	{ Fuisset, es, et, Pl. emus, etis, ent.
If I shall be or shall have been.	
Future.	{ Si Fuero, ris, rit, Pl. rimus, ritis, rint.

Infinitive.

I have been.	
Pref. and preter-imperf.	{ Esse, to be.
I had been.	
Preter-perfect & preterpluper.	{ Fuisse, to have or had been.
Fore, to be hereafter.	
Future	{ Fore, to be hereafter.

In like manner are form'd the Compounds; *Absum, adsum, desum, obsum, presum, prosum, possum*; but *possum* something varies after this manner.

Indicat. Pref. Sing. *Possum, potes, potest*, Plur. *possumus, potestis, possunt*. The other are regular, *poteram, potui, potueram, potero*.

Imperative *it wants*.

Potent. Pref. *Possim, &c.* Preterimperfect, *Possim*.

Infin. Pref. *Posse*. Preterit. *Potuisse*.

Voices.

IN Verbs that betoken *doing* are two Voices, the *Active* and the *Passive*.

The *Active* signifieth to do, and always endeth in *o*, as *doceo* I teach.

The *Passive* signifieth *what is done to one by another*, and always endeth in *or*, as *doceor* I am taught.

From these are to be excepted two sorts of Verbs. The first are called *Neuters*, and cannot take *or* in the passive, as *curro* I run, *sedeo* I sit; yet signify sometimes passively, as *vapulo* I am beaten.

The second are call'd *Deponents*, and signify actively, as *loquor* I speak; or

Neuters, as *glorior* I boast: but are form'd like *Passives*.

Conjugations.

Verbs both *Active* and *Passive* have four Conjugations, or forms of declining, known and distinguished by thir Infinitive Mood active, which always endeth in *re*.

In the first Conjugation, after *a* long, as *laudare* to praise.

In the second, after *e* long, as *habere* to have.

In the third, after *e* short, as *legere* to read.

In the fourth, after *i* long, as *audire* to hear.

In these four Conjugations, Verbs are declin'd or form'd by Mood, Tense, Number and Person, after these Examples.

Indicative Mood.

Present Tense.

Singular.			Plural.		
I	Thou	He	We	Ye	They
praise.	praisest.	praiseth	praise.	praise.	praise.
Laudo, laudas, laudat,	laudamus, laudatis, laudant				
Habeo, habes, habet,	habemus, habetis, habent.				
Lego, legis, legit,	legimus, legitis, legunt.				
Audio, audis, audit,	audimus, auditis, audiunt.				

Preter-imperfect tens. sing.	Laudabam, Habebam, Legebam, Audiebam,	I prais'd or did praise. bas, bat, Plur. bamus, batis, bant.
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Preter-perfect tens. sing.	Laudavi, Habui, Legi, Audiui	I have prais'd. isti, it, Plur. imus, istis, erunt or ere.
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Preter-pluperfect tense sing.	Laudaveram, Habueram, Legeram, Audiveram	I had prais'd. ras, rat, Plur. ramus, ratis, rant.
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I shall or will praise.

Future tens. sing.	Laudabo, Habebo, Legam, Audiam	bis, bir, Plur. bimus, bitis, bunt. es, et, Plur. emus, etis, ent.
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Imperative Mood.

Praise thou.	Let him praise.	Let us praise.	Praise ye.	Let them praise.
Lauda, laudato.	Laudet, laudato.	Pl. lau- demus, laudatote.	Laudate, laudent, laudanto.	
Habe, habeto.	Habeat, habeto.	Pl. habe- amus, habetote.	Habete, habeant, habento.	
Lege, legito.	Legat, legito.	Pl. lega- mus, legitote.	Legite, legant, legunto.	
Audi, audito.	Audiat, audito.	Pl. audi- amus, audirote.	Audite, audiant, audiunto.	

Potential

Potential Mood.

Present Laudem, laudes, laudet, *Pl.* laudemus,
tenſe ſing. Habeam, } lauderis, laudent.
 Legam, } as, ar, *Pl.* amus, atis, ant.
 Audiam, }

Preterim- Laudarem, } *I might or could praiſe.*
perfect Haberem, }
tenſe ſing. Legerem, } res, ret, *Plur.* remus,
 Audirem, } retis, rent.

I might or could have praiſ'd.

Preter- Laudaverim, }
perfect Habuerim, } ris, rit, *Pl.* rimus, ri-
tenſe ſing. Legerim, } tis, rint.
 Audiverim, }

If I had praiſ'd.

Preterplu. Laudaviſſem, }
ſing. with Habuiſſem, } ſes, ſet, *Pl.* ſemus,
a Conjunction, Si. Audiſſem, } ſetis, ſent.

If I ſhall praiſe, or ſhall have praiſ'd.

Future Laudavero, }
tenſe ſing. Habuero, } ris, rit, *Pl.* rimus, ri-
 Si Legero, } tis, rint.
 Audivero, }

Infinitive Mood.

Present Laudare, }
and Pre Habere, } *To* { *Praiſe.*
terimper- Legere, } *Have.*
fect tenſe. Audire, } *Read.*
 } *Hear.*

Preterper- Laudaviſſe, }
fect & Pre- Habuiſſe, } *To have* { *Praiſed.*
terpluper- Legiſſe, } *or had* { *Had.*
fect tenſe. Audiſſe, } *Read.*
 } *Heard.*

Verbs of the third Conjugation
irregular in ſome Tenſes of the
Active Voice.

Indicative Mood

Present Tenſe ſingular.

Volo, viſ, vult, } Volumus, vultis, volunt.

Nolo, — } *Plur.* { Nolumus, — nolunt.
The reſt is want } *ing in this Tenſe.*
 Malo, mavis, ma- }
 vult } Malumus, mavultis, ma-
 lunt.

Preterit. { Volui.
 { Nolui.
 { Malui.

Volo and Malo want the Imperative Mood.

Imperative.

Sing. { Noli.
 { Nolito. } *Plur.* { Nolite,
 { Nolitote.

Potential.

Present Velim, }
tenſe ſing. Nolim, } is, it, *Plur.* imus, itis, int.
 Malim, }

Preterim- Vellem, }
perfect Nollem, } es, et, *Pl.* emus, etis, ent.
tenſe ſing. Mallem, }

Infinitive.

Present. { Velle,
 { Nolle,
 { Malle.

Indicat. Pref. Edo, edis or es, edit or
 eſt; *Plur.* Editis or eſtis.

Imper. Ede or es, edito or eſto. Edat, edi-
 to or eſto. *Plur.* Edite eſte, editote eſtote.

Poten. Preterimperfect Tenſe, Ede-
 rem or eſſem.

Infinit. Edere or eſſe.

Verbs of the fourth Conjugation ir-
regular, in ſome Tenſes Active.

EO, and *queo* with his Compound *Ne-queo*, make *eunt* and *queunt* in the
 Plural Indicative preſent, and in their
 Preterimperfect *ibam* and *quibam*, their
 Future *ibo* and *quibo*.

Imperat. I, ito. Eat, ito. *Plur.* Eamus,
 ite, itote. Eant, eunto.

Potent. Eam. Irem. &c.

The forming of the Passive Voice.

Indicative.

I am praiſed.

Pres. Sing. Laudor, aris or are, atur, } amur, amini, antur.
 Habeor, eris or ere, etur, } emur, emini, entur.
Pres. Sing. Legor, eris or ere, itur, } imur, imini, untur.
 Audior, iris or ire, itur, } imur, imini, untur.

I was praiſ'd.

Preterim- Laudabar, }
perfect Habebat, } baris or bare, batur, *Plur.*
tenſe ſing. Legebat, } bamur, bamini, bantur.
 Audiebat, }

Note that the *Passive Voice* hath no
 Preterperfect, nor the Tenſes deriv'd
 from thence in any Mood.

I ſhall or will be praiſ'd.

Future Laudabor, } beris or bere, bitur, *Plur.*
tenſe ſing. Habebor, } bimur, bimini, buntur,
 Legar, } eris or ere, etur, *Pl.* emur,
 Audiar, } emini, entur.

Imperative.

Bethou Let him be Let us be Be ye Let them be
praiſ'd. praiſ'd. praiſ'd. praiſ'd. praiſ'd.

Laudare, laudetur, *P. lau-* laudamini, laudentur
 laudator. laudator. demur. laudaminor. laudan-

(tor.
 Habere, habeatur, *P. habe-* habemini, habeantur,
 habetor. habetor. amur. habeminor. habentor.

Present Singular. Legere, legatur, *Pl.* lega- legimini, legantur,
 legitor. legitor. mur. legiminor. leguntur.

Audire, audiat, *P. audi-* audimini, audiantur,
 auditor. auditor. amur, audiminor, audiuntur.

Potential.

I may or can be prais'd.

Present sing.	Lauder,	cris or ere, etur, <i>Plur.</i> emur,
	Habear,	emini, entur.
	Legar,	aris or are, atur, <i>Plu.</i> amur,
	Audiar,	amini, antur.

I might or should be prais'd.

Preterim- perfect sing.	Laudarer,	} reris or rere, retur, <i>Plu.</i>
	Haberer,	
	Legerer,	
	Audirer,	

Infinitive.

Present & Preterim- perfect.	Laudari	} To be	{	Prais'd.
	Haberi			Hud.
	Legi			Read.
	Audiri			Heard.

*Verbs irregular in some Tenses
Passive.*

E*Dor, editor, or estur* : The rest is Regular.

The Verb *Fio*, is partly of the Third, and partly of the Fourth Conjugation, and hath only the Infinitive of the Passive Form.

Indicat. Pres. Sing. *Fio, fis, fit*,
Plur. *simus fitis, fiunt*. Preterimperfect, *Fiebam*. Preterperfect it wants.
Future *Fiam, &c.*

Imperat. *Fi, fito*. Plur. *fite, fitote*.
Fiant, fiunto.

Potent. Pres. *Fiam, &c.* Preterimperfect. *Fierem*.

Infinit. *Fieri*.

Also this Verb *Fero*, is contracted or short'n'd in some Tenses, both Active and Passive, as *Fers, fert, for feris, ferit, &c.*

Indicat. Pres. Sing. *Fero, fers, fert*,
Plur. — *fertis, —* Preterperfect. *Tuli*.

Imperat. *Ferferto, &c.* Plur. *Ferte fertote*.

Potent. Preterimperfect, *Ferrem, &c.*
Infinit. *Ferre*.

Passive.

Indicat. Pres. Sing. *Feror, ferris*
or *ferre, fertur, &c.*

Imperat. Sing. *Ferre, fertor, &c.*

Potent. Preterimperfect, *Ferrer*.

Infinit. *Ferri*.

Of Gerunds and Supines.

THere be also belonging to the Infinitive Mood of all Verbs certain Voices called Gerunds and Supines, both of the Active and Passive signification.

The first Gerund endeth in *di*, as *Laudandi* of praising or of being prais'd. The second in *do*, as *Laudando* in praising or in being prais'd. The third in *dum*, as *Laudandum* to praise or to be prais'd.

Note that in the two latter Conjugations, the Gerunds end sometimes in *undi*, *do*, *dum*, as *dicendi* or *dicundi* : But from *Eo* alwayes *eundi*, except in the Compound *Ambiendi*.

Supines are two. The first signifieth Actively, as *laudatum* to praise; the latter Passively, as *laudatu* to be praised. Note that most Neuters of the second Conjugation, and *volo, nolo, malo*, with many other Verbs, have no Supine.

Verbs of the four Conjugations irregular in the Preterperfect Tense or Supines.

Verbs of the first Conjugation form thir Preterperfect Tense in *avi*, Supine in *atum*, as *Laudo/laudavi laudatum*.

Except

Poto potavi potatum or *potum*; *neco necavi necatum* or *nectum*.

Domo, tono, sono, crepo, veto, cubo, form *ui, itum*, as *cubui cubitum*; but *secui sectum, fricui frictum, mico micui* : yet some of these are found Regular in the Preterperfect Tense or Supine, especially compounded, as *increpavit, discrepavit, dimicavit, sonatum, dimicatum, insonatum, infricatum*, and the like.

Plico and his Compounds form *ui* or *avi*, as *explicui explicavi, explicatum* or *explicatum*; except *supplico*, and such as are compounded with a Noun, as *Duplico Multiplico* in *avi* only.

But *Lavo lavi lautum lotum* or *lavatum, juvo juvi, adjuvo adjuvi adjutum*.

Do dedi datum, Sto steti statum, in the Compounds, *stiti, stitum* and sometimes *statum*, as *Presto prestiti prestitum* and *prestatum*.

Verbs of the second Conjugation form thir Preterperfect Tense in *ui*, thir Supine in *itum*, as *habeo habui habitum*.

Some are Regular in thir Preterperfect Tense, but not in thir Supines, as *doceo docui doctum, misceo miscui mistum, teneo tenui tentum, torreo torrui tostum, censeo censui censum, pateo patui passum, careo carui cassum* and *caritum*.

Others

Others are Irregular both in Preterperfect Tense and Supines, as *jubeo jussi jussum, sorbeo sorbui sorpsi scriptum, mulceo mulsi mulsum, luceo luxi.*

Deo in *di*, as *sedeo sedi sessum, video vidi visum, prandeo prandi pransum.* And some in *si*, as *suadeo suasi suassum, rideo risi risum, ardeo arsi arsum.* Four double thir first Letters, as *Pendeo pependi pensum, mordeo momordi morsum, spondeo sponendi sponsum, tondeo totondi tonsum,* but not in thir Compounds, as *dependi dependium.*

Geo in *si*, and some in *xi*, as *urgeo urxi, mulgeo mulsi mulxi mulsum, augeo auxi auctum, indulgeo indulsi indultum, frigeo frixi, lugeo luxi.*

leo leo and *neo nevi, vico vicvi victum*: But *Cieo cievi citum, deleo delevi deletum, fleo flevi fletum, compleo complevi completum*; as also the Compounds of *Oleo*, except *redoleo* and *suboleo*; but *adolevi adultum, neo nevi nectum, but maneo mansi, torqueo torxi tortum, hareo hæsi.*

Veo in *vi*, as *serveo fervi*, but *deserveo* *deservui*, *conniveo connivi* and *connixi, movi motum, vovi votum, cavi cautum, favi fautum.*

THe third Conjugation formeth the Preterperfect Tense, by changing *O* of the Present Tense into *I*; the Supine without certain Rule, as *lego legi lectum, bibo bibi bibitum, lambo lambi, scabo scabi, ico ici ictum, mando mandi mansum, pando pandi passum, edo edi esum or esum, in like manner comedo, the other compounds esum only; rudo rudi, fallo falli falsum, psallo psalli, emo emi emptum, viso visi visum, verto verti versum, solvo solvi solutum, volvo volvi volutum, exuo exui exutum, but ruo rui ruitum, in compound rutum, as derui derutum; ingruo, metuo metui.*

Others are irregular both in Preterperfect Tense and Supine.

In *bo*, *scribo scripsi scriptum, nubo nupsi nuptum, cumbo cubui cubitum.*

In *co*, *vinco vici victum, dico dixi dictum, in like manner duco, parco peperci and parsi parsum and parcitum.*

In *do*, these three lose *n*, *findo fidi fissum, scindo scidi scissum, fundo fudi fusum.* These following, *vado, rado, ludo, ludo, divido, trudo, claudio, plaudio, vodo, si* and *sum*, as *rosi rosum, but cedo cessi cessum.* The rest double thir first Letter in the Preterperfect Tense, but not compounded, as *tundo tutui tunsium, contundo contudi contusum, and so in other Compounds. Pendo pepen-*

di pensum, dependo dependi, tendo tetendi tensum and tentum, contendo contendi, pedo pepedi peditum, cado cecidi casum, occido, recido recidi recasum. The other Compounds have no Supine. *Cado cecidi casum, occido occidi occisum.* To these add all the compounds of *do* in this Conjugation, *addo, credo, edo, dedo, reddo, perdo, abdo, obdo, condo, indo, trado, prodo, vendo vendidi venditum,* except the double Compound, *obscondo obscondi.*

In *go*, *ago egi actum, dego degi, satego sategi, frango fregi fractum, pango to joyn pegi pactum, pango to sing panxi, ango anxi, jungo junxi junctum*; but these five, *Fingo mingo pingo stringo ringo lose n* in thir Supines, as *finxi fictum, ningo ninxi, figo fixi fixum, rego rexi rectum; diligo, negligo, intelligo, lexi lectum, spargo sparsi sparsum.* These double thir first Letter, *tango tetigi tactum*, but not in his Compounds, as *contingo contigi, pargo to bargain pepigi pactum, pungo and repungo pupugi and punxi punctum, the other Compounds punxi only.*

Ho in *xi*, *trabo traxi tractum, vebo vexi vectum.*

In *lo*, *vello velli and vulsi vulsum, colui cultum; excello, precello, cellui celsum; alo alui alitum altum.* The rest; not compounded, double thir first Letter, *Fallo fefelli falsum, refello refelli, pello pepuli pulsum, compello compuli, cello ceculi, percello perculi percussi percussum.*

In *mo*, *vomo vomui vomitum, tremo tremui, premo pressi pressum, como, premo, demo, sumo, after the same manner, as sumpsi, sumptum.*

In *No*, *sino sivi situm, sterno stravi stratum, sperno spreui spretum, lino levi lini and livi litum. cerno crevi cretum, temno tempsti, contemno contempsti contemptum, gigno genui genitum, pono posui positum, cano cecini cantum, concino concinui concentum.*

In *Po*, *rumpo rupi ruptum, scalpo scalpsi scalptum, the rest in ui, as strepo strepui strepitum.*

In *quo*, *linquo liqui, relinquo reliqui relictum, coquo coxi coctum.*

In *Ro*, *verro verri and versi versum; sero to sow sevi satum, in compound; situm, as infero insitum; sêlo of another signification most us'd in his compounds, Assero, confero, desero, exero; serui, sertum, uro ussi ustum, gero gessi gestum, quaero quaesivi quaesitum, tero trivi tritum, curro, excurro, praecurro, cucurri cursum, the other compounds double not, as concurro concurri.*

In *So*, *accerso*, *arcesso*, *incesso*, *laceſſo*, *ivi itum*, *capeſſo* both *i* and *ivi*, *pinſo* *pinſui piſtum* and *pinſitum*.

In *ſco*, *paſco pavi paſtum*; *compesco*, *diſpeſco*, *ui*; *poſco popoſci*, *diſco didici*, *quiniſco quexi*, *noſco novi notum*, but *agnosco agnitum*, *cognoſco cognitum*.

In *to*, *ſiſto ſtiti ſtatum*, *ſteſto flexi flexum*, *peſto pexui pexi pexum* and *peſtitum*, *neſto nexui nexi nexum*, *pleſto plexi plexum*, *ſterto ſtertui*, *meto meſſui meſſum*, *mitto miſi miſſum*, *peto petivi petitum*.

In *vo*, *vivo vixi viſtum*.

In *xo*, *texo texui textum*, *nexo nexui nexum*.

In *cio*, *facio feci factum*, *jacio jeci jaſtum*, *lacio lexi lectum*, *ſpecio ſpexi ſpectum*, with thir Compounds, but *elicio elicui elicium*.

In *dio*, *fodio fodi foſſum*.

In *gio*, *fugio fugi fugitum*.

In *pio*, *capiſco cepi captum*, *rapio rapui raptum*, *cupio cupivi cupitum*, *ſapio ſapui ſapivi ſapitum*.

In *vio*, *pario peperī partum*.

In *tio*, *quatio quaſſi quaſſum*, *concutio concuſſi concuſſum*.

In *uo*, *pluo pluvi plutum*, *ſtruo ſtruxi ſtructum*, *fluo fluxi fluxum*.

THe fourth Conjugation formeth the Preterperfect Tenſe in *ivi*, the Supine in *itum*.

Except, *Venio veni ventum*, *comperio*, *reperio*, *reperi repertum*, *cambio campſi campſum*, *ſeipſo ſeipſi ſeptum*, *farcio farſi faritum*, *fulceo fulſi fultum*, *ſentio ſenſi ſenſum*, *haurio hauſi hauſtum*, *ſancio ſanxi ſanctum ſancitum*, *vincio vinxi vinctum*, *ſulio ſalui ſaltum*, in Compound *ſultum*, as *deſilio deſilui deſultum*, *amicio amicui amictum*, *aperio*, *operio perui pertum*, *veneo venivi venum*, *ſingultivi ſingultum*, *ſepelivi ſepultum*.

Of Verbs Compounded.

THeſe Verbs Compounded change *a* into *e* throughout, *Damno*, *laſto*, *ſacro*, *ſallo*, *arceo*, *traſto*, *partio*, *farcio*, *carpo*, *patro*, *ſcando*, *ſpargo*, as *conſpergo conſperſi conſperſum*.

Theſe following change thir firſt Vowel into *i*, and ſom of them thir Supines into *e*, *babeo*, *lateo*, *ſalio*, *ſtatio*, *cado*, *lædo*, *cano*, *quæro*, *cædo*, *tango*, *egeo*, *teneo*, *taceo*, *ſapio*, *rapio*, *placeo*, *diſpliceo*, *diſplicui diſplicitum*; except *complaceo* *perplaceo* *poſthabeo*.

Scalpo, *calco*, *ſalto*, change *a* into *u*, as *exculpo*; *claudio* *quatio* *lavo* loſe *a*

as *excludo*, *excutio*, *eluo*.

Theſe following change thir firſt Vowel into *i*, but not in the Preterperfect Tenſe, and ſometimes *a* into *e* in the Supine, *emo*, *ſedeo*, *rego*, *frango*, *capiſco*, *jacio*, *lacio*, *ſpecio*, *premo*, as *comprimo* *compreſſi* *compreſſum*, *conſpicio* *conſpexi* *conſpectum*, *pango* in two only, *compingo*; *impingo*: *Ago*, in all but *perago*, *ſatago*, *circumago*, *dego* and *cogo* *coegi*: *Facio* with a Prepoſition only, not in other Compounds, as *inſicio*, *olſacio*: *Lego* in theſe only, *diligo*, *eligo*, *intelligo*, *negligo*, *ſeligo*, in the reſt not, as *prælego*, add to theſe *ſuperſedeo*.

Of Verbs Deſective.

Verbs called Inceptives ending in *ſco*, borrow thir Preterperfect Tenſe from the Verb wherof they are deriv'd, as *tepeſco* *tepui* from *tepeo*, *ingemiſco* *ingemui* from *ingemo*; as alſo theſe Verbs, *cerno* to ſee, *vidi* from *video*, *ſido ſedi* from *ſedeo*, *fero tuli* from *tulo* out of uſe, in the Supine *latum*, *tollo ſuſtuli ſublaturum* from *ſuffero*.

Theſe want the Preterperfect Tenſe.

Verbs ending in *aſco*, as *pueraſco*; in *iſco*, as *fatiſco*; in *urio*, except *parturio*, *eſurio*: theſe alſo, *vergo*, *ambigo*, *ferio*, *furo*, *polleo*, *nideo*, have no Preterperfect Tenſe.

Contrary, theſe four, *Odi*, *capi*, *novi*, *memini*, are found in the Preterperfect Tenſe only, and the Tenſes thence deriv'd, as *odi*, *oderam*, *oderim*, *odiſſem*, *odero*, *odiſſe*, except *memini*, which hath *memento* *mementote* in the Imperative.

Others are defective both in Tenſe and Perſon, as *Aio*, *ais*, *ait*, Plur. *aiunt*. The Preterimperfect *aiëbam* is intire. Imperative, *ai*. Potential, *aias*, *aiat*, Plur. *aiamus*, *aiant*.

Auſim for *auſus ſim*, *auſis*, *auſit*, Plur. *auſint*.

Salveo, *ſalvebis*, *ſalve ſalveto*, *ſalvete ſalvetote*, *ſalvere*.

Ave *aveto*, *avete avetote*.

Faxo, *faxis*, *faxit*, *faxint*.

Quæſo, Plur. *quæſumus*.

Inſit, *inſunt*.

Inquiro or *inquam*, *inquis inquit*, Plur. *inquunt*. *Inquibat*, Cic. Topic. *inquiſti*, *inquit*. Future, *inquies*, *inquiet*, Imperat. *Inque inquito*. Potent. *Inquiat*.

Dor the firſt Perſon Paſſive of *do*, and for before *farris* or *farre* in the Indicative, are not read, nor *der* or *fer* in the Potential.

Of a Participle.

A Participle is a part of Speech, partaking with the Verb from whence it is deriv'd in Voice, Tense, and Signification, and with a Noun Adjective in manner of Declining.

Participles are either of the Active or Passive Voice.

Of the *Active* Two. One of the Present Tense ending in *ans*, or *ens*, as *laudans* praising, *habens*, *legens*, *audiens*, and is declin'd like *felix*, as *hic hac* & *hoc habens*, Gen. *habentis*, Dat. *habentis*, &c. *Docens* *docentis*, &c. But from *eo*, *eum*, and in the compounds *iens* *cun-ctis*, except *ambiens* *ambientis*. Note that some Verbs otherwise defective, have this Participle, as *aiens* *inquiens*.

The other of the Future Tense is most commonly form'd of the first Supine, by changing *m* into *urus*, as of *laudatum* *laudaturus* to praise or about to praise, *habiturus*, *lecturus*, *auditurus*; but some are not regularly form'd, as of *sectum* *secaturus*, of *jutum* *juvaturus*, *sonitum* *sonaturus*, *partum* *pariturus*, *argutum* *arguiturus*, and such like; of *sum*, *futurus*: This, as also the other two Participles following are declin'd like *bonus*.

This Participle, with the Verb *Sum*, affordeth a second Future in the Active Voice, as *laudaturus sum*, *er*, *est*, &c. as also the Future of the Infinitive, as *laudaturum esse* to praise hereafter, *futurum esse*, &c.

Participles of the Passive Voice are also two, one of the Preterperfect tense, another of the Future.

A Participle of the Preterperfect Tense, is form'd of the latter Supine, by putting thereto *s*, as of *laudatu* *laudatus* prais'd, of *habitu* *habitus*, *lectu* *lectus*, *auditu* *auditus*.

This Participle joyn'd with the Verb *Sum*, supplieth the want of a Preterperfect and Preterpluperfect Tense in the Indicative Mood passive, and both them and the Future of the Potential; as also the Preterperfect and Preterpluperfect of the Infinitive, and with *ire* or *fore* the Future; as *laudatus sum* or *fui* I have been prais'd, Plur. *laudati sumus* or *fuiimus* we have been prais'd, *laudatus eram* or *fueram*, &c. Potential, *laudatus sum* or *fuerim*, *laudatus essem* or *fuissem*, *laudatus ero* or *fuero*. Infinit. *laudatum esse* or *fuisse* to have or had been prais'd; *laudatum ire* or *fore* to be prais'd hereafter.

Nor only Passives, but some Actives also or Neuters, besides thir own Preterperfect tense borrow another from this Participle; *Cano Canavi* and *Canatus sum*, *Juravi* and *Juratus*, *Potavi* and *Potatus sum*, *Titubavi* and *titubatus*, *Carco carni cassus sum*, *Prandeo prandi* and *pransus*, *Pateo patui* and *passus sum*, *Placco placui* *placitus*, *Suesco suevi* *suetus sum*, *Libet libuit* and *libitum est*, *Licet licuit* *licitum*, *Pudet puduit* *puditum*, *Piget piguit* *pigitum*, *Tedet teduit* *pertasum est*, and this Deponent *Mereor merui* and *meritus sum*.

These Neuters following, like Passives, have no other Preterperfect Tense, but by this Participle, *Gaudeo gavisus sum*, *fido fisis*, *audeo ausus*, *fio factus*, *soleo solitus sum*.

These Deponents also form this Participle from Supines irregular; *Labor lapsus*, *patior passus*, *perpetior perpeffus*, *fateor fassus*, *confiteor*, *diffiteor diffessus*, *gradior gressus*, *ingredior ingressus*, *satisco fessus*, *metior mensus*, *utor usus*; *ordior* to spin *orditus*, to begin *orsus*, *nitor nisus* and *nixus*, *ulcisco ultus*, *irascor iratus*, *reor ratus*, *obliviscor oblitus*; *fruor fructus* or *fruitus*, *miseror misertus*; *tuor* and *tueor tuitus*, *loquor locutus*, *sequor secutus*, *experior expertus*, *pacisco pactus*, *nancisco nactus*, *apisco aptus*, *adipisco adeptus*, *queror questus*, *proficiscor profectus*, *expergiscor experrectus*, *commiscor commensus*, *nascor natus*, *mori-or mortuus*, *orior ortus sum*.

A Participle of the Future Passive is form'd of the Gerund in *dum*, by changing *m* into *s*, as of *laudandum* *laudandus* to be prais'd, of *habendum* *habendus*, &c. And likewise of this Participle with the Verb *Sum*, may be form'd the same Tenses in the Passive, which were form'd with the Participle of the Preterperfect Tense, as *laudandus sum* or *fui*, &c.

Infinit. *Laudandum esse* or *fore*.

Of Verbs Deponent com Participles both of the Active and Passive form, as *loquor loquens locutus locuturus loquendus*; wherof the Participle of the Preter Tense signifieth sometimes both Actively and Passively, as *dignatus*, *testatus*, *meditatus*, and the like.

Of an Adverb.

AN Adverb is a part of Speech joyn'd with some other to explain its signification, as *valde probus* very honest, *benè est* it is well, *valde doctus* very learned, *benè mane* early in the morning.

Of Adverbs, some be of Time, as *hodie* to day, *cras* to morrow, &c.

Some

Som be of *Place*, as *Ubi* where, *ibi* there, &c. And of many other sorts needless to be here set down.

Certain Adverbs also are compar'd, as *Doctè* learnedly, *doctius doctissime*, *fortiter fortius fortissime*, *sape sapius sapissime*, and the like.

Of a Conjunction.

A Conjunction is a part of Speech that joyneth Words and Sentences together.

Of Conjunctions some be Copulatives, as *&* and, *quoque* also, *nec* neither.

Som be disjunctive, as *aut* or.

Som be Causal, as *nam* for, *quia* because, and many such like.

Adverbs when they govern Mood and Tense, and joyn Sentences together, as *cum*, *ubi*, *postquam*, and the like, are rather to be call'd Conjunctions.

Of a Preposition.

A Preposition is a part of Speech most commonly, either set before Nouns in Apposition, as *ad patrem*, or joyn'd with any other words in Composition, as *indoctus*.

These six, *di*, *dis*, *re*, *se*, *am*, *con*, are not read but in Composition.

As Adverbs having Cases after them, may be call'd Prepositions, so Prepositions having none, may be counted Adverbs.

Of an Interjection.

AN Interjection is a part of Speech, expressing som passion of the mind.

Som be of sorrow, as *heu*, *hei*.

Som be of marvelling, as *papa*.

Som of disdain, as *vah*.

Som of praising, as *euge*.

Som of exclaiming, as *ô*, *proh*, and such like.

Figures of Speech.

Words are sometimes encreast or diminisht by a Letter or Syllable in the beginning, middle or ending, which are call'd *Figures of Speech*.

Encreast

In the beginning, as *Gnatus* for *Natus*, *Tetuli* for *tuli*. *Prothesis*.

In the middle, as *Rettulit* for *Retulit*, *Cinctutus* for *Cinctus*. *Epenthesis*.

In the end, as *Dicier* for *dici*. *Paragoge*.

Diminisht.

In the beginning, as *Ruit* for *Eruit*. *Apherisis*.

In the middle, as *Audit* for *Andivir*, *Dixi* for *dixisti*, *Lamna* for *lansina*. *Syncope*.

In the end, as *Consili* for *consilii*; *scin* for *scisne*. *Apocope*.

The second Part of Grammar, commonly called *Syntaxis*, or *Construction*.

Hitherto the Eight Parts of Speech Declin'd and Undeclin'd have been spoken of single, and each one by it self: Now followeth *Syntaxis* or *Construction*, which is the right joyning of these parts together in a Sentence.

Construction consisteth either in the agreement of words together in Number, Gender, Case, and Person, which is call'd Concord; or the governing of one the other in such Case or Mood as is to follow.

Of the Concords.

THere be *Three* Concords or Agreements.

The *First* is of the Adjective with his Substantive.

The *Second* is of the Verb with his Nominative Case.

The *Third* is of the Relative with his Antecedent.

An Adjective (under which is comprehended both Pronoun and Participle) with his Substantive or Substantives, a Verb with his Nominative Case or Cases, and a Relative with his Antecedent or Antecedents, agree all in number, and the two latter in person also: as *Amicus certus. Viri docti. Praeceptor praelegit, vos vero negligitis. Xenophon & Plato fuere equales. Vir sapit, qui pauca loquitur. Pater & Praeceptor veniunt. Yea though the Conjunction be disjunctive, as Quos neque desidia neque luxuria vitiauerant. Cellus. Pater & Praeceptor, quos queritis. But if a Verb singular follow many Nominatives, it must be applied to each of them apart, as *Nisi foro & curia officium ac verecundia sua confiterit. Val. Max.**

An Adjective with his Substantive, and a Relative with his Antecedent agree

agree in Gender and Case; but the Relative not in case always, being oft-times govern'd by other constructions: as *Amicus certus in re incerta cernitur. Liber quem dedisti mihi.*

And if it be a Participle serving the Infinitive Mood future, it oft-times agrees not with the Substantive neither in Gender nor in Number, as *Hanc sibi rem praesidio sperat futurum. Cic. Audierat non datum ire filio uxorem. Terent. Omnia potius actum iri puto quam de provincis. Cic.*

But when a Verb cometh between two Nominative Cases not of the same number, or a Relative between two Substantives not of the same Gender, the Verb in Number, and the Relative in Gender may agree with either of them; as *Amantium ire amoris integratio est. Quid enim nisi vota supersunt. Tuentur illum globum qui terra dicitur. Animal plenum rationis, quem vocamus hominem. Lutetia est quam nos Parisios dicimus.*

And if the Nominative Cases be of several persons, or the Substantives and Antecedents of several Genders, the Verb shall agree with the second person before the third, and with the first before either; and so shall the Adjective or Relative in thir Gender; as *Ego & tu sumus in tuto. Tu & Pater periclitamini. Pater & Mater mortui sunt. Frater & Soror quos vidisti.*

But in things that have not life, an Adjective or Relative of the Neuter Gender, may agree with Substantives or Antecedents, Masculin or Feminin, or both together; as *Arcus & calami sunt bona. Arcus & calami quae fregisti. Pulchritudinem, constantiam, ordinem in Consiliis factisque conservanda putat. Cic. Off. 1. Ira & agridudo permixta sunt. Sal.*

Note that the Infinitive Mood, or any part of a Sentence may be instead of a Nominative Case to the Verb, or of a Substantive to the Adjective, or of an Antecedent to the Relative, and then the Adjective or Relative shall be of the Neuter Gender: And if there be more parts of a Sentence then one, the Verb shall be in the plural number; *Diluculo surgere saluberrimum est. Virtutem sequi, vita est honestissima. Audito proconsulem in Ciliciam tendere. In tempore veni, quod omnium rerum est primum. Tu multum dormis & saepe potas, quae duo sunt corpori inimica.*

Sometimes also an Adverb is put for the Nominative Case to a Verb, and for a Substantive to an Adjective; as

Partim signorum sunt combusta. Propetities & vicies erogatum est. Cic. verr. 4.

Sometimes also agreement, whether it be in Gender or Number, is ground-ed on the sense, not on the words; as *Illum senium* for *illum senem. Iste scelus* for *iste scelestus. Ter. Transtulit in Eunuchum suam*, meaning *Comediam. Ter. Pars magna obligati*, meaning *Homines. Liv. Impliciti laqueis nudus uterque* for *Ambd. Ov. Alter in alterius jactantes lumina, vultus. Ovid. that is, Alter & alter. Insperanti ipsa refert te nobis*, for *mibi. Catul. Disce omnes. Virg. Aen. 2. for tu quisquis es. Dna importuna prodigia, quos egestas tribuno plebis restrictos addixerat. Cic. pro Sest. Pars mersitenuere ratem. Rhemus cum fratre Quirino jura dabant. Virg. that is, Rhemus & frater Quirinus. Divellimur inde Iphitus & Pelias mecum. Virg.*

Construction of Substantives.

Hitherto of Concord or Agreement; the other part followeth, which is *Governing*, wherby one part of Speech is govern'd by another, that is to say, is put in such Case or Mood as the word that governeth or goeth before in construction requireth.

When two Substantives com together, betokening divers things, wherof the former may be an Adjective in the Neuter Gender taken for a Substantive, the latter (which also may be a Pronoun) shall be in the Genitive Case; as *Facundia Ciceronis. Amator studiorum. Ferimur per opaca locorum. Corruptus vanis rerum. Hor. Desiderium tui Pater ejus.*

Sometimes the former Substantive, as this word *Officium* or *Mos*, is understood; as *Oratoris est*, It is the part of an Orator. *Extrema est dementia*, It is the manner of extream madness. *Ignavi est*, It is the quality of a slothful man. *Ubi ad Dianae veneris; Templum* is understood. *Iustitiene prius mirer belline laborum. Virg. Understand Causa. Neque illi seposui Ciceris, neque longae invidit avenae. Hor. Supply partem.*

But if both the Substantives be spoken of one thing, which is call'd apposition, they shall be both of the same Case; as *Pater meus vir, amat me puerum.*

Words that signifie Quality, following the Substantive wherof they are spoken, may be put in the Genitive or Ablative Case; as *Puer bonae indolis*, or *bona indole*. Som have a Genitive only; as *Ingentis Rex nominis. Liv. De-*

cem annorum puer. Hujusmodi pax. Hujus generis animal. But *genus* is sometimes in the Accusative: as *Si hoc genus rebus non proficitur.* Varr. *de re rust.* And the cause or manner of a thing in the Ablative only; as *Sum tibi natura parens, praeceptor consilii.*

Opus and *Usus* when they signify Need, require an Ablative; as *Opus est mihi tuo judicio. Viginti minis usus est filio.* But *Opus* is sometimes taken for an Adjective undeclin'd, and signifieth Needful: as *Dux nobis & Auctor opus est. Alia quæ opus sunt para.*

Construction of Adjectives, governing a Genitive.

Adjectives that signify Desire, Knowledge, Ignorance, Remembrance, Forgetfulness, and such like; as also certain others deriv'd from Verbs, and ending in *ax*, require a Genitive; as *Cupidus auri. Peritus belli. Ignarus omnium. Memor prateriti. Reus furti. Tenax propositi. Tempus edax rerum.*

Adjectives call'd Nouns Partitive, because they signify part of some whole quantity or number, govern the word that signifieth the thing parted or divided, in the Genitive; as *Aliquis nostrum. Primus omnium. Aurium mollior est sinistra. Oratorum eloquentissimus.* And oft in the Neuter Gender; as *Multum lucri. Id negotii. Hoc noctis.* Sometimes, though seldom, a word signifying the whole, is read in the same Case with the Partitive, as *Habet duos gladios quibus altero te occisurum minatur, altero villicum,* Plaut. For *Quorum altero. Magnum opus habeo in manibus; quod jam pridem ad hunc ipsum (me autem dicebat) quedam institui.* Cic. Acad. 1. *Quod quedam for cuius quedam.*

A Dative.

Adjectives that betoken Profit or Disprofit, Likeness or Unlikeness, Fitness, Pleasure, Submitting, or belonging to any thing, require a Dative; as *Labor est utilis corpori. Equalis Hectori. Idoneus bello. Jucundus omnibus. Parenti supplex. Mihi proprium.*

But such as betoken Profit or Disprofit have sometimes an Accusative with a Preposition; as *Homo ad nullam partem utilis.* Cic. *Inter se aequales.*

And some Adjectives signifying Likeness, Unlikeness, or Relation, may have a Genitive. *Par hujus. Ejus culpa affines.*

Domini similis es. Commune animantium est conjunctionis appetitus. Alienum dignitatis ejus. Cic. Fin. 1. *Fuit hoc quondam proprium populi Romani longè a domo bellare.* But *propior* and *proximus* admit sometimes an Accusative; as *proximus Pompeium sedebam.* Cic.

An Accusative.

Nouns of Measure are put after Adjectives of like signification in the Accusative, and sometimes in the Ablative; as *Turris alta centum pedes. Arbor lata tres digitos. Liber crassus tres pollices, or tribus pollicibus.* Sometimes in the Genitive; as *Areas latas pedum denum facito.*

All words expressing part or parts of a thing, may be put in the Accusative, or sometimes in the Ablative; as *Saucius frontem* or *fronte. Excepto quod non simul esses cetera latus.* Hor. *Nuda pedem.* Ov. *Os humerosque deo similis.* Virg. Sometimes in the Genitive: as *Dubius memis.*

An Ablative.

Adjectives of the Comparative degree englist with this sign then or by, as also *Dignus, Indignus, Præditus, Contentus*, and these words of Price, *Carus, vilis*, require an Ablative; as *Frigidior glacie. Multo doctior. Uno pede altior. Dignus honore. Virtute præditus. Sorte sua contentus. Asse charum.*

But of Comparatives, *plus, amplius*, and *minus*, may govern a Genitive, also a Nominative, or an Accusative; as *Plus quinquaginta hominum. Amplius duorum millium. Ne plus tertia pars eximatur mellis.* Varro. *Paulo plus quingentos passus. Ut ex sua cuiusque parte ne minus dimidium ad fratrem perveniret.* Cic. Verr. 4. And *Dignus, Indignus*, have sometimes a Genitive after them; as *Militia est operis altera digna tui. Indignus avorum.* Virg.

Adjectives betokening Plenty or Want, will have an Ablative, and sometimes a Genitive; as *Vacuus ira, or ira. Nulla Epistola inanis re aliqua. Ditiſſimus agri. Stultorum pleno sunt omnia. Integer vita, scelerisque purus. Expers omnium. Vobis immunibus hujus esse moli dabitur.*

Words also betokening the cause, or form, or manner of a thing, are put after Adjectives in the Ablative Case; as *Pallidus ira. Trepidus morte futura. Nomine Grammaticus, re Barbarus.*

Of Pronouns.

Pronouns differ not in Construction from Nouns, except that Possessives, *Meus, tuus, suus, noster, vester*, by a certain manner of speech, are sometimes joyn'd to a Substantive, which governs thir Primitive understood with a Noun or Participle in a Genitive Case; as *Dico mea unius opera rempublicam esse liberatam*, Cic. for *Mei unius opera*. In like manner *Nostri*, *duorum*, *trium*, *pauorum*, *omnium virtute*, for *nostrum duorum*, &c. *Meum solius peccatum*, Cic. *Ex tuo ipsius animo*. For *Tui ipsius*. *Ex sua cuiusque parte*, Id. Verr. 2. *Ne tua quidem recentia proximi Pratoris vestigia persequi poterat*. Cic. verr. 4. *Si meas presentis preces non putas profuisse*, id. Pro Planc. *Nostros vidisti stentis ocellos*. Ovid.

Also a Relative, as *qui* or *is*, sometimes answers to an Antecedent Noun or Pronoun Primitive understood in the Possessive; as *Omnes laudare fortunas meas qui filium haberem tali ingenio præditum*. Terent.

Construction of Verbs.

Verbs for the most part govern either one case after them, or more then one in a different manner of Construction.

Of the Verb Substantive *Sum*, and such like, with a Nominative, and other oblique Cases.

Verbs that signifie Being, as *Sum, existo, fio*; and certain Passives, as *dicor, vocor, salutor, appellor, habeor, existimor, videor*; also Verbs of motion or rest, as *incedo, discedo, sedeo*, with such like, will have a Nominative Case after them, as they have before them, because both Cases belong to the same person or thing, and the latter is rather in apposition with the former, then govern'd by the Verb; as *Temperantia est virtus*. Horatius salutat Poeta. *At ego quæ divum incedo regina*.

And if *est* be an Impersonal, it may sometimes govern a Genitive, as *Ufus Poeta, ut moris est, licentia*. Phædrus l. 4. *Negavit moris esse Græcorum ut* &c. Cic. Verr. 2.

But if the following Noun be of another person, or not directly spoken of

the former, both after *Sum* and all his Compounds, except *possum*, it shall be put in the Dative; as *Est mihi domi pater*. *Multa petentibus desunt multa*.

And if a thing be spoken of, relating to the person, it may be also in the Dative; as *Sum tibi presidio*. *Hæc res est mihi voluptati*. *Quorum alteri Capioni cognomen fuit*. Cic. *Pastori nomen Faustulo fuisse ferunt*. Liv.

Of Verbs Transitives with an Accusative, and the Exceptions therto belonging.

Verbs Active or Deponent, call'd Transitive, because thir action passeth forth on som person or thing, will have an Accusative after them of the person or thing to whom the action is don; as *Amo te*. *Vitium fuge*. *Deum venerare*. *Ufus promptos facit*. *Juvat me*. *Oportet te*.

Also Verbs call'd Neuters, may have an Accusative of thir own signification; as *Duram servit servitutum*. *Longam ire viam*. *Endymionis somnum dormis*. *Pastillos Rufillus olet*. *Nec vox hominem sonat*. *Cum Glaucum saltasset*. *Paterc*. *Agit letum convivam*. Horat. *Hoc me latet*.

But these Verbs, though Transitive, *Misereor* and *Misereasco*, pass into a Genitive; as *Miserere mei*. Sometimes into a Dative: *Huic misereor*. Sen. *Dilige bonos, misereasce malis*. Boet.

Reminiscor, Obliviscor, Recordor, and Memini, sometimes also require a Genitive; as *Data fidei reminiscitur*. *Memini tui*. *Obliviscor carmini*. Sometime retain the Accusative; as *Recordor pueritiam*. *Omnia quæ curant senes meminerrunt*. Plaut.

These Impersonals also, *interest* and *refert*, signifying to concern, require a Genitive, except in these Ablatives Feminine, *Mea, tua, sua, nostra, vestra, cuja*. And the measure of concernment is often added in these Genitives, *magni, parvi, tanti, quanti*, with thir Compounds; as *Interest omnium recte agere*. *Tua refert teipsum nosse*. *Vestra parvi interest*.

But Verbs of Profiting or Disprofiting, Believing, Pleasing, Obeying, Opposing, or being angry with, pass into a Dative; as *non potes mihi commodare nec incommodare*. *Placeo omnibus*. *Crede mihi*. *Nimiam ne crede colori*. *Pareo parentibus*. *Tibi repugno*. *Adolescenti nihil est quod succenseat*. But of
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the first and third sort, *Juvo, adjuvo, ludo, offendo,* retain an Accusative.

Lastly, these Transitives, *fungor, fruor, utor, potior*, and Verbs betokening want, pass direct into an Ablative, *Fungitur officio. Aliena frui infania, Utere sorte tua.* But *fungor, fruor, utor*, had antiently an Accusative. Verbs of want, and *potior*, may have also a Genitive. *Pecunia indiget. Quasi tu hujus indigeas patris. Potior Urbe, or Urbis.*

Sometimes a phrase of the same signification with a single Verb, may have the Case of the Verb after it; as *id operam do*, that is to say, *id ago. Idne estis authores mihi?* for *id suadetis. Quid me vobis tactio est?* for *tangitis.* Plaut. *Quid tibi hanc curatio est rem?* Id.

The Accusative with a Genitive.

Hitherto of Transitives governing thir Accusative, or other Case, in single and direct Construction: Now of such as may have after them more Cases then one in Construction direct and oblique, that is to say, with an Accusative, a Genitive, Dative, other Accusative, or Ablative.

Verbs of esteeming, buying or selling, besides thir Accusative, will have a Genitive betokening the value of price, *flocci, nihili, pili, hujus*, and the like after Verbs of esteeming: *Tanti, quanti, pluris, minoris*, and such like, put without a Substantive, after Verbs of buying or selling; as *Non hujus te aestimo. Ego illum flocci pendo. Equi boni hoc facio or consulo. Quanti mercatus es hunc equum? Pluris quam vellem.*

But the word of Value is sometimes in the Ablative; as *Parvi or parvo estimas probitatem.* And the word of Price most usually; as *Teruncio eum non emerim.* And particularly in these Adjectives, *Vili, paulo, minimo, magno, nimio, plurimo, dimidio, duplo*, put without a Substantive, as *Vili vendo triticum. Redimite captum quam queas minimo.* And sometimes *minore* for *minoris*. *Nam a Calio propinqui minore centessimis nummum movere non possunt.* Cic. Att. l. i. But Verbs Neuter or Passive have only the oblique Cases after them; as *Tanti eris aliis, quanti tibi fueris. Pudor parvi penditur.* Which is also to be observ'd in the following Rules.

And this Neuter *Valeo* governeth the word of value in the Accusative; as *Denarii dicti quod denos aris valebant.* Varr.

Verbs of admonishing, accusing, condemning, acquitting, will have, besides thir Accusative, a Genitive of the Crime, or Penaltie, or Thing; as *Admonuit me errati. Accusas me furti? Vitem sceleris damnat. Furem dupli condemnavit.* And sometimes an Ablative with a Preposition, or without; as *Condemnabo eodem ego te crimine. Accusas furti, an stupri, an utroque? Derepetundis accusavit, or damnavit.* Cic.

Also these Impersonals, *penitet, tædet, miseret, miserescit, pudet, piget*, to thir Accusative will have a Genitive, either of the person, or of the thing; as *Nostri nosmet penitet. Urbis me tædet. Misere me tui. Pudet me negligentia.*

An Accusative with a Dative.

Verbs of giving or restoring, promising or paying, commanding or shewing, trusting or threatening, add to thir Accusative a Dative of the person; as *Fortuna multis nummum dedit. Hæc tibi promitto. As alienum mihi numeravit. Frumentum imperat civitatibus. Quid & cui dicas, videto. Hoc tibi suadeo. Tibi or ad te scribo. Pecuniam omnem tibi credo. Utrique mortem minatus est.*

To these add Verbs Active compounded with these Prepositions, *præ, ad, ab, con, de, ex, ante, sub, post, ob, in* and *inter*; as *Præcipio hoc tibi. Admovi urbi exercitum. Collega suo imperium abrogavit. Sic parvis componere magna solebam.*

Neuters have a Dative only; as *Meis majoribus virtute præluxi.* But some compounded with *præ* and *ante* may have an Accusative; as *Præstat ingenio alius alium. Multos antea sapientia.* Others with a Preposition; as *Quæ ad ventris victum conducunt. In hæc studia incumbite.* Cic.

Also all Verbs Active, betokening acquisition, likening or relation, commonly englished with *to* or *for*, have to thir Accusative a Dative of the person; as *Magnam laudem sibi peperit. Huic habeo non tibi. Se illis æquarunt. Expedi mihi hoc negotium:* but *mihi, tibi, sibi*, sometimes are added for Elegance, the sense not requiring; as *Suo hunc sibi jugulat gladio.* Terent. Neuters a Dative only; as *Non omnibus dormio. Libet mihi. Tibi licet.*

Sometimes a Verb Transitive will have to his Accusative a double Dative, one of the person, another of the thing;

as *Do tibi vestem pignori. Verto hoc tibi vitis. Hoc tu tibi laudi ducis.*

A double Accusative.

VERBS of asking, teaching, arraying, and concealing, will have two Accusatives, one of the person, another of the thing; as *Rogo te pecuniam. Doceo te literas. Quod te jamdudum hortor. Induit se calceos. Hoc me celabas.*

And being Passives, they retain one Accusative of the thing, as *Suntumque recingitur anguem. Ovid. Met. 4. Induitur togam. Mart.*

But Verbs of arraying sometimes change the one Accusative into an Ablative or Dative; as *Induo te tunica, or tibi tunicam. Instravit equum penula, or equo penulam.*

An Accusative with an Ablative.

VERBS Transitive may have to their Accusative an ablative of the instrument or cause, matter, or manner of doing; and Neuters the Ablative only; as *Ferit eum gladio. Taceo metu. Malis gaudet alienis. Summa eloquentia causam egis. Capitolium saxo quadrato substructum est. Tuo consilio nitor. Vescor pane. Affluis opibus. Amore abundas.* Sometimes with a Preposition of the manner; as *Summa cum humanitate me tractavit.*

Verbs of endowing, imparting, depriving, discharging, filling, emptying, and the like, will have an Ablative, and sometimes a Genitive; as *Dono te hoc annulo. Plerima salute te impertit. Aliquem familiarem suo sermone participavit. Paternum servum sui participavit consilii. Interdico tibi aqua & igni. Libero te hoc metu. Implentur veteris Bacchi.*

Also Verbs of comparing or exceeding, will have an Ablative of the excess; as *Praefero hunc multis gradibus. Magno intervallo eum superat.*

After all manner of Verbs, the word signifying any part of a thing, may be put in the Genitive, Accusative, or Ablative; as *Absurdè facis qui angas te animi. Pendet animi. Discrucior animi. Desipit mentis. Candet dentes. Rubet capillos. Egrotat animo, magis quam corpore.*

Nouns of Time and Place after Verbs.

NOUNS betokening part of time, be put after Verbs in the Ablative, and sometimes in the Accusative; as

*Nocte vigilas, luce dormis. Nullam partem noctis requiescit. Cic. Abhinc triennium ex Andro commigravit. Ter. Respondit triduo illum, ad summum quatri-duo periturum. Cic. Or if continuance of time, in the Accusative, sometimes in the Ablative; as *Sexaginta annos natus. Hyemem totam steris. Imperium deponere maluerunt, quam id tenere punctum temporis contra Religionem. Cic. Imperavit triennio, & decem mensibus. Suet. Sometimes with a Preposition; as *Ferè in diebus paucis, quibus hac acta sunt. Ter. Rarely with a Genitive; as *Temporis angusti mansit concordia discors. Lucan.****

Also Nouns betokening space between places are put in the Accusative, and sometimes in the Ablative; as *Pedem hinc ne discefferis. Abest ab Urbe quingentis millibus passuum. Terra marique gentibus imperavit.*

Nouns that signify Place, and also proper Names of greater places, as Countries, be put after Verbs of moving or remaining, with a Preposition, signifying *to, from, in, or by,* in such case as the Preposition requireth; as *Proficiscor ab Urbe. Vivit in Anglia. Veni per Galliam in Italiam.*

But if it be the proper name of a lesser Place, as of a City, Town, or lesser Island, or any of these four, *Humus, Domus, Militia, Bellum,* with these signs, *on, in, or at* before them, being of the first or second Declension, and singular number, they shall be put in the Genitive; if of the third Declension, or plural Number, or this word *rus,* in the Dative or Ablative; as *Vixit Romæ, Londini. Ea habitabat Rhodi. Conon plurimum Cypri vixit. Cor. Nep. Procumbit humi bas. Domi bellique simul viximus. Militavit Cathagini or Carthagine. Studuit Athenis. Ruri or rure educatus est.*

If the Verb of moving be to a place, it shall be put in the Accusative; as *Eo Romam, Domum, Rus.* If from a place, in the Ablative; as *Discessit Londino. Abiit Domo. Rure est Reversus.*

Sometimes with a Preposition; as *A Brundisio profectus est. Cic. Manil. Ut ab Athenis in Bæotiam irem. Sulpit. apud Cic. Fam. l. 4. Cum te profectum ab domo scirem. Liv. l. 8.*

Construction of Passives.

A Verb Passive will have after it an Ablative of the doer, with the preposition *a* or *ab* before it, sometimes without, and more often a Dative: as
Virgilium

Virgilius legitur a me. Fortes creantur fortibus. Hor. *Tibi fama petatur.* And Neutropassives, as *Vapulo, venco, liceo, exulo, fio*, may have the same Construction; as *Ab hoste venire.*

Sometimes an Accusative of the thing is found after a Passive; as *Coronari Olympia.* Hor. Epist. 1. *Cyclopa move-tur.* Hor. for *salta* or *egit.* *Purgor bilem.* Id.

Construction of Gerunds and Supines.

Gerunds and Supines will have such cases as the Verb from whence they com; as *Otium scribendi literas. Eo auditum Poetas. Ad consulendum tibi.*

A Gerund in *di* is commonly govern'd both of Substantives and Adjectives in manner of a Genitive; as *Causa videndi. Amor habendi. Cupidus visendi. Certus eundi.* And sometimes governeth a Genitive Plural; as *illorum videndi gratia.* Ter.

Gerunds in *do* are us'd after Verbs in manner of an Ablative, according to former Rules, with or without a Preposition; as *Defessus sum ambulando. A discendo facile deterretur. Caesar dando, sublevando, ignoscendo, gloriam adeptus est. In apparando consumunt diem.*

A Gerund in *dum* is us'd in manner of an Accusative after Prepositions governing that case; as *Ad capiendum hostes. Ante domandum ingentes tollent animos. Virg. Ob redimendum captivos. Inter cenandum.*

Gerunds in signification are oft-times us'd as Participles in *dum*; *Tuorum consiliorum reprimendorum causa.* Cic. *Orationem Latinam legendis nostris efficies plenior.* Cic. *Ad accusandos homines premio ducitur.*

A Gerund in *dum* join'd with the Impersonal *est*, and implying some necessity or duty to do a thing, may have both the Active and Passive Construction of the Verb from whence it is deriv'd; as *Utendum est etate.* Ov. *Pacem Trojano a rege petendum.* Virg. *Iterandum eadem ista mihi.* Cic. *Serviendum est mihi amicis. Plura dixi quam discendum fuit.* Cic. pro Seft.

Construction of Verb with Verb.

When two Verbs com together without a Nominative Case between them, the latter shall be in the Infinitive Mood; as *Cupio discere.* Or

in the first Supine after Verbs of moving; as *Eo cubitum, spectatum.* Or in the latter with an Adjective; as *Turpe est distu. Facile factu, opus scitu.*

But if a Case com between, not govern'd of the former Verb, it shall always be an Accusative before the Infinitive Mood; as *Te redisse incolumem gaudeo. Malo me divitem esse, quam haberi.*

And this Infinitive *esse*, will have always after it an Accusative, or the same Case which the former Verb governs; as *Expedit bonos esse vobis. Quo mihi commisso, non licet esse piam.* But this Accusative agreeth with another understood before the Infinitive; as *Expedit vobis vos esse bonos. Natura beatiss omnibus esse dedit. Nobis non licet esse tam disertis.* The same Construction may be us'd after other Infinitives Neuter or Passive like to *esse* in signification; as *Maximo tibi postea & civi, & duci evadere contigit.* Val. Max. l. 6.

Sometimes a Noun Adjective or Substantive governs an Infinitive; as *audax omnia perpeti. Dignus amari. Consilium ceperunt ex oppido profugere. Cæs. Minari divisioribus ratio non erat.* Cic. verr. 1.

Sometimes the Infinitive is put absolute for the Preterimperfect or Preterperfect Tense; as *Ego illud sedulo negare factum.* Ter. *Galba autem multas similitudines afferre.* Cic. *Ille contra hac omnia ruere, agere vitam.* Ter.

Construction of Participles.

Participles govern such Cases as the Verb from whence they com, according to thir Active or Passive signification; as *Fruiturus amicis. Nunquam audita mihi. Diligendus ab omnibus. Sate sanguine divum. Telamone creatus. Corpore mortali cretus. Lucret. Nate dea. Edite regibus. Lævo suspensi loculos tabulasque lacerto.* Hor. *Census equestrem summam.* Id. *Abeundum est mihi. Venus orta mari. Exosus Bella.* Virg. *Exosus diis.* Gell. *Arma Perasus.* Ovid. But *Pertasus* hath an Accusative otherwise then the Verb; as *Pertasus Ignaviam. Semet ipse pertasus.* Suet. To these add participial Adjectives ending in *bilis* of the Passive Signification, and requiring like case after them; as *Nulli penetrabilis astro locus erat.*

Participles chang'd into Adjectives have thir Construction by the Rules of Adjectives; as *Appetens vini. Fugitans lutum. Fidens animi.*

An Ablative put absolute.

TWO Nouns together, or a Noun and Pronoun with a Participle exprest or understood, put absolutely, that is to say, neither governing nor governed of a Verb, shall be put in the Ablative; as *Authore Senatu bellum geritur. Me duce vinces. Caesare veniente hostes fugerunt. Sublato clamore praelium committitur.*

Construction of Adverbs.

EN and *ecce* will have a Nominative, or an Accusative, and sometimes with a Dative; as *En Priamus. Ecce tibi status noster. En habitum. Ecce autem alterum.*

Adverbs of quantity, time, and place require a Genitive; as *Satis loquentia, sapientia parum satis.* Also compounded with a Verb; as *Is rerum suarum satagit. Tunc temporis ubique gentium. Eo impudentia proceffit. Quoad ejus fieri poterit.*

To these add *Ergo* signifying the cause; as *Illius ergo. Virg. Virtutis ergo. Fuga atque formidinis ergo non abiturus.* Liv.

Others will have such case as the Nouns from whence they come; as *Minime gentium. Optime omnium. Venit obviam illi. Canit similiter huic. Albanum, sive Falernum te magis oppositis delectat.* Hor.

Adverbs are join'd in a Sentence to several Moods of Verbs.

Of Time, *Ubi, postquam, cum* or *quum*, to an Indicative or Subjunctive; as *Hec ubi dicta dedit. Ubi nos laverimus. Postquam excessit ex Ephēbis. Cum faciam vitula. Virg. Cum canerem reges.* Id.

Donec while, to an Indicative. *Donec eris felix. Donec* until, to an Indicative or Subjunctive; *Cogere donec oves jussit. Virg. Donec ea aqua decocta sit.* Colum.

Dum while, to an Indicative. *Dum* *aperatur Virgo.* *Dum* until, to an Indicative or Subjunctive; as *Dum redeo. Tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit astas. Dum* for *dummodo* so as, or so that, to a Subjunctive; *Dum profum tibi.*

Quoad while, to an Indicative. *Quoad expectas contubernalem.* *Quoad* until to a Subjunctive. *Omnia integra servabo, quoad exercitus huc mittatur.*

Simulac, simulatque to an Indicative or Subjunctive; as *Simulac belli patiens erat, simulatque adoleverit etas.*

Ut as, to the same Moods. *Ut salutaris, ita resalutaberis. Ut sementem feceris, ita & metos.* Hor. *Ut* so soon as, to an Indicative only: as *Ut ventum est in Urbem.*

Quasi, tanquam, perinde, ac si, to a Subjunctive only; as *Quasi non norimus nos inter nos. Tanquam feceris ipse aliquid.*

Ne of forbidding, to an Imperative or Subjunctive; as *Ne sevi. Ne metuas.*

Certain Adverbs of quantity, quality, or cause; as *Quam, quoties, cur, quare, &c.* Thence also *qui, quis, quantus, qualis*, and the like, coming in a sentence after the

principal Verb, govern the Verb following in a Subjunctive; as *Videte quam valde malitia sua confidat. Cic. Quid est cur tu in isto loco sedeas? Cic. pro Cluent. Subsideo mihi diligentiam comparavi quae quanta sit intelligi non potest, nisi, &c. Cic. pro Quint. Nam quid hoc iniquius dici potest. Quam me qui caput alterius fortunaeque defendam, Priore loco discere. Ibid. Nullum est Officium tam sanctum atque solenne, quod non avaritia violare soleat. Ibid. Non me fallit, si consulamini quid sitis respondituri. Ibid. Dicit vix potest quum multa sint quae respondeatis ante fieri oportere. Ibid. Docui quo die hunc sibi promississe dicat, eo die ne Roma quidem cum fuisse. Ibid. Conturbatus discedit neque mirum cui haec opus tam misera daretur. Ibid. Narrat quo in loco viderit Quintium. Ibid. Recte majores eum qui socium sefellisset in virorum bonorum numero non putarunt haberi oportere. Cic. pro Rosc. Am. Quae concursatio percontantium quid Praetor edixisset, ubi caneret, quid enuntiasset. Cic. Agrar. 1.*

Of Conjunctions.

CONJUNCTIONS Copulative and Disjunctive, and these four, *Quam, nisi, praequam, an*, couple like cases; as *Socrates docuit Xenophontem & Platonem. Aut dies est, aut nox. Nescio albus an ater sit. Est minor natu quam tu. Nemini placet praequam sibi.*

Except when some particular construction requireth otherwise; as *Studii Romae & Athenis. Eni fundum centum nummis & pluris. Accusas furti, an stupri, an utroque?*

They also couple for the most part like Moods and Tenses, as *Recto stat corpore, despicitque terras.* But not always like Tenses; as *Nisi me lactasses, & vana spe produceres. Et habetur, & referetur tibi a me gratia.*

Of other Conjunctions, some govern an Indicative, some a Subjunctive, according to their several Significations.

Et si, tametsi, etiamsi, quanquam an Indicative; *quamvis* and *licet* most commonly a Subjunctive; as *Et si nihil novi afferretur. Quanquam animus meminisse horret. Quamvis Elysios miretur Graecia campos. Ipse licet venias.*

Ni, nisi, si, siquidem, quod quia postquam, posteaquam, antequam, priusquam an Indicative or Subjunctive; as *Nisi vi maris eripi. Ni faciat. Castigo te, non quod odo habeam, sed quod amem. Antequam dicam. Si* for *quamvis* a Subjunctive only. *Redeam? Non si me obsecrer.*

Si also conditional may sometimes govern both Verbs of the sentence in a Subjunctive; as *Respiraro si te videro.* Cic. ad Attic.

Quando, quandoquidem, quoniam an Indicative; as *Dicite quandoquidem in molli confedimus herba. Quoniam convenimus ambo.*

Cum, seeing that, a Subjunctive; as *Cum* *his officiis Gradive virilibus aptus.*

Ne, an, num, of doubting, a Subjunctive; as *Nihil refert, fecerisne, an persuaseris. Vise num redierit.*

Interrogatives also of disdain or reproach understood, govern a Subjunctive; as *tantum dem, quantum ille poposcerit?* Cic. *verr.* 4. *Sylvam tu Scantiam vendas?* Cic. *Agrar. Hunc tu non ames?* Cic. *ad Attic. Furem aliquem aut rapacem accusaris?* *Vitanda semper erit omnis avaritia suspicio.* Cic. *ver.* 4. Sometimes an Infinitive; as *Mene incepto desistere victam?* Virg.

Ut that, lest not, or although, a Subjunctive; as *Te oro, ut redeat jam in viam. Metuo ut subter hospes. Ut omnia contingant quæ volo.*

Of Prepositions.

OF Prepositions, some will have an Accusative after them, some an Ablative, some both, according to their different signification.

An Accusative these following, *Ad, apud, ante, adversus adversum, cis, circa, circum, circa, circiter, contra, erga, extra, inter, intra, infra, juxta, ob, pone, per, prope, propter, post, penes, præter, secundum, supra, scilicet, trans, ultra, usque, versus*; But *versus* is most commonly set after the case it governs, as *Londinum versus.*

And for an Accusative after *ad*, a Dative sometimes is used in Poets; as *It clamor calo.* Virg. *Cælo si gloria tollit Eneadum.* Sil. for *ad cælum.*

An Ablative these, *A, ab, abs, absque, cum, coram, de, e, ex, pro, præ, palam, sine, tenuis*, which last is also put after his Case, being most usually a Genitive, if it be plural; as *Capulo tenuis. Aurium tenuis.*

These, both Cases, *In, sub, super, subter, clam, procul.*

In, signifying to, towards, into, or against, requires an Accusative; as *Pisces emptos obolo in cenam seni. Animus in Tenebras benignus. Versa est in cineres Troja. In te committere tantum quid Troes potuere?* Lastly, when it signifies future time, or for; as *Bellum in trigesimum diem indixerunt. Designati consules in annum sequentem. Alii pretia faciunt in singula capita canum.* Var.

Otherwise *in* will have an Ablative; as *In Urbe. In Terris.*

Sub, when it signifies to, or in time, about, or a little before, requires an Accusative; as *sub umbram properemus. Sub id tempus. Sub noctem* Otherwise an Ablative. *Sub pedibus. Sub umbra.*

Super signifying beyond, or present time, an Accusative; as *Super Garamantas & Indos. Super cenam.* Suet. at supper time. Of or concerning, an Ablative; as *Multa super Priamo rogitans. Super hac re.*

Super, over or upon, may have either case; as *Super ripas Tiberis effusus. Sæva sedens super arma. Fronde super viridi.*

So also may *subter*; as *pugnatum est super subterque terras. Subter densa testudine.* Virg. *Clam patrem or patre. Procul muros.* Liv. *Patria procul.*

Prepositions in composition govern the same cases as before in apposition. *Adibo hominem. Detrudunt naves scopulo.* And the Preposition is sometimes repeated; as *Detrahere de tua fama nunquam cogitavi.* And sometimes understood, governeth his usual case; as *Habeo te loco parentis. Apparuit humana specie. Cumis erant oriundi.* Liv. *Liberis parentibus oriundus.* Colum. *Mutat quadrata rotundis.* Hor. *Pridie Compitalia. Pridie nonas or calendas. Postridie Idus. Postridie ludos.* Before which Accusatives *ante* or *post* is to be understood, *Filii id ætatis.* Cic. *Hoc noctis.* Liv. Understand *Secundum.* Or refer to part of time. *Omnia Mercurio similis.* Virg. Understand *per.*

Of Interjections.

Certain Interjections have several Cases after them. *O*, a Nominative, Accusative or Vocative; as *O festus dies hominis. O ego lævus.* Hor. *O fortunatos. O formose puer.*

Others a Nominative, or an Accusative; as *Heu prisca fides! Heu stirpem invisam! Proh sancte Jupiter! Proh deum atque hominum fidem! Hem tibi Davum!*

Yea, though the Interjection be understood; as *Ale miserum! Ale cæcum, quæ hæc ante non viderim!*

Others will have a Dative; as *Hei mihi. Væ misero mihi.* Terent.

F I N I S.

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